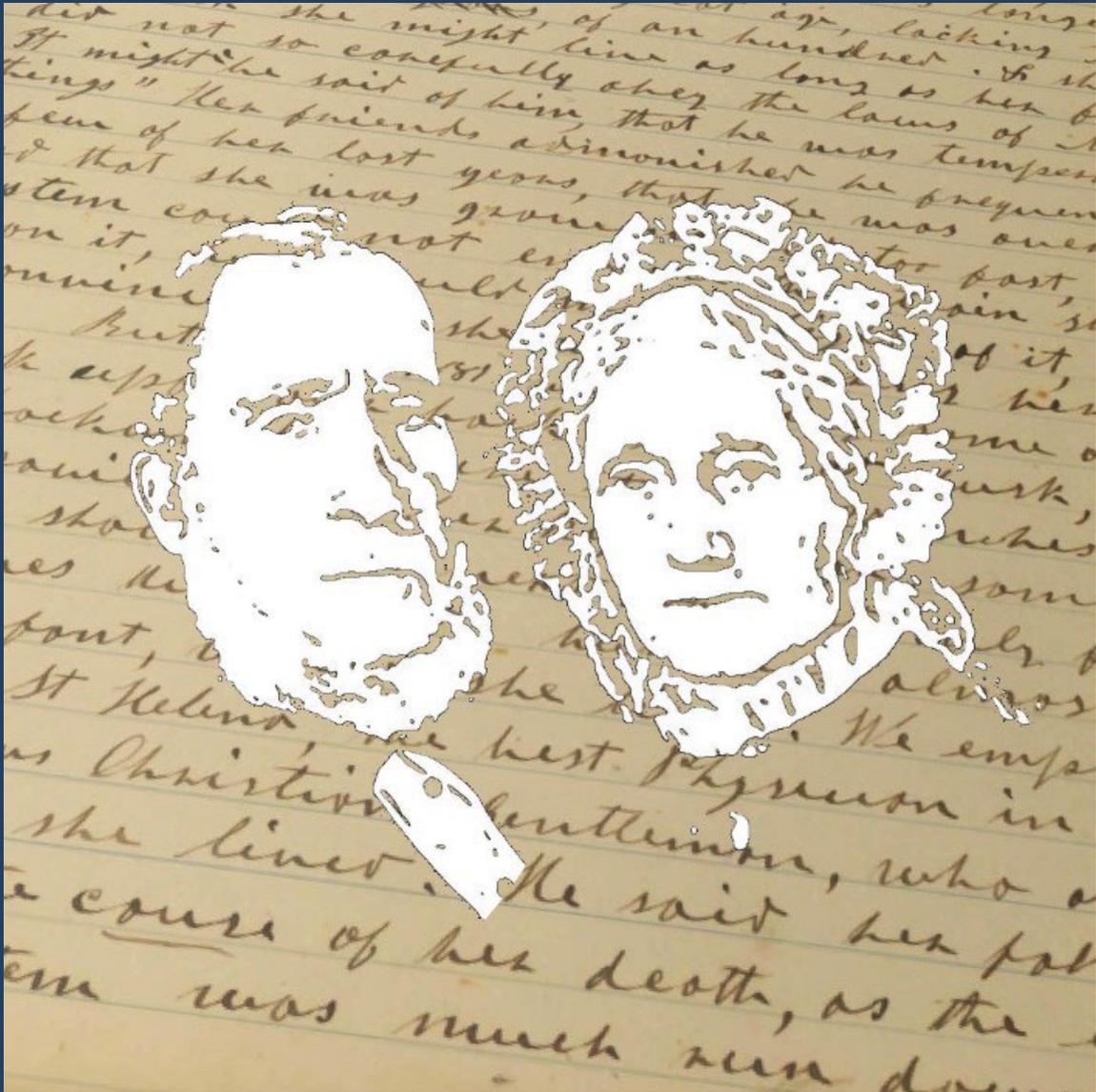




THE WEELEBAETHAN

A Journal of History



Volume 47 (2020)

California State University, Fullerton

Department of History

Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society)

THE  ELEBAETHAN

A Journal of History

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First published in 1974, *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* is named after Shirley A. Weleba (1930-1972), a faculty member in the Department of History at California State University, Fullerton. Weleba, a scholar of African history, had received her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California in 1969 for her dissertation "Trial by Jury in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1912."

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Editors' Preface

I recollect distinctly one pleasant morning in Napa, February 8 - 1882, a very affectionate & cheerful leavetaking between Wife & husband, Mother & children, then all was silent, & I was alone. - Azariah Ashley Bancroft

Armed with nothing but ink, paper, and will, the love of a spouse can travel through space and time—a lifetime of meaning understood and felt through history. Here, armed with technology, a love for history, and the force of will, we present Volume 47 (2020) of *The Welebaethan*, a collection created during a time of global adversity. Last year's issue was a landmark, *published* entirely online for the first time. However, no one could have anticipated then that this year's issue would have to be *created* almost entirely online. After a few in-person meetings, and staring down the barrel of a pandemic, we compiled the journal from the relative safety of our home offices, bedrooms, kitchen tables, or other work spaces of this "new normal." As with all creative endeavors impacted by the COVID-19 shutdowns, the challenges for this year's *Welebaethan* were not purely logistical: to support one another, to maintain a sense of community, and to strive for the intangible goal of scholarly rigor, while the needs of many were tangible and immediate—this year's *Welebaethan* is a testament to resilience.

That said, we are pleased to offer this collection of insightful scholarship by our fellow graduate and undergraduate historians. The articles and essays published here touch on a wide array of topics: from "pirates" in the ancient Mediterranean to the counterculture movement in 1960s Britain; from silenced seeresses to obscure operas; from endangered indigenous languages to competing memories; and including—now that the *Welebaethan* accepts submissions from scholars elsewhere—an article from a colleague in Fort Hays, Kansas, "Playing Bachelor." There are several editions of previously unpublished archival documents and oral histories from our University Archives and Special Collections, as well as the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), among them the scrawled 1911-1913 journal of Antarctic expedition member Allen C. Thomson; the 1930s repatriation memories of Hortencia Martínez de Benítez (transcribed in Spanish and then translated into English); an interview with Trinidadian activist C. L. R. James (1901-1989); and the "Recollections" of Azariah Ashley (A. A.) Bancroft (1799-1885), the father of renowned historian Hubert Howe Bancroft. The original cover art (*I Love Lucy, or: Relating to my dear wife*) features a collage of the portraits of A. A. Bancroft and his wife Lucy, and page 25 of the former's "Recollections" where *he* writes fondly about *her*. Our journal's final section presents reviews of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and games that may be of interest to historians. The opinions expressed in the articles, editions, and reviews belong to the individual authors and editors themselves and do not necessarily reflect the views of the journal's editors.

The process of publishing this year's *Welebaethan* involved several groups and individuals. We would like to extend our thanks firstly to our faculty advisor, Jochen Burgtorf, whose guidance, meticulous attention to detail, and unwavering dedication to excellence was matched only by his effective conversion of all our editing endeavors to a "fully online" format. Our University Archives and Special Collections accommodated our feverish Friday night editing sessions before the campus transitioned to virtual instruction, and for this we are forever indebted to the archivist, Patrisia Prestinary, as well as our personal metaphorical Charon who helped us cross into the realm of the past, Nick Seider. We also thank COPH archivist Natalie Navar Garcia for her gracious assistance to us. Our efforts were preeminently supported by the very thoughtful faculty members, alumni, and students of California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), who participated in the triple-blind review process, and we profoundly appreciate their insight, judgment, and generous comments. As a condition *sine qua non*, all scholarly journals must rely on superb intellectual contributions. Thus, we send our deepest thanks to all who submitted articles and essays, editions, and reviews, whether independently or as members of CSUF's "History and Editing" course. We are honored to present your hard work on your behalf.

Finally, we thank you, the reader. This volume is the end of our journey and the beginning of yours. We hope that the drive, time, and love of all those involved in making this journal possible have translated into a collection of scholarship that you may carry with you on your own journey. Without the willingness to create it, there is no meaning; without you, there is no *Welebaethan*.

Fullerton, June 24, 2020

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Matthew Vivonia

Alexander the Great's "Pirate" Army: Terminology, Context, and Legacy

ABSTRACT: *In addition to his Macedonians, Alexander the Great relied heavily on mercenaries for his conquests in Asia. After his death, while his "successors" (the Diadochi) were fighting over his inheritance, the eastern Mediterranean experienced a prolonged surge in piracy. Based on a study of ancient Greek terminology, the historical context of Alexander's mercenary army, and the latter's legacy in the late fourth and third century BCE near the geographical centers of sea raiding, this article argues that it was Alexander's own men who turned to piracy after his death, making them the bane of the Diadochi.*

KEYWORDS: *antiquity; Macedon; Greece; Middle East; Mediterranean; Alexander the Great; Diadochi; piracy; Arrian; terminology*

Introduction

According to an old legend, Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) once captured a pirate and decided to investigate him for his crimes. Alexander asked him, "What is your idea, in infesting the sea?" The pirate responded, "The same as yours, in infesting the earth! But because I do it with a tiny craft, I'm called a pirate: because you have a mighty navy, you're called an emperor."¹ In certain versions of the legend, Alexander frees the pirate for his profound response. It is impossible to know whether this interaction really happened, but if Alexander did let the pirate go, his motivation would have been entirely understandable. After all, their behaviors were not so different. While traditional Alexander scholars might contest this claim and find the comparison between Alexander and a minor thief an insult to the great Macedonian's legacy, much of Alexander's military was comprised of men just like this pirate. In actuality, the lines between piracy, theft, and military conquest were not so clear in ancient Greece. The likelihood of Alexander's men having contributed to the Hellenistic epidemic of piracy is exceptionally high. Alexander hired and commanded vast numbers of mercenaries during his conquests in the East, but his successors struggled with controlling the Mediterranean against piratical raiding. Piracy became an issue after Alexander's death because the mercenaries he employed were no longer given proper incentives to raid for Macedon rather than against it.

The amount of scholarship on Alexander is enormous to say the least. In 2008, Waldemar Heckel remarked that writing Alexander's biography "has been done

¹ This story can be found in Saint Augustine [of Hippo], *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson, with a new introduction by Gillian R. Evans (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 139 (book IV, chapter 4). See also Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New: International Terrorism in the Real World* (1986; Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2015), xiii. Ancient sources in this article are usually cited in traditional format (book, chapter, line number).

so many times that it seems pointless to repeat the exercise."² Alexander died in 323 BCE. Surviving historical writing about him goes back to the first century BCE. Arrian (85/90-after 145/146 CE) is regarded as the chief source, although Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE), Plutarch (46-after 119 CE), Quintus Curtius Rufus (first century CE), and Justin (second/third century CE) have also supplied plenty of information.³ All these authors worked at least two or more centuries after Alexander's death. Callisthenes (ca. 370-327 BCE) was one of the few historical writers to have known Alexander personally, but none of his works have survived into the modern era. These texts, however, open the door for medieval writers known jointly as Pseudo-Callisthenes who, since the fourth century CE, ghostwrote a collection of myths regarding the young Macedonian king: *The Romance of Alexander*.⁴ Over time, these tales became sensationalized renditions of the original stories, similar to the Arthurian legends. Though widely recognized as fictional, the *Romance* remained hugely popular for centuries, romanticizing the public opinion of Alexander along with it. It took until the twentieth century for Alexander's biography to come closer to scholarship than entertainment.

One issue over which modern scholars differ with regard to Alexander is simply how much they like him. In 1948, William Woodethorpe Tarn (1869-1957) published a two-volume study on *Alexander the Great*. Since then, Tarn has come to be regarded as the chief force behind Alexander's modern romanticization.⁵ Tarn would have lent no credence to any purported similarity between Alexander and a common pirate. Since publication, Tarn's works have inspired many others, including historical fiction novelist Mary Renault. With lines like "There goes my lord, whom I was born to follow. I have found a King," Renault takes after Tarn,

² Waldemar Heckel, *The Conquests of Alexander the Great* (2007; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), xi.

³ Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander, or, The History of the Wars and Conquests of Alexander the Great*, trans. Edward James Chinnock (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884); Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (1919; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923); Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. Charles H. Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933); Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*, trans. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946); Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus: Volume 1*, trans. John C. Yardley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). For Arrian as the chief source for the life of Alexander, see, for example, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, ed. John Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), s.v. "Arrian."

⁴ Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Romance of Alexander by Pseudo Callisthenes*, trans. Albert Murgdich Wolohojian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969).

⁵ William W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Volume 1, Narrative* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1948); William W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Volume 2, Sources and Studies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1948). These volumes are considered Tarn's most famous and romanticizing works; see Jeanne Reames, "Fire Bringer: Oliver Stone's Alexander," *Hephaestion Philalexandros*, accessed April 2, 2020; and David Constantine, *The Pillars of Hercules* (San Francisco: Nightshade Books, 2012), 393, for references to Tarn's romanticism.

upholding a still popular portrayal of Alexander as a pristine humanitarian.⁶ This positive approach to the Macedonian conqueror may have worked for some, but certainly not all. George L. Cawkwell (1919-2019) has argued that historians “who tend to think that Alexander could make no mistakes [...] should be left to their hero-worship.”⁷ Tarn has been scrutinized for his bias by a number of scholars: he was criticized by Jeanne Reames for his homophobic comments on Hephaestion’s relationship with Alexander,⁸ and historian Ernst Badian opened an article about Parmenion, one of Alexander’s generals, by calling Tarn’s work “romantic idealization” and an “acceptance of the favorable and rejection of the unfavorable,”⁹ and then proceeded to shred Tarn’s arguments regarding Parmenion and referring to Alexander’s conquests as massacre, thus taking a much more grisly approach to the young Macedonian.

Thus, there are considerable divisions between historians who adore Alexander and those who do not. This article focuses on Alexander’s relationship to mercenary work and piracy. To have an honest conversation about whether Macedonians were in fact employing pirates, biographers like Tarn will be set aside, and instead the floor will be given to those who have studied piracy during the Hellenistic age extensively, such as Herbert William Parke (1903-1986) and Matthew Trundle (1965-2019), and their works *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (1933) and *Greek Mercenaries* (2004) respectively.¹⁰ As for pirates, Philip de Souza, a Classicist at University College Dublin, has contributed significantly to the field with his monograph on *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (1999), as has Janice J. Gabbert, professor emerita at Wright State University, with her article “Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period” (1986).¹¹ This discussion of Hellenistic piracy will then take us back to the ancient sources, particularly the Greek orator Demosthenes (384-322 BCE) and his habit of calling the Macedonians “pirate lords.”¹²

⁶ Mary Renault, *Fire from Heaven* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969); Mary Renault, *The Persian Boy* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 130. See Reames, “Fire Bringer,” and Constantine, *Pillars of Hercules*, 393, for references to Renault’s work in the shadow of William W. Tarn.

⁷ George L. Cawkwell, *The Greek Wars: The Failure of Persia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 199.

⁸ Jeanne Reames-Zimmerman, “Hephaestion Amyntoros: Éminence Grise at the Court of Alexander the Great” (PhD diss. Pennsylvania State University, 1998), 240. She refers here to comments made in Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Volume 2*, 57.

⁹ Ernst Badian, “The Death of Parmenio,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 91 (1960): 324-338, here 324.

¹⁰ Herbert W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers: From the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); Matthew Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander* (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2004).

¹¹ Philip de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Janice J. Gabbert, “Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period: A Career Open to Talents,” *Greece & Rome* 33, no. 2 (October 1986): 156-163.

¹² Demosthenes, *Orations: Volume 1*, trans. James H. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), Fourth Philippic, 10.34.

Historians, both ancient and modern, have made it sound as though Alexander hired mercenaries to fight against pirates.¹³ However, the evidence suggests that, in ancient Greece, "mercenaries" and "pirates" were interchangeable terms. Therefore, differentiating between Alexander's men and the raiders with whom they collided is not as straightforward as it may seem. This article seeks to address this very ambiguity and analyze Alexander's ability to rein in vast numbers of mercenaries and use them to his advantage.

I. Terminology

In the ancient Greek language, the terms for "pirate," "bandit," "mercenary," and "soldier" were fairly interchangeable: there was no objective definition for any of these terms, and there was no equivalent for the English word "pirate." One of the most commonly used words for "pirate" was *ληστής* (*leistes*) whose root *ληίς* (*leis*) meant "plunder" or "spoils." Homer regularly used the term *leistes* to describe raiders. Another commonly used term was *πειρατής* (*peirates*) which is more recognizable for its similarity to the English word "pirate;" however, in its actual meaning, *peirates* was even further from "pirate" than *leistes*, as it derived from the word for "trial," *πείρα* (*peira*), and its root verb *πειράω* (*peirao*), meaning "to try" or "to attempt," thus making *peirates* literally "the one who attempts something" (presumably robbery). Polybius (ca. 200-ca. 120 BCE), Diodorus Siculus, and inscriptions throughout the Mediterranean used *peirates*.¹⁴ Some authors even used *leistes* and *peirates* interchangeably. Strabo (ca. 63 BCE-after 23 CE) used both terms in his criticism of the Pamphylians and Cilicians.¹⁵ Achilles Tatius (second century CE) even used forms of them both in the same sentence: in his romance *Leucippe and Clitophon*, he says *ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως εὐρωστος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φύσει πειρατικός*, which means "he was both exceptionally strong of body and by nature piratical," employing the term *πειρατικός* (*peiratikos*), and then goes on to say *ταχὺ μὲν ἐξεῦρε ληστὰς ἀλιεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης ἐκείνης*, which means "he quickly sought out some pirate sailors from that village," this time using *ληστὰς* (*leistas*).¹⁶ Achilles Tatius specified that they were raiding on sea rather than land, but in many other cases it seemed irrelevant to the ancient historians where the robbery was committed.

The linguistic exception to the widespread use of *peirates* and *leistes* to describe pirates was *καταποντισταί* (*katapontistai*), meaning "the ones who throw into the

¹³ The following studies are among those that refer to pirates as antagonists of the state and separate from the group of mercenaries hired by Alexander: Gabbert, "Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period;" and Elpida Hadjidaki, "The Classical and Hellenistic Harbor at Phalasarna: A Pirate's Port?" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1988).

¹⁴ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 2-6. Some of the following translations are taken directly from de Souza, others are my own.

¹⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace L. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 14.3.2.

¹⁶ Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, trans. Stephen Gaselee (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 2.17.3 (the translation in the text above is de Souza's).

sea."¹⁷ Its root verb, *καταποντίζω* (*katapontizo*) meant "to plunge" or "sink into the sea," as if to drown. *Katapontistai* was the only term for pirates that exclusively meant "sea bandits," yet it was scarcely used, and Dio Cassius (ca. 163-after 229 CE) was one of the few ancient writers who employed this term for banditry.¹⁸ This does not contribute much to the study of Alexander, though, since at the time when the most reliable work on Alexander (i.e., Arrian) was written, Dio Cassius was still a century away from being born. Further down the line, in the tenth century CE, the Byzantine lexicon *Suda* included definitions for each of these three terms that made them sound distinct from each other.¹⁹ However, Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and others who wrote about Alexander did not use them systematically or as distinct from each other.

Similar to the linguistic ambiguities when denoting pirates, there was also a lack of distinction when it came to describing mercenaries. No ancient Greek term is the equivalent of the English word "mercenary." In ancient Greek, armies of men were considered *στρατιώται* (*stratiotai*) which translates to "soldiers." For centuries, this term described the working men of ancient Greece who would farm in the off-seasons and fight in the on-seasons. They were juxtaposed against the *ἐπικούροι* (*epikouroi*), meaning "helpers;" the *ξένοι* (*xenoi*), meaning "foreigners;" and the *μισθοφόροι* (*misthophoroi*), meaning "wage-earners." All three of these were used to describe mercenaries. *Epikouros* means "ally" or more literally "fighter alongside."²⁰ Homer's *Iliad* almost exclusively uses the term *epikouros* for "mercenary," but it also uses *epikouros* to refer to Aphrodite when she assists other gods, showing that it was not used exclusively to denote a mercenary. The term *xenos*, the root of our English word *xenophobia*, means "foreigner" or "stranger."²¹ In earlier parts of his work, Arrian uses *stratiotai* and *xenoi* to differentiate Macedonians from mercenaries. This becomes indistinguishable later in his work, though, when Alexander's men become ingredients in a Mediterranean human melting pot. The word *misthophoros* eventually prevailed as the dominant label for "mercenary." Stemming from the term *μισθός* (*misthos*), which means "payment," *misthophoros* described a soldier "persuaded by wage payment."²² This word may seem the closest to a literal translation for "mercenary," but also becomes confusing in Alexander's historiography. While useful for Philip II's era to mark the difference between Macedonians and paid foreigners, *misthophoroi* phase in and out of Arrian's work once he starts discussing Philip's son Alexander.

¹⁷ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 9.

¹⁸ See De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 10.

¹⁹ *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler (1928-1938; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1989-1994).

²⁰ Brian M. Lavelle, "Epikouros and Epikouroi in Early Greek Literature and History," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 38 (1997): 229-262, here 229.

²¹ Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries*, 10.

²² Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries*, 10.

All members of Alexander's army were paid. Thus, the *stratiotai* could no longer be distinguished from the *misthophoroi* once all men were receiving wages. To make matters worse, a number of titles were assigned to ship captains and seamen all around the Greek world. The seamen could accept wages from anyone, even enemy "nations," and continue to be referred to by their naval titles. It would seem, given the definitions, that they would be considered *misthophoroi* or *katapontistai*, but the ancient writers do not always describe them as such.²³

This ancient Greek linguistic mess illustrates the level of ambiguity associated with pirates, bandits, mercenaries, seamen, and soldiers in Alexander's world. All these "positions" could be held by the same men at different times. None of them had a definition or translation that was written in stone; instead, ancient authors considered it a matter of context. Janice Gabbert has argued that there was, in fact, no real distinction between pirate and mercenary in ancient Greece.²⁴ Thus, it is easy to see how Alexander's use of "mercenaries" could really mean a use of pirates. Greek authors typically used *leistes* and *peirates* to describe a criminal or an enemy. This is why Demosthenes used these terms to attack Philip II. *Misthophoroi* were free from this connotation. Historians old and new have recognized that Alexander commanded an army of mercenaries. Some authors have chosen to call them hired professionals, but the message behind it is the same: Alexander was recruiting men from all over the Greek world to conquer the East, and he was paying them to do it.

II. Context

Alexander's father, Philip II of Macedon, made the hiring of men a trend throughout ancient Greece. Parke states that, in Philip's time, "the mercenary had become a typical feature of Greek warfare" because "the mercenary was a professional; and ultimately the professional ousted the amateur from all important warfare."²⁵ While this may be applauding the mercenary a bit too much, the point Parke is trying to make is that Macedonian armies were no longer comprised just of able-bodied Macedonian working men who only took part in warfare during late spring and summer when they could afford to do so. A social and cultural shift had taken place. As Philip II looked outward to hire fighting men, he was inspired by rulers from Persia and all over the Near East. To them, large numbers of freemen without "national" loyalties were just floating all over the Mediterranean, available for hire. By the time Alexander led his forces against Darius III of Persia (ca. 380-330 BCE), Darius had thousands of Greek mercenaries in his employ. Philip's widespread employment of mercenaries even earned him the title "pirate of the Greeks" from Demosthenes.²⁶ Philip was famous for the

²³ Demosthenes, *Orations*, 50.12, refers to such men as seamen.

²⁴ Gabbert, "Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period," 156.

²⁵ Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 113 and 1, respectively.

²⁶ Also called "plunderer of the Greeks;" see Demosthenes, *Orations*, 10.34.

level of discipline he practiced in his army, hence the prevailing notion of Macedonian forces that consisted of "hired professionals." The idea of employing mercenaries alongside Macedonians was passed down to Alexander by Philip II, but the new king ended up using far more of these mercenaries than his father could have ever imagined.

The military numbers recorded by ancient writers are not particularly trustworthy. Polybius claims that Darius had 30,000 Greek mercenaries with him at the Battle of Issus in Cilicia/southern Turkey (333 BCE).²⁷ Parke insists that 30,000 men would have been utterly impossible, given the geographical circumstances.²⁸ Early on in Alexander's campaign, so Diodorus Siculus asserts, only 5,000 of his 32,000 men were mercenaries.²⁹ Parke's estimate of mercenaries hired by Alexander throughout his campaign is of 42,700 foot-soldiers and 5,180 cavalrymen.³⁰ These numbers are debatable. They were also in flux. It is clear, though, that Alexander was lacking hired men at the beginning of his campaign because of his father's vast military spending. Military matters had been incredibly important to the strictly disciplined Philip II, and mercenaries were expensive. Thus, Philip had not left Alexander a large sum of spending money. In fact, Alexander struggled with funds up until one of his greatest victories, the Battle of Issus. Before Issus, Alexander had to disband troops since he lacked the ability to pay them.³¹ After Issus, he started to pick up additional fighters wherever he went. Arrian indicates that Alexander's mercenary count kept growing, especially after the Battle of Gaugamela near Erbil/Iraq (331 BCE).³²

As Alexander's force of mercenaries grew, so did the number of cities he had conquered that were now in need of protection. Alexander dropped off men almost as quickly as he picked them up. Historians hypothesize that he did not trust hired foreigners as much as he trusted his Macedonians. This makes sense, and it serves as an explanation for why he kept hired foreigners farther away. According to Arrian, Alexander surrounded himself with the "finest and best armed of the shield-bearing troops [...] as a body-guard."³³ Meanwhile, the number of mercenaries in the king's army consistently decreased, according to Arrian, until Gaugamela. They were ordered to secure gates outside the main force, sent on separate expeditions, or even left to garrison cities he had

²⁷ Polybius, *The Histories*, trans. William R. Paton, revised by Frank W. Walbank (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 12.18.

²⁸ Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 190.

²⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 17.7.3.

³⁰ Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 198.

³¹ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1.20.1.

³² Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 3.19.6, discusses Alexander's funds and soldier counts. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 197, references these numbers, as does Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries*, 64.

³³ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 2.5.1.

conquered.³⁴ De Souza has theorized that Alexander consistently took the Macedonians in his phalanx, while leaving *xenoi* to the less trustworthy jobs. This practice left Egypt, Halicarnassus (today's Bodrum/Turkey), Celaenae (in Phrygia/west central Turkey), Susa (today's Shush/Iran), and Arachosia (in today's Afghanistan) with large numbers of foreigners who had previously served under Alexander's command.³⁵

III. Legacy

Alexander never named a formal successor before he died, which caused a series of wars for power that lasted nearly forty years. After his death, the Diadochi struggled to keep his empire stable and safe from piracy. Diadochi, which translates to "successors," has become the collective name for Alexander's generals, family members, and companions who laid claim to his empire. While they fought amongst themselves for succession, the outskirts of Alexander's vast empire fell prey to a multitude of pirate groups. De Souza suggests that the internal conflict "provided many opportunities" for the pirates of the age.³⁶ Such a scenario is not at all uncommon, and parallels can be found in plenty of other global conflicts. Writing about seafarers from Late Imperial South China, Robert J. Antony has called it "symptomatic" of political instability to provide opportunity for theft and manipulation.³⁷ In order to showcase what the Diadochi were ultimately dealing with, we now turn to a few examples of piracy recorded in the fourth and third centuries BCE. In 304 BCE, one of these Diadochi, Demetrios I Poliorketes, the son of the king of Macedon (Antigonos I Monophthalmos), tried to lay siege to Rhodes³⁸ which was regularly attacked by Tyrrhenian pirates from the Italian Peninsula.³⁹ Another unsuccessful siege attempt was made in 287 BCE against Ephesos, this time by Lysimachos, another one of the Diadochi.⁴⁰ Aetolian pirates took the Delphic Amphiktyony and other central Greek cities in 277 BCE.⁴¹ Also in 277 BCE, Kassandreia (in Macedonia) was put under siege by Antigonos Gonatas, the son of Demetrios I Poliorketes, and this time it fell to his power.⁴²

Even kings in the third century BCE were recorded as hiring pirates. Ptolemy II used pirates to fight the Seleucid Antiochos I.⁴³ Aratos of Sikyon hired

³⁴ Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 2.23.6.

³⁵ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 197-198.

³⁶ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 43.

³⁷ Robert J. Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2003), 28.

³⁸ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 20.82.

³⁹ Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 16.5.3.

⁴⁰ Polyaeus, *Stratagems of War*, trans. Richard Shepherd (London: George Nicol, 1793), 8.57.

⁴¹ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 70.

⁴² Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 4.6.18.

⁴³ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. William H. S. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), 1.7.3.

Xenophilos, whom Plutarch recorded as a "robber captain," to capture a city.⁴⁴ Evidence of less notable piracy is also abundant in inscriptions from this time. One example of this includes an Attic inscription from 250 BCE which states, *καὶ πολέμου γενομένου τοῦ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ πειρατικῶν ἐκπλεόντων ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπιλιμνίου*, which translates to "and when the war with Alexandros [of Corinth] broke out and pirates were sailing out from Epilimnion."⁴⁵ Historians today are not even sure where Epilimnion was. Such a vast number of cities were affected by pirate invasions that it may have seemed to civilians along the Mediterranean coast that nowhere was safe. Also apparent from the listed piratical acts is how long they continued after Alexander's death: he had died in 323 BCE, yet piracy was still endemic in 250 BCE. The authority of the Diadochi was almost certainly lacking. Evidence for rampant piracy abounds in all types of period sources.

Crete, Rhodes, and Delos were among the most pirate-infested islands in the Hellenistic era. They were also famous for their role in the highly lucrative Mediterranean slave trade. Strabo sums up the relationship between piracy and slavery quite well in his hostile description of the Pamphylian and Cilician pirates:

the Pamphyliaus and the Tracheian Cilicians [...] used their places as bases of operation for the business of piracy, when they engaged in piracy themselves or offered them to pirates as markets for the sale of booty and as naval stations. In Side, at any rate, a city in Pamphylia, the dockyards stood open to the Cilicians, who would sell their captives at auction there, though admitting that these were freemen.⁴⁶

The activity Strabo describes here may be viewed as conventional. Side was joined by plenty of other cities in this business. Crete was responsible for nearly half a dozen cities that were well known as hubs for the slave trade, and compared to Rhodes, Delos, and a few Aegean islands linked with piracy, Crete was much more expansive. Phalasarna was a large port town on the west end of Crete, highly developed, and infamous for piracy. Archaeological evidence seems to suggest that it was one the largest pirate hubs on the island. Historians theorize that it was later closed down by Pompey the Great.⁴⁷ The diverse coinage found at Hierapytna (Crete) shows evidence of wealth based on piracy.⁴⁸ Knossos and Miletos (also on Crete) yield similar corroborating material: a source from Miletos, dated from around 260-230 BCE, shows that the two cities made an agreement not to sell their respective people to each other.⁴⁹ Only a few miles off the coast of

⁴⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Aratus*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 6.

⁴⁵ Inscription SIG [*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*] no. 454 = IG [*Inscriptiones Graecae*] II.1225, line 13, quoted in De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 5.

⁴⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 14.3.2.

⁴⁷ Hadjidaki, "Classical and Hellenistic Harbor at Phalasarna."

⁴⁸ E. J. P. Raven, "The Hierapytna Hoard of Greek and Roman Coins," *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 5th series, 18 (1938): 133-158.

⁴⁹ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 62. De Souza references *Sda* [*Studi di diritto attico*] iii.482.

Crete, archaeological findings on the island of Antikythera likely also support wealth from piracy.⁵⁰ Delos and Rhodes feature inscriptions discussing their wealth and "theft." From Rhodes, we know the stories of pirates who were active there, and Delos's customs reveal that their vast wealth can be considered evidence for piracy. The town of Epidauros Limera in Laconia was a base used by pirates, and Gabbert has called it "a favorite recruiting center for mercenaries."⁵¹ Ephesos, too, was a large hub for the slave trade in the Near East.⁵² If Illyrians, Cilicians, Pamphylans, Tyrrhenians, and Aetolians can be found in all these places all over the Aegean Sea, it is likely that their profits derived from piracy.

The men contributing to the rampant piracy of the fourth and third centuries BCE were most likely the very same types of men who had once stood under Alexander's command. However, the aforementioned pirate bases and groups did not yield historical records that are comparable to those of the Macedonian conqueror in either quantity or quality. Apart from the archaeological evidence used to determine the level of traffic at these sites, we have no way of knowing how many men took part in piratical acts. It is clear, however, that "theft" increased after Alexander's death. Yet, similarly to what Robert Antony has concluded with regard to the shift from the Ming to the Qing dynasties, "given the economic and political anarchy of this period, a clear distinction between piracy, rebellion, and trade was impossible."⁵³ This type of disorder was not unique to modern China, just as it had not been unique to the ancient Mediterranean. The shortage of reliable ancient sources and the ambiguities of the ancient Greek language make it impossible for any modern historian to truly know who comprised these tribes of pirates. In the case of the so-called Illyrian pirates, De Souza claims that ancient writers like Polybius quickly called their attackers Illyrians without really knowing where their enemies came from.⁵⁴ When taking into consideration that Alexander had left mercenaries in the cities he had conquered as he was traveling east, it is entirely plausible that these men stopped serving him after hearing of his death. Ancient writers did not record what these mercenaries were up to after they had been left in Egypt or Halicarnassus. They are merely mentioned as having left Alexander's traveling armies.

To further emphasize the likelihood that Alexander's men embraced piracy after his death, we turn to Halicarnassus. Alexander had taken Halicarnassus by siege (334 BCE) during his pursuit of Darius III, but it was here that his funds

⁵⁰ Alan Johnston, Alessandro Quercia, Aris Tsaravopoulos, Andrew Bevan and James Conolly, "Pots, Piracy and Aegila: Hellenistic Ceramics from an Intensive Survey of Antikythera, Greece," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 107 (2012): 247-272.

⁵¹ Gabbert, "Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period," 162, references Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 3.23.6; Strabo, *Geography*, 3.368; and IG [*Inscriptiones Graecae*] V.1.931.

⁵² David Lewis, "Near Eastern Slaves in Classical Attica and the Slave Trade with Persian Territories," *The Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2011): 91-113.

⁵³ Antony, *Like Froth Floating on the Sea*, 28.

⁵⁴ De Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World*, 80.

would not allow him to keep marching since he had too many, presumably unpaid, mercenaries. According to Parke, Alexander left 3,000 hired men in the city before moving further east. We hear nothing of these men in later years, as they were probably deemed insignificant by ancient historians. Alexander died eleven years later. As piracy increased, Halicarnassus was conveniently located between some of the most vibrant pirate bases in the eastern Mediterranean: Rhodes less than 150 miles south by sea; Ephesos just a couple hundred miles to the north; the wide expanse of the Aegean, including Delos, to the west; and Knossos and Hierapytna on the eastern side of Crete just a day away by sea. Alexander had left a force of 3,000 hired men surrounded by the biggest pirate towns of the age. What motivation did they have to continue to work for their king after his death? The political instability due to the Diadochi's infighting most likely cost them their "paycheck." Joining any of the numerous bandit groups that were just a day's distance away would have been a logical choice. Macedonian control was waning, and the Diadochi were not doing much to stop banditry either. In Gabbert's words: "no power was strong enough - or cared enough - to attempt to suppress piracy."⁵⁵ This is why Alexander's men were likely the ones later responsible for the piracy that would plague the Diadochi. The conqueror had been able to keep them in line, but his successors were not.

Alexander gave his hired men a reason to fight for him. According to Parke, "it was a combined army of Macedonians and mercenaries that conquered the world for Alexander."⁵⁶ The Macedonians had obvious reasons for supporting him, but on closer inspection, so did the mercenaries. Alexander famously never lost a battle. Men fighting for pay rather than "national" loyalties are liable to choose the (presumably) winning side. Alexander successfully proved to them that he was that winning side. His success at the Battle of Issus, where his men had found themselves largely outnumbered, marked him as a star strategist. When he seized Tyre after fierce rebellion from its people, he reached new heights. With every victory, he became the more trustworthy choice. His power eventually became so intimidating that cities started surrendering upon his arrival. Egypt and Babylon, both wealthy kingdoms and thousands of years old, handed themselves into his dominion.⁵⁷ The Diadochi simply could not offer Alexander's standard of guarantee when it came to positive results. Not even the sophisticated Athenians or the battle-driven Spartans were a match for Alexander's abilities. For this reason, it is clear why pirates, mercenaries, and thugs would choose to unify under Alexander and nobody else.

⁵⁵ Gabbert, "Piracy in the Early Hellenistic Period," 156.

⁵⁶ Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 2.

⁵⁷ Heckel, *Conquests of Alexander the Great*, 71.

Conclusion

Traditional Alexander scholars may have attempted to sever the connection between Alexander and Hellenistic piracy through careful choice of words. The geography and linguistics of the time would instead suggest a close relationship. Creating a clean distinction between the terms "mercenary" and "pirate" is a modern construct. Regardless of what one calls Alexander's men, he was an excellent commander. Whether he led a group of thieves or a group of honest men does not take away from his accomplishments. Armies of all sizes and inclinations have plundered when necessary. It is unlikely that, if these archpirates of the Hellenistic era could indeed be proven to have followed Alexander into battle, public opinion regarding him would change.

Historians and non-historians alike remember Alexander as a man with stunning determination and a professional army. Philip II had begun the practice of hiring men from outside Macedonia, and although these were expensive, they helped turn the Macedonian military into a disciplined force. These paid men assisted Alexander in taking the largest territory any ancient Greek (or Macedonian) would ever conquer. He picked up large numbers of soldiers as he moved east, leaving them in various cities as he continued his conquests. After his death, his successors struggled to wrestle the eastern Mediterranean from the clutches of theft and slaving. The various cities in which Alexander had left his paid men became subject to the powerful pirates of the day. The profits that were to be gained from joining with other pirate bases were higher and more enticing than serving as guards for a dead man. Thus, these military men likely deserted the cities they were assigned to and joined the ranks of pirates.

Using this logic, it is inaccurate to say that Alexander used mercenaries to fight off pirates. Whether or not his army was comprised of hired professionals, mercenaries, bandits, pirates, or delinquent thugs is simply a matter of vocabulary. Modern historians have realized that there was no clear distinction between mercenaries and pirates in the ancient world, and the ambiguity in the usage of the terms *leistes*, *peirates*, *katapontistes*, *stratiotes*, *epikouros*, *xenos*, and *misthophoros* underscores that point. Alexander convinced these men, whoever they were, to conquer the known world for him and with him. His discipline, conviction, ambition, invincible military success, and consequent wealth made it so. These were traits the Diadochi clearly did not have. So, what is the big difference between Alexander's conquest and the humble raiding of a pirate with one little ship? There is none. Alexander was just better at it, and he had better "press."

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Skyler Jang

“Seek you wisdom still?”

How the Medieval Viking Seeress Lost Her Voice

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes how Viking seeresses were memorialized in text and how this representation shaped the scholarship on the topic. It discusses magic as a distinct women’s culture that declined with the advent of Christianity by examining Old Norse literature through a feminist lens, by applying Edwin Ardener’s model of the muted woman, and by exploring the interdependent nature of reality and representation. The author argues that the appropriation of the seeress’s identity by the male-dominated Christian social order not only revealed the gendered anxiety of male scholars at the time but also reinforced the bias of modern scholars and limited their perspective.*

KEYWORDS: *medieval history; Scandinavia; Vikings; gender; women’s history; magic; paganism; conversion; silencing; historiography*

Introduction

She sat alone outside; the old one came,
anxious, from Valhalla, and looked into her eyes.
‘Why have you come here? What would you ask me?
I know everything ...
Seek you wisdom still?’¹

These lines from the “*Völuspá*,” the prophecy of the seeress and first poem in most collections of the *Poetic Edda*, reflect the theme of this article. Serving as an introduction to Old Norse cosmology, the poem summarizes the lore of the beginning and end of the world. It also serves as a tale of conflict between genders. Structured as a conversation between the *Völva*, the seeress who knows everything, and Odin, the god who seeks wisdom, the poem outlines an unequal exchange. The seeress who sits alone, communing with the spirits, has her ritual interrupted by Odin.² Sitting alone is a personal introspective practice, and her privacy is disrespected by a man who seeks to inherit her wisdom against her will. That the seeress is repeatedly asking – “Seek you wisdom still?” – is her attempt at resisting this transfer of knowledge. The prevalence in Old Norse literature of human and mythical women practicing magic suggests that the practice was a gendered phenomenon. The seeresses who practiced magic were women with real

¹ “*Völuspá*,” in *Poems of the Elder Edda*, trans. Patricia Terry, with an introduction by Charles W. Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 1-10, here 3.

² “Sitting out” refers to the act of communing with spirits outdoors at night. This phrase is used in Old Norwegian and Icelandic laws banning pagan activities. It is interpreted as a form of divination and ritual that allowed the practitioner to channel both spirits and their inner selves. See Kees Samplonius, “From Veda to the *Völva*: Aspects of Female Divination in Germanic Europe,” in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 69-92, here 77.

or symbolic power in Viking society.³ This culture of magic, which was primarily a domain of women, drastically changed with the Christianization of pagan Scandinavia. The resulting shift in the characterization of magic, the only version of the story that has survived in the written record, impacted the way scholarship on Viking women has progressed.

The primary sources available for this research come mostly from the Icelandic sagas, the *Poetic Edda*,⁴ and the *Prose Edda*.⁵ Introductions to the basic concepts of the seeress and magic can be found in the "Völuspá"⁶ and the "Ynglinga Saga,"⁷ while "Eirik the Red's Saga"⁸ contains some of the most detailed descriptions of magic rites. Several other Icelandic sagas illustrate the dichotomy between pagan and Christian, old and new, and evil and good, with some of them exemplifying a direct conflict between those who believe in magic and those who do not.⁹ Written centuries after the events they describe, these stories often reveal a Christian influence, and they are assumed to be far from accurate with their fantastical events and characters.¹⁰ The only contemporary account of the Old Norse attitude

³ People who performed magic are referred to by many different labels in both source material and translations, including, but not limited to, "seeress," "sorceress," "prophetess," "wise woman," and "witch." For the sake of consistency, and to avoid negative or positive connotations, "seeress" will be used in this article. The same applies to their craft: "witchcraft" is too negative, and the original Old Norse word, "seiðr," is translated differently by different writers; therefore "magic" will be used in its place. Certain scholars make a distinction between "sorcery" (weather spells, shapeshifting) and "prophesy" (fortune telling), but in this article both will be considered as belonging to the same category, namely, "magic." For a more detailed look at different types of magic and sorcery, see Katherine Morris, *Sorceress or Witch? The Image of Gender in Medieval Iceland and Northern Europe* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991).

⁴ *Poems of the Elder Edda*, trans. Patricia Terry, with an introduction by Charles W. Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

⁵ Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from Norse Mythology*, trans. Jean I. Young (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).

⁶ "Völuspá," in *Poems of the Elder Edda*, trans. Terry.

⁷ "Ynglinga Saga," in *Heimskringla or the Lives of the Norse Kings*, ed. and trans. Erling Monsen with Albert H. Smith (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), 1-35.

⁸ "Eirik the Red's Saga," trans. Keneva Kunz, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 1 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 1-18.

⁹ "The Saga of the Greenlanders," trans. Keneva Kunz, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 1 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 19-32; "The Saga of the People of Laxardal," trans. Keneva Kunz, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 5 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 1-120; "The Saga of the People of Vatnsdal," trans. Andrew Wawn, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 4 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 1-66.

¹⁰ Such influence can be detected in almost all surviving Old Norse literature. The concluding lines of the "Völuspá" mention a "lord who rules over all," which, according to the translator, betrays the "spirit" of the poem, as the rest of the poem is thoroughly pagan; thus, this phrase ("lord who rules over all") is believed to be an interpolation (or later insertion); see *Poems of the Elder Edda*, trans. Terry, 10. Examples of more overt Christian influence can be found in "The Tale of Thidrandi and Thorhall" and "The Tale of Thorhall Knapp," which describe Christianity as a

toward magic is found in sources from outside the Viking world, which also have a strong Christian bias, but Adam of Bremen’s *History of the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen* is at least somewhat less likely to be anachronistic as it records events that occurred while it was being written.¹¹

This article references a wide range of scholarly works. Women’s voice in history, one of the main foci of this research, is discussed on the basis of several studies about translation and editing,¹² and I will be using Edwin Ardener’s model of gender as the central theme.¹³ The fact that all written evidence of pagan Viking society was recorded after Christianity had come to dominate paganism triggered a debate whether one should interpret Old Norse works of literature as historical texts or literary texts. Scholars like Helga Kress (1990)¹⁴ treat them as historical texts with literal and symbolic representations of reality. Kees Samplonius (1995)¹⁵ and Jenny Jochens (1996),¹⁶ on the other hand, contend that, while period texts dealing with the seeress and her magic may be based on reality, they are far too stereotypical to be used as reliable historical sources and can only be used to understand beliefs and attitudes. This article examines Old Norse literature with a combination of the two approaches. Magic, as it appears in these sources, does serve a function as a literary device and is most likely far from reality. However, reality shapes representation and vice versa. Neither exists in a vacuum, and it can be reductive to consider them as strictly historical or literary.

This article analyzes the historiography of Viking gender and magic through a feminist and anthropological lens to explore the role of the seeress as a figure of

“better tradition” and a “true faith,” the latter making this influence even more conspicuous by ending with “amen.” “The Tale of Thidrandi and Thorhall,” trans. Terry Gunnell, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 2 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 459-462, here 461; “The Tale of Thorhall Knapp,” trans. John Porter, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 2 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson Publishing, 1997), 462-463, here 463.

¹¹ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

¹² Barbara Newman, “Hildegard and Her Hagiographers: The Remaking of Female Sainthood,” in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and Their Interpreters*, ed. Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 16-34; Amanda M. Leff, “Writing, Gender, and Power in Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Exemplaria: Medieval, Early Modern, Theory* 20, no. 1 (2008): 28-47; Erin Michelle Goeres, “Sounds of Silence: The Translation of Women’s Voices from Marie de France to the Old Norse *Strengleikar*,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 113, no. 3 (2014): 279-307.

¹³ Edwin Ardener, “Belief and the Problem of Woman,” in *Perceiving Women*, ed. Shirley Ardener (1975; London: Dent, 1977), 1-18.

¹⁴ Helga Kress, “The Apocalypse of a Culture: Völuspá and the Myth of the Sources/Sorceress in Old Icelandic Literature,” trans. Peter Ridgwell, in *Poetry in the Scandinavian Middle Ages* (The Seventh International Saga Conference, Spoleto, September 4-10, 1988), ed. Teresa Pàroli (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 1990), 279-302.

¹⁵ Samplonius, “From Veda to the Völva.”

¹⁶ Jenny Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

feminine sovereignty and the metamorphosis of her role as a result of Christianization. My approach to the Viking seeress and her craft follows three main characteristics that also serve as chronological themes: independence, influence, and identity. In the discussion of independence, two questions are explored: If magic was a feminine culture, how did this association develop? And with this association in place, why did women choose to practice magic and become seeresses? The answer to both questions can be traced in women's lack of independence and women's search for independence. It was the women's position in society that drove them to magic, a field in which they found agency. After the seeress had discovered independence, she exercised influence, which is discussed in the second part of this article. With her power, with magic, a woman could be a part of the action rather than staying passive; she could influence both events and people. This influence sparked gendered anxiety from the Christian church which did not deem women in positions of authority appropriate. It is this anxiety that led to the last of the chronological themes, namely, the identity of the seeress and its subsequent recontextualization. The sagas and poems recorded in post-conversion Scandinavia reflect this identity shift, and this shift shaped the bias of modern scholars and the narrative they created.

I. Independence

Analyzing the seeress begins with an understanding of how she emerged. In this article, independence as it pertains to the Viking seeress is not about the autonomy enjoyed by existing seeresses, but rather about how the desire for independence turned regular women into seeresses. The social, cultural, and legal positions of women in society acted as catalysts for them to seek alternative ways to exercise agency. Women did this by creating their own domain, free of male control, in the culture of magic.

In Viking cosmology, magic was considered inherently feminine. In the "Ynglinga Saga," Freya, a goddess, is named as the "priestess [who] first taught the Asaland people [i.e., those in the region of Asgard] wizardry."¹⁷ It was a woman who introduced magic to the gods. While Odin was also capable of wielding magic, his talent was later explained to have promoted "lack of manliness [...] so much that men seemed not without shame in dealing in it; the priestesses were therefore taught this craft."¹⁸ Thus, there were male seers in Viking society and in the Old Norse worldview, but they were considered feminine and weak. According to Viking cosmology, the outer world was

¹⁷ "Ynglinga Saga," in *Heimskringla*, ed. and trans. Mosen with Smith, 3.

¹⁸ "Ynglinga Saga," in *Heimskringla*, ed. and trans. Mosen with Smith, 5. It is rather problematic, however, to interpret this to mean that magic was considered feminine in Viking society because of Norse myths. Myths do not write themselves; they are imagined by someone and always based on some aspect of reality. On the other hand, it also does not mean that feminine magic in Viking cosmology was purely a reflection of social reality. The most likely explanation is that myth and reality affected each other, evolving simultaneously.

inhabited by monsters and giants who were considered wild and uncivilized, yet they possessed a wealth of knowledge, which made them interesting and mysterious. Similar to his behavior in the "Völuspá," Odin, in the *Prose Edda*, obtains knowledge from Gunnlod, a female giant – this time by deceit. He assures Gunnlod that he will have just "three drinks of the mead," which would grant him knowledge of poetry, but he ends up drinking every last drop.¹⁹ Instead of sharing knowledge, Odin flees and appropriates poetry solely for himself.²⁰

According to Edwin Ardener's model, these and other tales from Old Norse cosmology exemplify magic as feminine. Ardener identifies the problem of women as being muted in society and discourse. Women living in a largely patriarchal society, like that of the Vikings, are confined to male modes of communication, which limits them to distorted expressions or outright silence. In Ardener's model, women are defined by what they are not. Since men base their understanding of self on mankind and culture, the women, the non-men, become synonymous with the respective opposites, namely, the nonhuman and nature. Women in this context are dualistic, linked to both culture and nature, which also means that they sit on the periphery of society. They are the residents of the outer world, just like the female seeress in the "Völuspá" and the giantess Gunnlod – both otherworldly beings who possess the knowledge of future and poetry, explanations for the inexplicable. Despite being banished to the edge, women found their own language and voice in magic, "the world of symbolism."²¹ This enigmatic nature of the supernatural feminine, as well as the fact that, while they were on the periphery, women were still part of their society, led to the attempted subjugation of women. Helga Kress analyzes Old Norse literature to highlight the subordination of Viking women through violence and deceit, the same techniques used to conquer the seeress in the "Völuspá" and Gunnlod. According to Kress, Old Norse cosmology is largely a metaphor for the will of mankind, how the culture (the gods) tamed nature.²² To resist this attempt of taming and conquering, women had to come up with their own ways to maintain independence.

Another factor that made magic feminine was its oral and domestic nature, a characteristic which was underscored even more with the decline of paganism. In sagas, magic is practiced primarily through enchantments²³ and prophecy,²⁴ and Odin and his priests are referred to as "song smiths" who created skaldic poetry.²⁵

¹⁹ Snorri Sturluson, *Prose Edda*, trans. Young, 102.

²⁰ Snorri Sturluson, *Prose Edda*, trans. Young, 103.

²¹ Ardener, "Belief and the Problem of Woman," 5.

²² Helga Kress, "Taming the Shrew: The Rise of Patriarchy and the Subordination of the Feminine in Old Norse Literature," in *Cold Counsel: The Women in Old Norse Literature and Myth*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson and Karen Swenson (New York: Routledge, 2001), 81-92, here 83.

²³ "Eirik the Red's Saga," trans. Kunz, 5.

²⁴ "Saga of the People of Vatnsdal," trans. Wawn, 14.

²⁵ "Ynglinga Saga," in *Heimskringla*, ed. and trans. Monsen with Smith, 5.

All of these are comparable to oral storytelling techniques, which were in the dominion of women. Women, especially old women, were the ones who passed down stories and songs to preserve local history. In "Eirik the Red's Saga," it was her foster-mother who taught Gudrid the enchantments that would eventually allow Thorbjorg, a seeress in Greenland, to commune with the spirits. Pagan magic was closely associated with "private home-based fertility cults," linking it to the domestic sphere.²⁶ When Icelanders converted to Christianity around AD 1000, their lawspeaker Thorgeir decreed that pagan rituals could continue to be practiced in private, despite the community's official conversion and baptism.²⁷ Thus, the domestic nature of magic was emphasized even more. With Christianization came writing, but literacy was confined to men at this time. This created a dichotomy between literate men in the public sphere and storytelling women in the domestic sphere.

The association between the domestic sphere, women, and magic is not just based on a theoretical framework, but also on historical and cultural reality. Women with supernatural powers are a phenomenon that is not unique to Viking society. In fact, it is rather universal across time and space. The earliest example of a magical woman in Germanic culture is Valeda, a seeress who used her magic to gain cultural and political power around AD 69 when Germanic tribes along the Rhine were rising up against their Roman neighbors. Even in Christianity, there is a presence of supernatural women in the form of virgin saints and bridal mystics. This seemingly universal relationship between women and magic is due to women's position in patriarchal culture, in which women are typically relegated to the domestic realm. According to Katherine Morris, women's roles in the domestic sphere as "midwives, nurses, cooks [...] keepers of the household [...] [and] mothers" framed them to be closer to the supernatural.²⁸ Morris posits that the roles of midwife and mother associated women with the knowledge over the cycle of life. The midwife, responsible for childbirth, might be seen as performing good or evil magic by delivering a baby that is either alive and healthy, or dead and deformed. Knowledge and use of contraception could easily have been interpreted as a woman performing a magical act to defy nature. Nurses and cooks, with their knowledge of herbs, could either cure or poison others. This dualistic nature of female roles reinforced women's position as both inside and outside patriarchal society, and it associated women, and thus the domestic sphere, with the magical.

²⁶ Siân Grønlie, "'No Longer Male and Female': Redeeming Women in the Icelandic Conversion Narratives," *Medium Ævum* 75, no. 2 (2006): 293-318, here 294.

²⁷ Ari Thorgilsson, *Íslendingabók, Kristni Saga: The Book of the Icelanders, the Story of the Conversion*, trans. Siân Grønlie, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, vol. 18 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London, 2006), 9.

²⁸ Morris, *Sorceress or Witch*, 10.

Intrinsically associated with and thriving in women, magic was a feminine art that was a way to gain independence. If the aforementioned reasons why a Viking woman might become a seeress are cultural and speculative, the most practical explanation would be that she simply had few alternatives. Women in Viking society lacked legal and social independence. One of the most glaring examples of this can be found in the "Saga of the People of Laxardal," where Thorgerd, a widow who seems independent in character, travels to Norway by herself and chooses a new husband, Herjolf, but later finds her will disrespected by Hoskuld, the son from her previous marriage. When Thorgerd leaves an inheritance to both Hoskuld and Hrut, the son from her marriage to Herjolf, Hoskuld tells Hrut that "Thorgerd had not obtained his consent to marry Herjolf, and that he [i.e., Hoskuld] was legally his mother's guardian."²⁹ Since Thorgerd had not received consent from her legal guardian, her second marriage and its offspring were deemed illegitimate. Her independent wish to distribute her inheritance as she saw fit was ignored by her own son Hoskuld due to his legal power over her. Ironically, the saga mentions that, since Thorgerd was a widow, she was "free to decide for herself" to choose a husband.³⁰ Gudrun, another woman in the same saga, is courted by Bolli, and her father, Osvif, says, "Gudrun is a widow and as such she can answer for herself."³¹ After saying this, Osvif pressures Gudrun to marry Bolli despite her reluctance with regard to the arrangement. In both instances, Thorgerd and Gudrun have the illusion of choice, but there is no independence in reality. The will of their male kin, Thorgerd's son and Gudrun's father respectively, takes precedent over these women's wishes. A woman could not represent herself in legal matters, and she had to rely on male kin to speak and act on her behalf.³² With no other options to exercise her agency, women turned to magic, the one field that was not dominated by men. In his study of the Icelandic sagas, François-Xavier Dillmann has noted that female seeresses did not necessarily exceed male seers in number but were described as more prominent and skilled. Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir explains this by stating that men had

²⁹ "Saga of the People of Laxardal," trans. Kunz, 22.

³⁰ "Saga of the People of Laxardal," trans. Kunz, 7.

³¹ "Saga of the People of Laxardal," trans. Kunz, 66.

³² According to Samplonius, "From Valeda to the Völva," 70, "married women had a better social position" than unmarried ones, especially when they birthed a son. In Viking society, the social status of a woman was determined by her relationship to men, that is, her father, her husband, and her son. Consequently, a widow without a husband or son had no man to validate her position, rendering her the most marginalized member of society. Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir points out that many seeresses in sagas are widows, those who had no male kin to speak or fight on her behalf: Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, "Women's Weapons: A Re-Evaluation of Magic in the 'Íslendingasögur'," *Scandinavian Studies* 81, no. 4 (2009): 409-436, here 427-428. Jochens, seeing the seeress as a genderbending figure who held a position of (masculine) authority, claims that this authority flourished "most effectively in the absence of the husband," who would take over her position if he were present. Without a husband, the widow seeress could assume both masculine and feminine roles as a leader and a sorceress: Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women*, 214.

"more options available" to take control of their life.³³ Men had other means of being independent and thus had no reason to indulge in the feminine art of magic if they were not skilled at it, while for women magic was all that was wholly theirs.

Women in Viking society did not have many alternatives available to them to exercise independence. They lacked legal self-representation, and their social status meant that their individual wishes were routinely overshadowed by the needs of the men in their life. For some, especially those without male kin, the only option was to become a seeress. The magic practiced by the seeress was considered a feminine culture because it relied on oral traditions and was mostly performed at home. The conversion narrative of Iceland, in which Iceland became nominally Christian with individuals practicing paganism in private, firmly established the Christian church in the public sphere and relegated magic to the domestic sphere. This magic granted women who were both literally and symbolically outside the male-dominated community their own voice and led to the birth of the seeress as someone who was in control of her own destiny, as well as the destiny of others.

II. Influence

Once a woman immersed herself in magic and became a seeress, she was considered to be wielding supernatural powers and prophetic visions that determined the fate of men. These newfound abilities allowed her to influence events and people around her, manipulating the odds to leverage her position in society. Such feminine authority sparked gendered anxiety in transitional and post-conversion Scandinavia, and this anxiety led to a narrative contrasting pagan women and Christian women that was more reflective of male perceptions of gender than of any real gender roles.

The influence that a seeress gained from magic made her into a respected – and at times feared – figure. In "Eirik the Red's Saga," Greenland is struck with famine, and Thorkel invites the seeress Thorbjorg to deliver a prophecy. To receive her, "preparations were made to entertain her well [...] food [was] prepared for the seeress [...] she was given the hearts of all the animals available there," despite it being a "very lean time" with "poor catches."³⁴ Thorbjorg is a distinguished guest, and the community gives her everything it can afford in the hope of a good fortune. She is treated with respect, and even Gudrid, a Christian woman who initially refuses to take part in the pagan magic, ends up helping Thorbjorg out of respect for the community who believes in the seeress. In contrast to this veneration of a pagan seeress, the magic-wielding shield-maiden Hlegunn in "Star-Oddi's Dream" gains her influence primarily through fear. The daughter of a governor in Gotland, Hlegunn is a warrior and thus defies traditional gender roles, leading her father to banish her. She leaves with a ship and men to "carry

³³ Friðriksdóttir, "Women's Weapons," 410.

³⁴ "Eirik the Red's Saga," trans. Kunz, 5-6.

out Viking raids on land and sea, [winning] fame and fortune."³⁵ She is respected by her army as a brave warrior and leader and feared as a violent marauder by the victims of the raids. She wields magic on the battlefield, making herself invisible and shapeshifting into a "she-wolf."³⁶ The influence that Hlegunn gains by magic manifests itself in victories, booty, and prestige. In Viking society, magic was considered the primary tool for women with goals and ambitions. Both Thorbjorg and Hlegunn, albeit through very different methods, gained control of their surroundings and influenced events and people. What makes the seeress, the magic-wielding Viking woman, noteworthy is the fact that she is an agent in the story: she triggers events instead of merely suffering them.³⁷

That there were women who held positions of power in which they were independently in control was considered "unseemly" to many Christians.³⁸ One example of an influential pagan woman who offended the sensibilities of post-conversion Scandinavians is Freydis, the daughter of Eirik the Red. In the "Saga of the Greenlanders," Freydis is a domineering woman who actively provokes events and is only concerned with her own gain. She journeys to Vinland with the two brothers Helgi and Finnbogi, with whom she ends up quarreling, and she lies to them that she will return to Greenland in peace. After this conversation, she manipulates her husband into attacking the brothers and their men, fabricating a story about how Finnbogi had "struck [her] and treated [her] very badly," and that he (i.e., her husband) would be a "coward" should he not defend her honor.³⁹ Once everyone except for the women has been killed in the ensuing fight, and no man wants to continue the slaughter, Freydis takes an axe and kills the women. Although there is no explicit mention of her performing magic, the characterization of Freydis has many parallels to that of a saga seeress. She initiates events, she uses words to influence the people around her, and she takes a masculine role by killing the women. The Vikings may have viewed a woman like

³⁵ "Star-Oddi's Dream," trans. Marvin Taylor, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson, vol. 2 (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiriksson Publishing, 1997), 448-459, here 449.

³⁶ "Star-Oddi's Dream," trans. Taylor, 455.

³⁷ For an exploration of the idea of a seeress using magic to further her agenda, see Friðriksdóttir, "Women's Weapons;" and Jenny Blain, "'Now many of those things are shown to me which I was denied before': Seidr, Shamanism and Journeying, Past and Present," *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* 34 no. 1 (2005): 81-98.

³⁸ Dante Alighieri revised a "historical" (i.e., biblical) narrative to conform to his worldview that a woman should not speak before a man does. *Dante: De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ed. and trans. Stephen Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 8-9: "But although we find in scripture that a woman spoke first, I still think it more reasonable that a man should have done so [...] Therefore it is reasonable to believe that the power of speech was given first to Adam, by Him who had just created him." Dante was more concerned with maintaining the male-dominated social order than presenting (biblical) "history" accurately. Ironically, it was, in fact, Adam who spoke first in the Bible (Genesis 2:23). In his attempt to suppress the female voice, Dante inadvertently revealed his anxiety about women with authority.

³⁹ "Saga of the Greenlanders," trans. Kunz, 31.

Freydis as magical for doing what could be interpreted as a type of spell casting when she manipulated the men around her. Although subject to a negative portrayal in the text (likely already due to the fact that the sagas were recorded in writing only after the Christianization of Scandinavia), Freydis was undoubtedly a powerful woman who was in direct control of her life. In "Eirik the Red's Saga," a revised, later version of the "Saga of the Greenlanders," Freydis's presence is minimal. This new version of the story chooses Gudrid as the female character to emphasize. Gudrid is a Christian and, while she does not lack autonomy, she only uses her autonomy for the good of Christian values.⁴⁰ This revision provides an insight into what the male Christian writers at the time deemed an acceptable version of femininity. Referencing Birgit Sawyer's research, Kees Samplonius claims that women in the sagas "represent the writer's concern with issues of *his* own Christian time, rather than a reliable tradition about pagan times."⁴¹ The narrative created, then, offers more information about the writer and his possibly anachronistic agenda than about the past itself.

Just as Freydis's portrayal in the sagas reflects the dichotomy of what could and what could not be tolerated, several, mostly female, characters in the sagas are juxtaposed to emphasize differences. Examples of such juxtaposition narratives include Freydis and Thorbjorg against Gudrid in the "Saga of the Greenlanders" and "Eirik the Red's Saga," and Gudrun against the dead seeress in the "Saga of the People of Laxardal." Such accounts seem to indicate an abrupt break in women's culture that made Christian women and pagan women fundamentally different. However, this is a reductive way of analyzing the transitional period. Most saga narratives portray women as more resistant to conversion than men and showcase the authority enjoyed by seeresses. This resistance from women raises the question of the "curious silence" of female converts.⁴² The transitional period was most likely a religiously syncretic time in which Scandinavians were neither fully pagan nor fully Christian, a development in which the women would also have taken part.⁴³ The juxtaposition narratives of "Eirik the Red's Saga" and the "Saga of the People of Laxardal" can be interpreted this way. Siân Grønlie argues against Kress that the exchange between Thorbjorg and Gudrid is not so much about the absolute death of paganism but more about the "continuity between the old faith and the new."⁴⁴ Gudrid, albeit reluctantly, helps Thorbjorg with her ritual, and Thorbjorg tells Gudrid a fortune of a good future in return. There is no sharp division or resistance here. The older pagan culture embraces the newer culture, and the newer culture provides new opportunities for women; Gudrid is

⁴⁰ Such as when she initially refuses to help Thorbjorg in her ritual: "Eirik the Red's Saga," trans. Kunz, 6.

⁴¹ Samplonius, "From Valeda to the Völva," 71 (my italics).

⁴² Grønlie, "No Longer Male and Female," 294.

⁴³ Friðriksdóttir, "Women's Weapons," 418-419.

⁴⁴ Grønlie, "No Longer Male and Female," 308.

described as taking charge of her household after her husband's death to lead a "prosperous clan."⁴⁵ In the story of Gudrun and the dead seeress, Gudrun interprets a dream for her granddaughter to discover the corpse of a seeress under her church. Katherine Morris uses this excerpt to interpret Gudrun as a representation of "both the continuation of tradition [dream interpretation] and the end of an era [dying paganism]."⁴⁶ Gudrun represents a Christian-era seeress, relying on the pagan tradition of dream interpretation, but in a Christian context. The influence enjoyed by Viking seeresses provoked anxiety in the male-dominated Christian social order which tried to shape the narrative of a hostile break from paganism, but it is likely that the change from one generation to the next was much more gradual and amicable than we have been led to believe.

Women with influence were a highly problematic topic for Christian writers in the High and Late Middle Ages – the time when nearly all primary sources for the Vikings were recorded in writing. Male writers revised stories and interjected their viewpoints to shape the narrative in a way that was the most acceptable to them. The inexplicable power of the seeress, a source of respect for the pagans, was transformed into a subject of suspicion and disapproval toward the "undeserved" influence enjoyed by women. This gendered anxiety and the male perception of what gender should be is what recontextualized the identity of the seeress.

III. Identity

The gendered anxiety that began as a reaction to the influence of the seeress eventually developed into a full-scale recontextualization and appropriation of her identity. This last phase in the life of the seeress as a cultural phenomenon is what has shaped the narrative of the seeress and magic from the moment it was written down all the way to modern scholarship. The objective of this last section is to examine how this narrative was constructed and what that implies for scholars.

The fact that most seeresses in the sagas are depicted as old women is a clear reflection of the attitude toward magic at the time the sagas were written down. The premise here is not simply that old women were passing down oral histories and traditions to younger generations. In fact, there was no more passing down. Magic was now stuck with these old women, and it became a relic of the past, a dying culture. The seeress in the "Saga of the People of Vatnsdal," invited by the older generation, prophesies to her visitors. Ingimund, one of the younger guests present, tells her that he does not think that "[his] future life lies at the roots of [her] tongue."⁴⁷ He is essentially silencing her by stating he has no reason to hear her predictions. While the older men hold onto their pagan beliefs and respect the seeress, younger men actively silence her, resisting the inheritance of the feminine knowledge. Thorbjorg, in "Eirik the Red's Saga," "was one of ten sisters, all of

⁴⁵ "Saga of the Greenlanders," trans. Kunz, 32.

⁴⁶ Morris, *Sorceress or Witch*, 56.

⁴⁷ "Saga of the People of Vatnsdal," trans. Wawn, 14.

whom had the gift of prophecy, and was the only one of them still alive."⁴⁸ Magic used to be a common, flourishing culture, but Thorbjorg is the last one with the gift, and when she, too, passes, it will die with her. The imagery of a culture in decline is emphasized even more by the fact that nobody except Gudrid knows how to recite enchantments, and she has learned them from her foster-mother, another old woman. Gudrid, however, is a Christian and has no desire to participate in magic rites unless absolutely necessary. Her inheritance of magical songs is rendered pointless since she will not pass these songs on to the next generation. The death of the seeress is most explicit in the "Saga of the People of Laxardal." Gudrun, now a Christian, is told by her granddaughter of a dream in which the latter saw a woman who was asking Gudrun to stop praying. Upon digging under the church, they discover bones buried with "a large magician's staff," suggesting it was a corpse of a seeress.⁴⁹ The seeress is literally buried under the new religion in order to be forgotten.

These images of a frail, dying culture may have been a reflection of paganism in decline or of ideological propaganda intended to suppress the continuation of magic. Whatever the cause, their significance lies in their effect on the written word. Amanda M. Leff, whose investigation of the *Confessio Amantis* explores why and how women's voices get suppressed, claims that the account of a woman always manifest itself as "the story of a woman as understood by a man."⁵⁰ According to her, letters have a permanence that the spoken word does not, and in the end, it is the male mode of communication, writing, that is remembered. It is not as important to evaluate whether or not paganism really was a culture relegated to old women as it is to acknowledge that this is how the narrative was memorialized; this uncertainty is all scholars are left to work with.

While the nature of magic itself seemed to be a problem for Christianity,⁵¹ gender was unmistakably the main factor why magic was shunned. Magic was

⁴⁸ "Eirik the Red's Saga," trans. Kunz, 5.

⁴⁹ "Saga of the People of Laxardal," trans. Kunz, 117.

⁵⁰ Leff, "Writing, Gender, and Power in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," 33. Similar explorations of women's voices interpreted by men are Barbara Newman's study of the *Vita S. Hildegardis* and Erin Michelle Goeres's study of the *Strengleikar*. Both works examine how the female speaker's/writer's self-identification is disregarded to fit the male writer's/translator's interpretation. Newman discusses that Hildegard found identity in comparing herself to Biblical prophets such as Moses because she was anchoring her self-understanding on the acts and accomplishments of a person. However, her male scribe, preoccupied with her gender, made an effort to find specifically female role models. See Newman, "Hildegard and Her Hagiographers;" Goeres, "Sounds of Silence."

⁵¹ According to Adam of Bremen, Olaf Tryggvason decreed that "soothsayers and augurs and sorcerers and enchanters and other satellites of Antichrist [...] must be pursued in order that [...] the Christian religion might take firmer root in his kingdom" and that "no one should be spared who either would persist in sorcery or would not become a Christian." Practitioners of magic were associated with the Antichrist, and they were considered the antithesis of being a Christian.

intrinsically associated with women, and the seeresses possessed independence and influence. The fact that a woman held a position of power and authority in society was problematic for the Christian church. Hence, it retaliated by redefining magic as masculine. In the *Prose Edda*, recorded in the thirteenth century (i.e., over two hundred years after Iceland's conversion to Christianity), after stealing the mead of poetry by tricking Gunnlod, Odin gives it to the gods and men, and poetry is referred to as "Odin's catch, Odin's discovery, his drink and his gift."⁵² Thus, in the *Prose Edda*, the traditionally oral (i.e., feminine) art of poetry is redefined as belonging to Odin, despite the fact that he had stolen it from the giantess who was guarding it. The outer world, the wild, is conquered by the male god. In his eponymous saga (first recorded in the 1190s), Olaf Tryggvason, king of Norway just before AD 1000, visits a male prophet, guided by the "spirit of the Almighty God," who predicts Olaf's future and baptizes him.⁵³ In this account, magic is made acceptable by transferring the context from female to male and from pagan to Christian, and when the supernatural power of prophecy is attributed to a man, it becomes holy. There are also subtle changes in word choices that indicate masculinization. Adam of Bremen recorded Archbishop Adalbert's decree that "magicians and fortune tellers and *men* of that sort must be punished with death"⁵⁴ – in the original Latin (which, granted, is a language in which masculine is the dominant grammatical gender anyway, but which does frequently contain female labels for male equivalents): *maleficos et divinos et eiusmodi homines sepe iudicaret morte esse multandos*.⁵⁵ Even though the statement is describing magic as something worthy of punishment, it attributes its power to men. The Christian church could only fathom men in "positions of power and authority, whether good or bad."⁵⁶ These shifts in words and narratives over time gradually phased out women and emphasized men engaged in magic, and thus men successfully appropriated the women's culture as their own.

The fact that nearly all written documentation of pagan Viking society was recorded after the Viking age has complicated scholarship on the Vikings considerably. Old Norse texts are problematic even without this issue because there are virtually no surviving original manuscripts, meaning that even the medieval documents available to us are later copies. These copies went through multiple stages of transmission, translation, editing, and corruption, not to mention the initial process of "omission and selection during their creation" when

According to these texts, one cannot practice magic and be a Christian simultaneously: Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Tschan, 94, 97.

⁵² Snorri Sturluson, *Prose Edda*, trans. Young, 103.

⁵³ Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, trans. Theodore M. Andersson, *Islandica*, vol. 52 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 55.

⁵⁴ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Tschan, 170. My italics.

⁵⁵ Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgisches Kirchengeschichte*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, 3rd ed. (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917), 209 (book 3, chapter 63).

⁵⁶ Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women*, 129.

oral tradition was translated into written words.⁵⁷ During this process of translating from the oral, feminine mode of communication into the written, masculine mode, women's voices were already pushed out, and the male or Christian perspective that was added further distorted and recontextualized these voices. This distorted representation, along with scholars' cultural and personal biases, has hindered the meaningful study of Viking women. Scholarship on Viking women tends to focus on their legal status.⁵⁸ This is a curious development since women had limited self-representation in law, and the Vikings' legal world was predominantly a male sphere. So, why is this area, where women had not much to offer, more interesting than the area in which they were actively involved? The answer is that scholars approach Viking women by using men as the point of reference. The questions scholars ask are framed accordingly: How did women's roles differ from men's roles? What rights did women have, or not have, relative to men? Here the problem of women as explained by Ardener is relevant again: women are not being defined on their own terms and on the basis of their accomplishments, but by what they lack. Thus, the self-representation and identity that Viking women found in magic, a fundamentally feminine sphere, has been largely forgotten and overlooked.

Magic – which had once given the seeress her identity and voice – was taken away by redefining that very voice. The gendered nature of magic remained, but the gender was switched from female to male. Even though magic was largely deemed a negative phenomenon, the power it granted its users was too dangerous to be left to women. Whenever women were allowed to retain that power, it was because they were already old or weak or dying. It is impossible to say with authority whether these new contexts were shifts in real life or merely the male writers' perceptions. However, what I can assert here is that this new masculine domination of magic has shaped the very narrative on which scholars have relied and has led to the memory of feminine magic being repressed.

Conclusion

The Viking seeress found her voice in society through magic, and she lost it when her identity was hijacked and redefined. Banished to the sidelines of agency due to a lack of maleness, Viking women were the subject of male domination. With little legal and social autonomy, they had few options to gain independence. What they therefore turned to was the world of the supernatural, the one realm where men had no domineering presence. In it, women created a culture that was uniquely theirs. The seeress used this authority over her own domain to gain influence. Just as women sat on the border between culture and nature, the seeress sat on the border of respect and fear. Either way, she was a source of significant

⁵⁷ Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, "Introduction," in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), 3-30, here 6.

⁵⁸ Samplonius, "From Valeda to the Völva," 70.

anxiety for the Christian church. The power she wielded was a threat to the male-dominated Christian social order, and the church made several attempts to strip her of this position. Magic was treated as un-Christian and religiously backward while being declared conditionally acceptable when practiced by a man in the name of Christianity. Even pagan magic, it appears, was less threatening to the church if it was practiced by men rather than women. Thus, the Viking seeress who had found her voice in magic, something that was uniquely hers, had her identity appropriated by the male-dominated Christian social order.

Once male Christian voices controlled the written narrative of Viking history, governing almost all facets of life, they somehow still saw women with a single source of agency – magic – as a threat and took it from them. The seeress of the "Völuspá" is a representation of this unjust theft of identity and independence. She resists the transfer of knowledge to the male god. This transfer reflects the way magic was made masculine to become more suitable for the authority it granted its practitioners. For the woman pressured to agree to it, this transfer also spells the loss of self-governance in her own domain. The seeress of the "Völuspá" resists and resists, but Odin eventually gets all the knowledge, and the seeress simply "sink[s] down."⁵⁹ The biases of modern scholars, shaped by male-oriented Western society and by documents filtered through the male perspective, have largely obstructed scholarship on Viking women with regard to their own accomplishments and worldview. Future scholarship should acknowledge these biases and critically examine why they exist. Such introspection would be enhanced by taking an interdisciplinary approach to Viking studies. By working with scholars familiar with feminist theories and literary criticism, we can attempt to unearth the seeress from her grave and restore her voice.

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⁵⁹ "Völuspá," in *Poems of the Elder Edda*, trans. Terry, 8.

Gareth Evan O'Neal

*“Crosses Crucifixes & other superstitious images”:
The Survival of English Monumental Brasses through Iconoclasm
(ca. 1500-ca. 1700)*

ABSTRACT: This article explores the depictions of English medieval and early modern individuals on funerary brass etchings. Inspired by the brass rubbings in the Roberta F. “Bobbe” Browning Collection at California State University, Fullerton, it analyzes why some brasses remained undamaged during the Henrician reforms of the sixteenth century and the English Civil War of the seventeenth century. The author argues that etchings that survived often skirted Puritan sensibilities or expressed Catholic traditions in unfamiliar language.

KEYWORDS: medieval history; early modern history; Renaissance; England; monumental brasses; funerary monuments; effigies; brass rubbings; iconoclasm

Introduction

The Soldiers entering the Church, and Quire, Giant-like, began a fight with God himself, overthrew the Communion-Table, tore the Velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly Screen, or Tabernacle-work, violated the Monuments of the Dead, spoyled the Organs, brake down the ancient Rails, and Seats [...] a miserable spectacle to all good eyes.

Thus wrote Bruno Ryves (1596–1677), a Royalist clergyman, in the 1646 edition of the Oxford newsbook *Mercurius Rusticus*.¹ While King Henry VIII of England may not have intended to launch far-reaching religious reforms,² his 1534 *Act of Supremacy* resulted in over a century of religious conflict that eventually spread to all parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The English Reformation introduced the legal process that suppressed monasteries,³ destroyed church documents, and established a precedent that would be used by Parliament and the Puritans for the destruction of religious iconography in the following century.⁴ During the English Civil War, members of Cromwell’s New Model

¹ Bruno Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus, or, The countries complaint of the barbarous outrages committed by the sectaries of this late flourishing kingdom together with a brief chronology of the battels, sieges, conflicts, and other most remarkable passages, from the beginning of this unnatural war, to the 25th of March, 1646* (London: R. Royston, 1685), 119.

² Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 470: “The Reformation must not be confused with the changes introduced into the Church of England during the ‘Reformation Parliament’ of 1529-36, which were of a political rather than a religious nature, designed to unite the secular and religious sources of authority within a single sovereign power: the Anglican Church did not until later make any substantial change in doctrine.”

³ This act was devastating and uprooted a significant number of individuals. As there were nearly 900 religious houses in England, this order could easily have dislocated an estimated two percent of the population. See George W. Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” *History* 96, no. 324 (2011): 390-409, here 390.

⁴ Great Britain House of Commons, *Journals of the House of Commons: From April the 13th 1640, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the First, to March the 14th 1642, in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of King Charles the First* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1803), 287.

Army were charged by Parliament to eradicate "Crosses Crucifixes & other superstitious images" from churches and other places of public prayer.⁵ However, that superstition extended beyond the depictions of the Virgin Mary and the saints specified by the official commissions. Funerary monuments were also destroyed, with centuries-old monumental brasses⁶ being pried from their places on church floors. Some were sold for scrap or used as palimpsests (i.e., repurposed for other deceased individuals), while others were melted down for shot to feed the Parliamentary war efforts.⁷ In 2016, California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), received a sizable donation of monumental brass rubbings, facsimiles made from the original funeral effigies, inspiring my interest in the extant brasses in England and ultimately leading to this article.⁸

Several of the primary sources used here come from the pens of those who condoned or carried out the acts of iconoclasm⁹ after government admonitions against idolatry;¹⁰ others were written by contemporaries who criticized the defacement of church monuments or by antiquarians who sought to document these acts.¹¹ The Parliamentary admonitions against idolatry¹² and the appointment of William Dowsing (1596–1668) as "Commissioner for the destruction of monuments of idolatry" provide context to English iconoclasm.¹³ Thankfully, William Dowsing gave posterity a rare primary source, as he kept a diary of his actions at over 250 churches in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk.¹⁴ The

⁵ "William Dowsing's Commissions from the Earl of Manchester," in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*, ed. Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiological Society/The Boydell Press, 2001), 349.

⁶ A funerary monument made by etching into a sheet of a brass alloy and affixing said sheet to the floor or wall of a church; see Ian Chilvers, *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 102, s.v. "Brass, Monumental."

⁷ George Vane, "Brass Rubbings Collection: Introduction," Hamline University, Archives, Brass Rubbings Collection, accessed April 2, 2020.

⁸ Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings, University Archives and Special Collections, California State University, Fullerton; in citations below abbreviated as "RBC."

⁹ *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper; "William Dowsing's Commissions," in Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm in the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 264–265.

¹⁰ "Parliamentary Legislation against Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 257–261; "Anti-Stuart Iconoclasm," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 262–263.

¹¹ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent, with the dissolved Monasteries therein contained: their Founders, and what eminent Persons have beene in the same interred* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631); Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, 119.

¹² "Parliamentary Legislation against Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 257–261; "Anti-Stuart Iconoclasm," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 262–263.

¹³ "William Dowsing's Commissions," in *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 349–350.

¹⁴ *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper.

accounts of Bishop Joseph Hall (1574-1656) record what it was like to be a bishop in charge of one of these churches (Norwich) raided by the iconoclasts.¹⁵

After many of the monumental brasses had been destroyed,¹⁶ the surviving brasses went largely unnoticed outside of antiquarian circles until Victorian scholars devoted themselves to their study. Scholarship on funerary monuments took off in the late Victorian Era, when the importance of the brasses was reassessed and found meritorious for research. The works of both Herbert Druitt¹⁷ and Herbert Haines¹⁸ are often cited, even in modern scholarship. A contemporary scholar, Nigel Saul, has written numerous works on the phenomenon of church monuments.¹⁹ This history and understanding of the medieval mindset is contrasted here with research into the Puritan contempt for historically Catholic religious iconography²⁰ and Philippe Ariès's analysis of changing European attitudes toward death and commemoration.²¹ Father Jerome

¹⁵ Joseph Hall, *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Hall, D.D., Successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich: Now First Collected, with Some Account of His Life and Sufferings, Written by Himself*, ed. Josiah Pratt (London: C. Whittingham, 1808); Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall, D.D., Successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich: With Some Account of His Life and Sufferings, Written by Himself* (Oxford, England: D. A. Talboys, 1837).

¹⁶ There remain about 8,000 brasses in England and about 400 remain on the Continent (from 250,000 that are estimated to have existed throughout Europe); see Vane, "Brass Rubbings Collection: Introduction."

¹⁷ Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses* (London: Alexander Moring Ltd./De La More Press, 1906).

¹⁸ Herbert Haines, *A Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses: With a Descriptive Catalogue of Four Hundred and Fifty "Rubbings" in the Possession of the Oxford Architectural Society* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1848); Herbert Haines, *A Manual of Monumental Brasses: Comprising an Introduction to the Study of these Memorials and a List of Those Remaining in the British Isles* (London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1861; reprinted Bath: Adams & Dart, 1970).

¹⁹ Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001); Nigel Saul, "Parchment and Tombstone: Documents and the Study of English Medieval Monumental Sculpture," *Archives* 27 (October 2002): 97-109; Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²⁰ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm in the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003); Alexandra Walsham, "Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58, no. 4 (2007): 628-655; John Walter, "'Abolishing Superstition with Sedition'? The Politics of Popular Iconoclasm in England 1640-1642," *Past & Present* 183, no. 1 (2004): 79-123; Robert Whiting, "Abominable Idols: Images and Image-Breaking under Henry VIII," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33, no. 1 (1982): 30-47; Catherine Eileen Winiarski, "Adulterers, Idolaters, and Emperors: The Politics of Iconoclasm in English Renaissance Drama" (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2007); Peter David Yorke, "Iconoclasm, Ecclesiology and 'the Beauty of Holiness': Concepts of Sacrilege and the 'Peril of Idolatry' in Early Modern England, circa 1590-1642" (PhD diss., University of Kent at Canterbury, 1997).

²¹ Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Knopf, 1981; reprinted 2008).

Bertram's work spans decades of publication and is almost a pre-requisite for understanding the history of funerary monuments in English churches. His work charting the lost monumental brasses has been indispensable for this article.²² Trevor Cooper's critical edition of William Dowsing's journal has also been essential; Cooper's work, which compiles and edits his own and other authors' contributions to provide a biography and contextualize Dowsing's actions, makes it the authoritative work on the iconoclast.²³ This article builds off the rediscovery of monumental brasses that began with the gentlemen scholars of the Victorian Era, as well as the scholarship that came with the renewed public interest in English brasses since the 1970s, and is a contribution to the documentation and preservation efforts that continue to this day.²⁴

This article sets out to investigate early modern English iconoclasm to better understand the reasons why certain brasses endured while others did not, and whether there were commonalities among extant brasses that might have facilitated their survival. Using sociocultural evolution and dialectical theories, I examine the changes in legal justification and religious thought regarding iconoclasm from the English Reformation to the early seventeenth century and compare that to the military application of those practices during the Civil War. My article analyzes the predominantly elite class form of commemorating the dead through effigies etched on brass that allowed the monuments to skirt Puritan sensibilities and survive early modern iconoclasm.

I. "In the execution of the ordinance of Parliament"

Iconoclasm in England²⁵ is not just relegated to the chaotic religious reforms of the Renaissance and early modern era. In addition, these acts of destruction are not unique to the disputes between church traditions and Protestant or Puritan reformers. Iconoclasm in English churches dates to at least the fourteenth century. According to William Langland,²⁶ friars would remove old monuments to open up space in the church for new ones: "And in the beldying of toubmes, They travaileth grete / To chargen ther cherche flore, And chaugen it ofte."²⁷ The issue of iconoclasm and the willful destruction of religious art and church

²² Fr. Jerome Bertram, *Lost Brasses* (North Pomfret: David & Charles, 1976); Fr. Jerome Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Stroud: Sutton, 1996).

²³ *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper.

²⁴ See, for example, RBC.

²⁵ This section's heading ("In the execution of the ordinance of Parliament") is a quote from a 1643 commission for William Dowsing, signed by the Earl of Manchester, printed in Louis B. Gaches, "1045. Peterborough Minster: Iconoclasts and the Cloisters, *Fenland Notes & Queries: A Quarterly Antiquarian Journal for the Fenland* 6 (1904-1906): 72-78, here 76.

²⁶ The presumed author of the Middle English allegorical poem *Piers Plowman*.

²⁷ Trevor Cooper, "Brass, Glass, and Crosses: Identifying Iconoclasm outside the Journal," in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*, ed. Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Ecclesiological Society/The Boydell Press, 2001), 89-106, here 101.

traditions do not just pertain to destruction during the time of the Reformation or Cromwell's reign. Only a small minority of Puritans or Protestants were active in the destruction of these images. In many cases, the destruction had areligious roots, or the acts were at least heavily influenced by social and political tensions rather than religious ones. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were extremely damaging to church artifacts, but it is the survival of monumental brasses within this time frame that is the focus of this article—the interplay between political and military power and religious upheaval.

From the beginning of the Reformation, iconoclasm was used as a tool to move the Church in England from the dominion of the pope in Rome to its new dominion under the English Crown.²⁸ The issue of uncontrolled, or at least unsanctioned, iconoclasm was an issue that plagued religious and governing bodies throughout England in the century leading up to the Civil War. With Parliament swayed by Puritan sensibilities, the governing body passed the Legislation against "monuments of superstition and idolatry" on September 8, 1641. The ordinance called for the clearing of rails, as well as raised chancels, and outlined the removal of tapers, candlesticks, and basins from the Communion table, among numerous other actions required of each church. The biggest reform came in the decree that the use of crucifixes was to be abolished and that "Pictures of any One or more Persons of the Trinity," as well as images of the Virgin Mary, were to be removed.²⁹ Parliament followed up eight months into the Civil War with the "Orders of the Committee for the Demolition of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry."³⁰ This new law gave the previous admonition against idols a bit more political weight, requiring churchwardens in each parish to carry out the removal of the items and give an account to the committee. Though these laws should have affected only the minority of monumental brasses, as most were effigies of the interred rather than etchings of the Trinity or the Holy family,³¹ these ordinances made iconoclasm an official business of Parliament, and individuals could use them in the defense of the destruction of church property.

Two later iconoclastic ordinances added some temperance to the destruction that was occurring in churches and chapels throughout the country. This was likely sponsored by Members of Parliament after they had seen the damage done in their own parish churches and heard reports of the removal of items unrelated

²⁸ Margaret Aston, "Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine," in *The Impact of the English Reformation, 1500-1640*, ed. Peter Marshall (New York: Edward Arnold, 1997), 167-192, here 167.

²⁹ "Parliamentary Legislation against Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 257-258.

³⁰ This ordinance was passed on May 17, 1643.

³¹ It is unknown how many brasses this may actually have affected. While there are some extant brasses of the Nativity, the number of brasses depicting the Trinity or the Virgin Mary prior to this time is uncertain.

to the articles contained in the previous two laws. As Parliament had officially sanctioned the destruction of many religious images, some individuals had strayed too far from the letter of the law. In a bit of a backstep and an attempt to rein in iconoclasts, Parliament decreed that their ordinance of August 24, 1643,

shall not extend to any Image, Picture, or Coat of Arms in Glass, Stone, or otherwise in any Church, Chappel, Church-yard, or place of publique Prayer as aforesaid, set up or graven onely for a Monument of any King, Prince, or Nobleman, or other dead Person which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a Saint: But that all such Images, Pictures, and Coats of Arms may stand and continue in like manner and form, as if this Ordinance had never been made.³²

This new ordinance specifically exempted funerary monuments from the previous admonitions against idolatry. While an attempt to curtail some of the destruction, Julie Spraggon notes that the destruction of brasses continued, some even under the command of members of the nobility, such as the Earl of Manchester.³³ Even if this specific protection had come too late for many memorials already swept up in the public fervor of iconoclasm, now parishes and families had some legal footing for the defense of their monuments.

The ordinances of August 1643 and May 1644 were based on several legal precedents from the Tudor period. John Weever, an antiquarian and poet, wrote the first full-length book dedicated to English church monuments. His *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631) was the culmination of over three decades of research. In it, Weever describes the destruction of church property that had occurred during the English Reformation, additionally reprinting Queen Elizabeth's 1559 proclamation against breaking or defacing monuments.³⁴ He chose to reprint the Queen's preamble to the proclamation in full, stating that the destruction of funerary monuments and memorials were the actions of "sundrie people, partly ignorant, partly malicious, or covetous."³⁵ Though Weever used the preamble to negatively characterize contemporary iconoclasts, the substance and prescribed purpose of the original proclamation remained accurate.³⁶ And this was not the only precedent from a Tudor monarch creating a law intended to protect funerary monuments from damage. Trevor Cooper notes that Parliament's ordinance of 1643 had its clause protecting the memorial of a "dead Person which hath not [been] commonly reputed or taken for a Saint" lifted directly

³² "Parliamentary Legislation against Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry," in Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 260.

³³ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 122-123.

³⁴ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 50-54.

³⁵ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 52. Weever certainly let his opinions be known, though allowing the deceased Queen to speak for him.

³⁶ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign, Together with an Appendix of Original Papers of State, Records, and Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 279-281.

from an Edwardian command a century prior.³⁷ The ordinances of 1643 and 1644 had been copied from Elizabethan and Edwardian proclamations, giving them over a century of legitimacy, and for those versed in legal scholarship they subtly tied contemporary iconoclasts to the ignorant, sundry people of the past.³⁸

When these ordinances became the law of the kingdom, they gave those with political or military sway the power to act on the growing Puritan sensibilities. Edward Montagu, the second Earl of Manchester and a Major-General in the Parliamentary forces of the Eastern Association, used his noble and military power to enforce the ordinances. The Earl wrote and endorsed two commissions for William Dowsing to carry out Parliament's August 28, 1643, ordinance against idolatry. In December 1643, the Earl bestowed upon Dowsing the power to remove and deface "all Crucifixes Crosses & all Images of any one or more p'sons of the Trenity or of the Virgin Marye & all other Images & pictures of Saints & supersticious inscriptions" in churches and places of public prayer in East Anglia.³⁹ Dowsing was one of few iconoclasts who wrote about his actions and kept a journal of the churches he visited and many of the items he defaced. His journal notes that, even with his commission from the Earl, the extent of his powers and the ordinances of Parliament were debated. Dowsing writes that one Mr. Weeden and one Mr. Mapletoft argued that the eighty superstitious pictures that he had removed from Pembroke College were not part of the ordinance. The men continued at length, quoting both legal statutes and Scripture in defense of their respective positions.⁴⁰ Dowsing, his commissions, and the ordinances of Parliament were not beyond reproach. All three could be and were challenged.⁴¹ The commission gave Dowsing the authority to remove inscriptions, and though he sometimes reached beyond the letter of the law, this limited his ability in most cases to justify the removal of entire brasses. Funerary monuments fell under an exemption from Parliament's call for the destruction of superstitious images, an exemption based in Tudor legislation from a century earlier, and the scope of Dowsing's commission for the destruction of brasses was legally restricted to inscriptions. While that did not save all the brasses, it probably saved some.

II. "And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images"

Contemporary brasses⁴² that conformed to Protestant sensibilities and inscriptions that were written in unfamiliar language were more likely to survive

³⁷ Trevor Cooper, "The Parliamentary Ordinances," in *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 349-350.

³⁸ This latter association with sundry people likely was not the intention of the legislature, but it lends a sense of irony to modern readers.

³⁹ "William Dowsing's Commissions," in *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 349-350.

⁴⁰ "Journal of William Dowsing," in *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 161.

⁴¹ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm*, 124.

⁴² This section's heading ("And I will destroy your high places, and cut down your images") is a quote from *The Holy Bible* (Authorized King James Version), Leviticus 26:30.

than those that were easily recognized as following Catholic traditions. Many brasses could also get caught up in legal disputes that were unrelated to any religious controversy whether or not they should be considered idols. One such example comes from the brass of William Thynne and his wife Anne in London's All Hallows-by-the-Tower church (see Figure 1).⁴³



Figure 1: Brass Rubbing of William Thynne and His Wife (1546). Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings. © University Archives and Special Collections, CSUF.

The two are depicted in semi-profile, gazing into each other's eyes, their hands folded in prayer. William lies to the left from the point of the viewer, the *dexter* side from his own perspective. He is clean shaven and his head rests on his frog-mouthed helm. He is depicted in full plate armor with a chainmail skirt covering his thighs. Anne lies to the right from the point of the viewer, the *sinister* side from her own perspective. She wears a French hood and a lace collar with her dress. Underneath them is an inscription in English asking for mercy from God who freely grants eternal life to all those who repent from their sins. The effigies

⁴³ William Thynne and his wife (1546), RBC; original brass: All Hallows-by-the-Tower/All Hallows Barking, London, Middlesex, England; see Figure 1 above.

of William and Anne are a palimpsest. On the reverse side of their brass is the engraving of a lady and a clergyman that date to circa 1530.⁴⁴ This places the original engravings into a historical context just before the Henrician reforms. Jerome Bertram describes the period after Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries as "the heyday for the destruction of brasses" as virtually all the plates were removed and sold, with some being repurposed for new effigies.⁴⁵ Beginning with the dissolution of the monasteries, priories, convents, and friaries, Henry VIII appropriated the assets and incomes of thousands of religious houses and created a state-controlled mechanism of iconoclasm. The formation of the Church of England destroyed many brasses but paradoxically saved some as palimpsests. Those that were not melted down for or used for scrap were often repurposed, as the sheet metal was already formed to the appropriate shape and thickness for etching and inlaying into a church floor. Palimpsests also had the advantage of having been created in times after Protestant sensibilities had taken root among the population, thus increasing their chances of survival in the changing religious and political landscape.

Conventions in the structure of epitaphs made Catholic traditions easy to discover for those with rudimentary literacy skills, even when the inscriptions were written in Latin. John Weever describes one of methods the iconoclasts used to select inscriptions, or even whole monuments, to destroy:

The foulest and most in humane action of those times, was the violation of Funerall Monuments. Marbles which covered the dead were digged up, and put to other uses (as I have partly touched before) Tombes hackt and hewne a peeces; Images or representations of the defunct, broken, erazed, cut, or dismembred, Inscriptions or Epitaphs, especially if they began with an *orate pro anima*, or concluded with *cuius animae propitiatur Deus*.⁴⁶

Weever details authorities looking for certain Latin phrases in inscriptions to warrant a brass's destruction: *orate pro anima* and *cuius animae propitiatur Deus*.⁴⁷ Up until the fourteenth century, funerary epitaphs commonly consisted of two parts. The first section gave the name, date of death, and sometimes included the profession or a brief word of praise for the deceased. The second part consisted of a prayer for the deceased's soul.⁴⁸ After the fourteenth century, there was a change in the arrangement of phrases on epitaphs, but there remained a consistent formula. Most epitaphs in the century before Henry VIII drew on the *orate pro anima* and *cuius animae propitiatur Deus* formulae, which made brasses

⁴⁴ Brass Rubbing: William Thynne and Anne, The Horowitz Collection, William R. and Clarice V. Spurlock Museum of World Cultures, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL, accessed April 2, 2020.

⁴⁵ Bertram, *Lost Brasses*, 15-17.

⁴⁶ Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 51.

⁴⁷ Dathryn Walls, "Titus Oates as 'Monumental Brass' in Absalom and Achitophel," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 50, no. 3 (2010): 545-556, here 549-550: "Pray for the soul of" and "on whose soul may God have mercy," respectively.

⁴⁸ Ariès, *Hour of Our Death*, 218.

that called for intercessory prayers easily identifiable. Within a century, the phrasing on monuments changed significantly. No longer did inscriptions call for intercessory prayers on behalf of the deceased or use uncertain language when referencing the fate of the soul. Newer monuments reflected the change from hope and prayer to "faith alone," one of the central teachings of the Reformation, as the determining factor for salvation.⁴⁹ If a brass avoided familiar, pre-Reformation stock phrases in its inscriptions or was written in a language by then unfamiliar to most (such as Latin or French), even if it openly asked for intercessory prayers, it had a greater chance of surviving past the interregnum period. Dowsing often ignored inscriptions in French, a language by then indeed unfamiliar to most.⁵⁰ Brasses could avoid offending Puritan sensibilities if they were not immediately readable.

The Roberta "Bobbe" Browning Collection contains fifty-four original brass rubbings from the earliest known brasses in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century until the end of the practice around 1650. The brass of William Thynne and his wife Anne (described above) is one example of a post-Reformation brass monument that conforms to Puritan sensibilities or at least avoids the controversy over intercessory prayers.⁵¹ Conforming to Puritan beliefs was one reason brasses might avoid the iconoclast's pry bar. Another method is demonstrated in the brass of William Wightman and his wife (see Figure 2).⁵² The two are depicted in a manner similar to William Thynne and Anne. The wife is once again on the *sinister* side of the brass (i.e., the left side from her perspective, which is the right side from the viewer's perspective) and wearing a hood similar to the one of the Thynne brass, but her dress has a high, closed lace collar unlike Anne Thynne's open design. William Wightman is on the *dexter* side (i.e., the right side from his perspective, which is the left side from the viewer's perspective) in Elizabethan-era plate armor. Both monuments attempt a more realistic design than earlier brasses; the cross-hatch method of shading likely borrows from methods used in contemporary woodcuts. Yet the 1579 Wightman brass differs from the 1546 Thynne brass significantly, as it has no inscription. This trend shows a change in the English Renaissance views on death and salvation, which no longer called for intercessory prayers and relied on faith alone, a trend shown on Henry VIII's monument for his father, and which others may have wished to emulate.⁵³ Later monumental brasses shifted to more secular

⁴⁹ Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 97-100.

⁵⁰ Trevor Cooper, "Identifying Iconoclasm," in *Journal of William Dowsing*, ed. Cooper, 102.

⁵¹ William Thynne and his wife (1546), RBC; original brass: All Hallows-by-the-Tower/All Hallows Barking, London, Middlesex, England; see Figure 1 above.

⁵² William Wightman and Wife (1579), RBC; original brass: St. Mary's Church, Harrow on the Hill, London, Middlesex, England; see Figure 2 below.

⁵³ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, 129-132.

forms of memorial, or the inscriptions professed faith rather than calling on viewers to pray for the deceased. Monuments that showed either non-controversial biblical expressions of faith or that remained secular in their memorial were less likely to be damaged.



Figure 2: Brass Rubbing of William Wightman and His Wife (1579). Roberta F. "Bobbe" Browning Collection of English Medieval and Renaissance Monumental Brass Rubbings. © University Archives and Special Collections, CSUF.

III. "For greedinesse of the brasse"

Both Parliamentary and Royalist armies⁵⁴ were responsible for damage to church monuments, yet much of the testimony was dramatized by Englishmen who were unfamiliar with the riots and looting that often occurs in war. Joseph Hall was an English moralist and an early satirist. During the time of the Civil War, he was the appointed bishop of the diocese of Norwich. His autobiographical writings recount the damage that the cathedral near his palace sustained at the hands of the soldiers:

Lord what work was here! What clattering of glasses! What beating down of walls! What tearing up of monuments! What pulling down of seats! What wresting out of irons and brass from the windows! What defacing of arms! What demolishing of curious stonework! What tooting and piping upon organ pipes! And what a hideous triumph in the market-place before all the country, when all the mangled organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had newly been sawn down from the Green-yard pulpit and the service-books and singing books that could be carried to the fire in the public market-place were heaped together [...] Neither was it any news upon this guild-day,

⁵⁴ This section's heading ("For greedinesse of the brasse") is a quote from Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 51.

to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the Major's return; drinking and tobacconing as freely, as if it had turned alehouse.⁵⁵

Hall describes the chaotic scene of Parliamentary forces sweeping over the cathedral near his palace with soldiers destroying the church's items in their drunken revelry. This narrative of destruction at the hands of English musketeers is not unique. Bruno Ryves also describes similar scenes of Parliamentary raids in *Mercurius Rusticus*. However, both Jerome Bertram and John Walter argue that these accounts may be exaggerated. Bruno Ryves was a Royalist propagandist who attempted to characterize iconoclasm as the acts of religious radicals or the insane.⁵⁶ There is little reason to doubt Hall witnessed such events or that the raids did occur, but Hall's background as a moralist and a satirist, as well as his status as the local bishop at the time, brings up questions of exaggeration with regard to those acting upon Parliament's ordinance. Unlike countries on the Continent, England did not share borders with any others who were historically competing for the same material resources or regional control, thus it was often saved from the invasion of foreign troops. Both Joseph Hall and Bruno Ryves were probably somewhat unfamiliar with the military practice of soldiers raiding towns to enhance their supplies and incomes while on campaign.

Royalist forces were also responsible for damage to churches and the funerary monuments they contained in the execution of their duties. One such account comes from the antiquarian research of Anthony Wood (1632-1695), whose life's work was devoted to publishing the history of Oxford. His 1674 survey of the colleges, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, was extremely extensive.⁵⁷ Wood describes several acts of willful destruction of church property in the name of the war effort. He wrote about an army of Royalists emptying a church of its monuments "especially those engraven on brass plates, were sacrilegiously conveyed away, when the King's ammunition was reposed therein in the time of the Civil War, an. 1643, and after."⁵⁸ Both sides of the English Civil War are shown by contemporary accounts to be responsible for damage to church monuments. However, Jerome Bertram claims on the basis of the remaining evidence that locations who were housing Royalists had their brasses survive for centuries after these troops had left.⁵⁹ Thus, much of the damage that was part of the war effort for those of Royalist loyalties seems to have been incidental rather than the intentional damage done by Puritan forces.

⁵⁵ Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall*, 55.

⁵⁶ Bertram, *Lost Brasses*, 22-23; Walter, "Abolishing Superstition with Sedition," 80.

⁵⁷ Originally published as Antonius à Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).

⁵⁸ Anthony Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls University of Oxford*, trans. John Gutch (Oxford: Printed for the Editor, 1786), 232.

⁵⁹ Bertram, *Lost Brasses*, 24.

Though it is unfair to portray a single individual from the Puritan movement as the quintessential example of a social or political force, William Dowsing is regularly cited as a typical iconoclast of the English Civil War, based on the rare autobiographical account of his actions. In the critical edition of Dowsing's journal, Trevor Cooper and others have attempted to place Dowsing's iconoclastic actions into the context of Puritan reform, governmental upheaval, and the legal pedantry concerned with the removal of "popery" (i.e., things Catholic). Much of the damage to church property is reported in the context of a bloody civil war, one with both physical and spiritual components. Often the two could not be easily disentangled, and in many cases the defacement of church property carried a monetary incentive.⁶⁰ Cooper presents six written accounts of parishes paying for the partial destruction of brasses, removing some or all the inscriptions.⁶¹ Jerome Bertram argues that—unlike other objects made of glass, stone, and wood—brasses and metal ripped from churches had commercial value, but brasses were also the most difficult to deface or destroy in the carousing after a hard-fought battle.⁶² The *Mercurius Rusticus* relates the story of soldiers attempting to damage an inlaid brass:

They turn to the Monument of the Dead, some they utterly demolish, others they deface [...] They attempted to deface the Monument of the late Lord Treasurer the *Earl of Portland*, but being in Brass, their violence made small impression on it, therefore they leave that, and turn to his Fathers Monument, which being of Stone was more obnoxious to their fury.⁶³

Though brasses were the only monuments that were still profitable if defaced or destroyed, they proved a more difficult target for soldiers who were seeking to cause damage, but who were likely neither prepared nor had the tools to remove metal rivets or pry heavy metal from the pitch-filled floor indent. Had soldiers been prepared for either, that could have led to the systematic destruction of all or most brasses on campaign.

Conclusion

Iconoclasm was a tool for social and religious change from the beginning of the English Reformation. Government restructuring to accommodate the monarch as the head of the Church of England created the mechanisms that launched legal, state-sanctioned iconoclasm. Once these mechanisms were in place, it was difficult to rein in the wanton destruction of church and funerary monuments. Despite the legal precedent of a century of Tudor proclamations and

⁶⁰ William Dowsing, for example, was paid for his efforts, charging each church for the destruction of its own property.

⁶¹ Cooper, "Brass, Glass, and Crosses," 104.

⁶² Bertram, *Lost Brasses*, 18-23. Bertram paints a very vivid picture of musketeers moving on to the more easily breakable statuary when the brass plates held up to hammering from "drunken soldiers with pole-axes and the ill-organized vandalism of this sort of sack," referencing a similar description of the sack of a church in *Mercurius Rusticus*.

⁶³ Ryves, *Mercurius Rusticus*, 147 (original author's emphasis/italics).

Parliamentary ordinances, once the state had opened the doors of the church to iconoclasm, it was difficult to demand restraint from undisciplined soldiers or angry Puritans. With regard to the monumental brasses that did survive, there may have been some commonalities that facilitated their survival, other than blind luck. Brasses with inscriptions that did not conform to previous conventions or formulae, or that were written in uncommon languages, made Catholic ties less immediately noticeable. Newly etched monuments that reflected the changing beliefs in the origins of salvation, or those that remained secular in their memorial style, could more easily avoid offending the sensibilities of the rabble. The medium itself (i.e., brass) may have helped some monuments that otherwise would have been destined for marring by the soldier's poleax. The general heartiness of inlaid metal slates compared to free-standing statuary allowed quite a few brasses to survive to the modern day.

The topic of why brasses *survived* is one of the fields that has eluded the interest of scholars. Plenty of work has been done on how and when brasses were *lost*, and, on occasion, there is evidence to show who *defaced* the monuments. There is even much research as to why brasses were *destroyed*, as English iconoclasm is a sore topic even for modern scholars who are centuries removed from the religious conflict of the Civil War. More research could be done on why monumental brasses, almost right after the Restoration, remained unnoticed outside of antiquarian circles for almost two centuries, or why Victorian scholars were the ones who discovered funerary monuments as primary sources for medieval English culture. Though it is a shame that many brasses are lost to history, it is the privilege of our time to have the opportunity to freely disseminate the research concerning brass plates and rubbings, not just to fight against centuries of neglect, but also to honor the deceased and preserve their memory.

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Kristen Anthony

*Vice, Virtue, and the Protection of Property:
Morality in North American Colonial Legislation (ca. 1660-ca. 1740)*

ABSTRACT: *The prevailing notion of the British North American colonies recalls societies that ardently controlled conduct to ensure virtuous behavior. To test this perception's validity and underlying rationale, the recently digitized documents in the Colonial Office 5 series (The National Archives, Kew, England) provide a wealth of colonial legal documents. By considering the value of resources in struggling settlements and highlighting the worth that colonists placed on property, these documents suggest a strong connection between the protection of property and the regulation of morality. This article examines the implications of legislation that aimed to mitigate immoral activities and argues that colonists weighed concerns of property against their preoccupation with moral behavior.*

KEYWORDS: *American colonial history; legislation; morality; alcohol; sexual conduct; servants; slaves; Colonial Office 5 series*

Introduction

Thanks to four hundred years of American nonfiction and fiction writing, the popular image of colonial New England is that of a strictly governed society living under a stringent moral code. It presents colonists as unforgiving and scrupulous individuals collectively preoccupied with righteousness and relentlessly seeking to eradicate depravity. While this image of New England may be permanently branded into the collective American psyche thanks to authors like Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) and his classic novel *The Scarlet Letter: A Romance* (1850), it deserves a reassessment on the basis of documentary evidence.

Colonists outside of New England also lived under morally stringent laws, but religious zeal was not the sole motivator governing their behavior. For reasons well beyond the spiritual, Pennsylvanians and Virginians promulgated legislation intended to perpetuate moral behavior and directed a myriad of punishments against those who erred. Indeed, legislation across the colonies controlled both moral and immoral behavior: activities such as alcohol consumption, sexual conduct, and the treatment of slaves and servants were regulated in each of the colonies. While many of these laws (or "acts" as they were usually called) appear to be strictly concerned with morality, especially sobriety and chastity, a closer look reveals that governing bodies only partially wrote them to mitigate vice and effect virtue. Much more "strategic" concerns surface upon inspection, and the colonists' preoccupation with property, labor, and resources comes into focus. Colonists wrote morality-infused legislation to protect property, preserve the labor force, and maintain resources. While their laws protected some vulnerable populations, their prevailing motivation concerned property. In addition, both gender and race were determining factors in moral considerations. Thus, colonial legislation not only reveals contemporary perceptions of morality and property, but also of gendered and racial hierarchies.

Historians of Colonial America may draw conclusions regarding cultural perceptions and attitudes by analyzing the documents produced by colonial officials and assemblies. In his seminal 1975 monograph *American Slavery, American Freedom*, Yale scholar Edmund Morgan (1916-2013) examines colonial Virginia and asks how a colony that had begun with such idealized notions of a biracial society could eventually establish a race-based slavery system.¹ Morgan looks primarily at government documents to trace this trajectory.² He surveys the development that took the colony from struggling plantation to tobacco-producing stronghold as he follows the steady and definite turn toward racism and slavery alongside socio-economic and political shifts. To address colonial morality specifically, Morgan looks at Virginia county court records, as well as the early legislation of the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall* (1612).³ When analyzing the court records, he focuses on the kinds of behavior that resulted in corporal punishment or fine payment. His findings reveal that Virginians seemingly used the legal and judicial system to regulate morality, which simultaneously provided necessary labor as a punishment for immoral behavior.⁴ When looking at the *Lawes*, Morgan argues that early Virginians were not only attempting to motivate good behavior but also had practical and logistical concerns in mind when writing these laws. For example, the *Lawes*, which punished chicken-killing with death, did not consider a chicken's life to be equal with that of a human, nor were they reflective of a culture that put great value on animal welfare. Instead, they meant to preserve the desperately important livestock population in the fledgling colony.⁵ Morgan uses these legal sources to deepen our understanding of the social and cultural contexts of their creation.

Scholarly examination of colonial Americans' moral considerations has indeed enriched our understanding of the past but, unlike Morgan, few have sought to establish a dialogue between the colonists' moral and material concerns. That said, Kathleen Brown's 1996 book *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, & Anxious Patriarchs* provides a gender-focused compliment to Morgan's study. Brown, a historian at the University of Pennsylvania, contends that gender and race are worthy of an integrated examination, and she argues that legislation in Virginia tended to punish women's immorality more stridently than that of men.⁶ Morality, as it appears in published scholarship, seems perpetually intertwined with race and

¹ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975).

² Morgan, *American Slavery*, 433-441. While he does use the narratives of some key players in colonial Virginia, Morgan relies heavily on documents produced by the Virginia Company, court records, and Colonial Office papers.

³ See Morgan, *American Slavery*, 79-81, 150-152.

⁴ Morgan, *American Slavery*, 151.

⁵ See Morgan, *American Slavery*, 80.

⁶ Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 188-192.

gender.⁷ In *Sex among the Rabble* (2006), a history of Philadelphians' changing views on sexual conduct, Clare Lyons suggests that Pennsylvanian concepts of sex and morality were contingent upon larger social movements such as the Great Awakening and the Second Great Awakening.⁸ Lyons, a scholar at the University of Maryland, argues that Philadelphians had once been relatively lenient on sexual misconduct, but that their stridency increased as the Enlightenment perpetuated the notion of the ideal female as a woman of unquestionable virtue.⁹ However, her findings do not negate that sexual codification existed, even early in the colony's history, and Philadelphians were exceptionally concerned with women's actions, especially their mothering.¹⁰ In fact, Philadelphians demonstrated a continuous concern with sexual conduct. Although Lyons, Morgan, and Brown have synthesized a variety of cultural, intellectual, and legal sources to uncover colonists' views, this article focuses on a select body of laws to understand colonists' views and concerns.

Documents produced across the colonies by officials and agents of the Crown are vital not just to our understanding of colonial law, but of the underlying mentalities that demanded codification. Unlike letters, narratives, journals, or other sources produced by the actors themselves, government documents and acts of legislation tend to be somewhat emotionless. Imbued with nuance and biases of their own, these acts, laws, and mandates reveal more fundamental cultural underpinnings. While journals and letters can provide an intimate look into early modern perceptions on a micro level, legislation exposes the patterns of behavior that were prevalent enough that they warranted codification, or influenced edicts, on a mass—or macro—scale. The recent digitization of the Colonial Office 5 series¹¹ provides ample primary source material for this present study. The Adam Matthew Colonial America database contains nearly 1,500 volumes of documents created between 1606 and 1822.¹² These documents pertain to the governing, expansion, and regulation of the British colonies during this period, and a significant portion of these items are legal documents.

⁷ Brown, *Good Wives*, 373.

⁸ Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 82, 131, 291.

⁹ Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble*, 2, 151.

¹⁰ Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble*, 24-25, 77-79.

¹¹ The National Archives, Kew, England, CO (Colonial Office) 5 (Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence), 1606-1822, accessed May 15, 2020; hereafter cited as "CO 5." Whenever these documents contain original and later pagination, both are given.

¹² "Nature and Scope," Colonial America, Adam Matthew: Primary Sources for Teaching and Research, accessed May 15, 2020. For this article, this database was used via the subscription of Pollak Library (California State University, Fullerton), which is why all subsequent citations from this database contain the respective National Archives shelfmark.

Based on an analysis of the legislation passed in the colonies, one can discern the priorities and views these societies held at that time. A careful unpacking and comparing of similar acts written in different colonies highlights subtle but impactful differences of views or cultures between the individual colonies. The Colonial America database's metadata allow researchers to examine sources based on themes and keywords. This study examines documents explicitly pertaining to alcohol, adultery, murder, and morality. While these themes surface in documents throughout the colonial, revolutionary, and early national era, their existence in the colonial era is the focus of this project. Individual regions and colonies treated these "deviant" behaviors differently. The colonies' varying approaches to morality and punishment of immoral activities accentuate what was and was not truly important to colonists. Virginia, Pennsylvania and other colonies in the North East and New England all passed laws that reflected their views on morality, and when compared to one another, they expose a noteworthy through-line of priorities. Where there are redundant acts passed in more than one region, differences in punishment or slight differences in verbiage can be particularly telling. This article analyzes colonial legislation, particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania, to assess if and how colonists' morality-focused laws reveal intrinsic concerns for resources, property, and labor. In particular, behaviors related to alcohol, sexuality, and the mistreatment of servants and slaves offer this study a thematic framework for analysis.

I. Alcohol

Colonists wrote legislation that regulated excessive alcohol consumption in order to protect their property. In Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, specific legislation laid out that the drinking of alcohol to the point of drunkenness was not only immoral, but a crime punishable by law. In Virginia, the 1699 "Act for the more effectual Suppressing of Blasphemy, Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking," cited excessive alcohol consumption along with other immoral and sacrilegious behaviors, implying that fellow Virginians committed these offenses concurrently.¹³ The act begins with a lamentation that, although many acts had already attempted to suppress immoral behavior,

many vicious, wicked, blasphemous, and dissolute Persons do still continue their impious and abominable Practices, and avow their horrid and Atheistical Principles greatly tending to the Dishonour of Almighty God, and may prove destructive to the Peace and Welfare of His Majesty's Colony and Dominion.¹⁴

¹³ "An Act for the more effectual Suppressing of Blasphemy, Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking," April 27, 1699, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 193-195.

¹⁴ "An Act for the more effectual Suppressing of Blasphemy, Swearing, Cursing, Drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking," April 27, 1699, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 193-195, here 193-194.

While colonists may have viewed intoxication as abhorrent all by itself, its suppression also served another essential purpose, namely, the securing of peace and property in the colony. Peace and welfare were primary concerns, and the fear that intoxicated colonists were more likely to be rowdy, to riot, or to cause property damage drove this act's implementation. It reveals that earlier regulations had fallen short at preventing this sort of behavior, and stricter laws had become necessary. Perhaps the authors of this legislation, disappointed in the inability of earlier acts to stop destructive behavior, decided to rank drunkenness alongside blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking in order to convey gravity.

Pennsylvanians also passed legislation that restricted alcohol sales in order to maintain peace and property. A 1700 Pennsylvania "Law against Drunkenness and healths Drinking" hoped to prevent anyone who was "Disordering or abusing him or herself with Drink unto Drunkenness."¹⁵ Offenders would face tangible punishments if they lapsed; they would have to "pay five shillings or work: five days in the house of Correction at hard Labour."¹⁶ In this law, it is not readily apparent that property was a consideration, but ten years later, new legislation was passed, revealing that property was a significant concern. This 1710 act, "for preventing of Disorders and Mischiefs that may happen by Multiplicity," made it illegal for public house owners and inn-keepers to sell alcohol without a license.¹⁷ This shows that the earlier legislation, much like the earlier legislation in Virginia, had not sufficed in preventing inebriation or subsequent destruction and that stricter and more specific legislation was required. The new act also made it possible for public houses to lose their licenses if they repeatedly "suffer[ed] any Disorder" of their patrons.¹⁸ By requiring licenses, colonial officials were attempting to mitigate the damage wrought by rowdy patrons.

In New Jersey, colonial officials were apparently even more vexed by the adverse effects of drinking, and they passed even stricter legislation. The 1738 "Act for Regulating Taverns Ordinaries Innkeepers and Retailers of Strong Liquors" made it illegal for these places to sell—presumably to prevent patrons from drinking to excess on these premises, but not to prevent them from buying for consumption at home—

Rum Brandy Wine or Spirits of any kind under the Quantity of one Quart nor any Cyder Strong Beer Metheglin or any such strong Liquors or any Mixed Liquors directly or indirectly under

¹⁵ "The Law against Drunkenness and healths Drinking," October 14-November 27, 1700, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1709*, CO 5/1237 (manuscript), 66.

¹⁶ "The Law against Drunkenness and healths Drinking," October 14-November 27, 1700, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1709*, CO 5/1237 (manuscript), 66.

¹⁷ "An ACT that no Publick-House or Inn within this Province be keep without Licence," October 14, 1710, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 95-97, here 95.

¹⁸ "An ACT that no Publick-House or Inn within this Province be keep without licence," October 14, 1710, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 95-97, here 96.

the quantity of five Gallons (except thereunto Licenced as herein after is directed) upon pain of forfeiting forty shillings.¹⁹

This legislation reveals that New Jersey may have had an inn or tavern culture that led to colonists frequently drinking until they reached intoxication, and then gambled themselves into crippling debt. The act argues that

the true and original design of Taverns Inns and Ordinaries was for the accommodating [of] strangers Travellers and other Persons [and] for the benefit of mens meeting together for the dispatch of Business and for the Entertaining and refreshing [of] mankind in a reasonable manner and not for the encouragement of Gameing Tipling Drunkenness and other vices so much of late practiced.²⁰

While these “vices” may have been repugnant in colonial eyes, New Jersey lawmakers were also clearly disturbed by the financial decay that drunkenness provoked. To colonial lawmakers, strong liquor was not just the fuel of illicit gaming; it was bringing “great Scandal of Religion and dishonor of God and impoverishing the commonwealth.”²¹ Colonists were drunkenly gambling away their funds, possibly to travelers or visiting merchants who did not stay in the colony to invest, and the result was an increasingly impoverished population. This legislation, like the others, served a dual purpose and aimed to not only at preventing immoral behavior but also at maintaining the property and financial health of its population.

The prioritization of property is further evidenced by the fact that colonists in Pennsylvania passed legislation that specifically targeted the groups they believed to be the most destructive when intoxicated: non-whites. Pennsylvanians were principally concerned with stopping Native Americans from consuming strong spirits. There is a piece of legislation written and passed in 1700 that specifically prevents selling or trading of

Rum, Brandy and other strong Liquors in such Quantites to the Indians, many of whom are not yet able to govern themselves in the Use thereof (as by sad Experience is too well known) that they are generally apt to drink to great Excess, whereby they are not only liable to be cheated and reduced to great Poverty and Want, but sometimes inflamed to destroy themselves, and one another, and terrifie, annoy, and endanger the Inhabitants.²²

¹⁹ “An Act for Regulating Taverns Ordinaries Innkeepers and Retailers of Strong Liquors,” March 15, 1738, *New Jersey: Correspondence, original: Secretary of State*, CO 5/980 (manuscript), 146-149, here 146.

²⁰ “An Act for Regulating Taverns Ordinaries Innkeepers and Retailers of Strong Liquors,” March 15, 1738, *New Jersey: Correspondence, original: Secretary of State*, CO 5/980 (manuscript), 146-149, here 146.

²¹ “An Act for Regulating Taverns Ordinaries Innkeepers and Retailers of Strong Liquors,” March 15, 1738, *New Jersey: Correspondence, original: Secretary of State*, CO 5/980 (manuscript), 146-149, here 146.

²² “An ACT against Selling Rum and other strong Liquors to the Indians,” November 27, 1700, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 32-33, here 32.

The emphasis on terror and annoyance is especially revealing. Pennsylvanians believed that Native Americans were more prone than other groups to upset the peace and cause chaos, and feared that alcohol consumption would lead to such negative behavior, hence their drive to legally restrict it. It is not clear whether there had been an incident or incidents to provoke Pennsylvanians to write this legislation. What is apparent is Pennsylvanians' anxiety regarding Native Americans' destructive potential and their belief that alcohol consumption would increase the likelihood of Native Americans "terrifying" the population. This underscores that the regulation of alcohol was motivated by colonial anxiety that alcohol might disrupt peace, or lead to the injury of colonial or personal property.

In New England, colonists also contended that non-whites should be prevented from access to alcohol and wrote legislation that prevented black colonists from purchasing it. In New Hampshire, a 1714 "Act for the Inspecting and Suppressing of Disorders in Licensed Houses" not only regulated that "no person or persons Licensed [...] shall suffer any person to drink to Drunkenness or Excess;"²³ it specifically addressed apprentices, servants, and all black colonists, and barred them from drinking at all (at least in public): "no person who is or shall be Licensed to be an Innholder, Taverner, Common Victualler or Retailer, shall suffer any Apprentice, Servant or Negro, to sit drinking in his or her House."²⁴ Servants and apprentices may have been included here because, if they were to become drunk, they would be less productive on any given day. The same causation may apply if "negro" and "slave" are to be read as interchangeable, which they likely are. However, since the legislation specifies "negro" rather than "slave," this stipulation reveals a racially-fueled belief that, like Native Americans in Pennsylvania, intoxicated black colonists in New England might provoke fear in colonists. Either way, the document highlights that, in addition to the immorality of excessive alcohol consumption, colonists regulated liquor sales to preserve a sober labor force, and possibly to prevent potential property damage caused by non-whites.

In Virginia, there is no apparent legislation that explicitly prevented non-whites from drinking, but the belief that the latter were less capable of self-restraint is evident in a 1710 piece of legislation that required the "tippling-house" and all other establishments that sold alcohol to be licensed.²⁵ Authors of this act

²³ "An Act for the Inspecting and Suppressing of Disorders in Licensed Houses," January 6, 1715, *New Hampshire: Acts*, CO 5/948 (print), 57-59 (35-36), here 57 (35).

²⁴ "An Act for the Inspecting and Suppressing of Disorders in Licensed Houses," January 6, 1715, *New Hampshire: Acts*, CO 5/948 (print), 57-59 (35-36), here 57 (35).

²⁵ "An Act for the further Restraint of Tippling-houses, and other Disorderly Places" October 25, 1710, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 325-326 (175-176). Tippling-houses were venues in which colonists could purchase and consumed alcohol, but, unlike taverns, tippling houses did not provide boarding or other accommodations. See Gallus Thomann, *Colonial Liquor Laws: Part II. of Liquor Laws of the United States; Their Spirit and Effect* (New

cite the cause for its legislation to be the fact that, before its writing, some had sold alcohol in places

where not only the looser sort of People resort, get drunk, and commit many Irregularities, but Servants and Negroes are entertained and encouraged to purloyn their Masters Goods for supporting their Extravagancies.²⁶

By requiring licenses, colonial officials attempted to ensure that such sales would not continue. While not explicitly stated, this 1710 Virginia legislation implies that the sale of alcohol to non-whites was deemed illegal, because it is clear that no establishment that might sell to servants or black colonists would keep its license. The language used also reveals that white colonists viewed black colonists as inherently less capable of self-control and more prone to disorderly conduct. The fact that no further regulation in Virginia specifically prohibits non-whites from drinking may indicate that it occurred rarely, or that it occurred rarely in public, or that it was disciplined elsewhere, for example in church meetings, therefore negating the need for additional legislation by the colonists.

II. Sexual Conduct

Colonists in all regions paid particular attention to immorality that was sexual in nature and wrote legislation to prevent fornication and adultery, but such legislation—much like legislation concerning alcohol—had just as much to do with the preservation of labor and property as it had with morality. Pennsylvania lawmakers opened an act from 1704/1705 with the preface that they were seeking the “Preservation of Virtue Chastity and Purity amongst the Inhabitants of this Province and the prevention of the Heinous Sins of Adultery and Fornication.”²⁷ This might lead one to believe that this act was motivated solely by ethical interests. However, further inspection reveals that Pennsylvanians partially regulated fornication in order to prevent the temporary loss of labor. Female indentured servants are singled out toward the end of this act, not because they were more likely to sin, but because their lapses in good behavior might result in pregnancy and would therefore be more difficult—or impossible—to hide:

if any Single Woman being a Servant by Indenture or Covenant have a Bastard Child within the Time of her Servitude she shall serve such further time beyond the term in her Indenture or Covenant mentioned as the Justices of the Peace in their Quarter Sessions shall think Fit as

York: The United States Brewers’ Association, 1887), 77; William Pencak, *Historical Dictionary of Colonial America* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 233-234.

²⁶ “An Act for the further Restraint of Tipling-houses, and other Disorderly Places” October 25, 1710, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 325-326 (175-176), here 325 (175).

²⁷ “An Act Against Adultery AND Fornication,” October 14, 1704-January 12, 1705, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1709*, CO 5/1237 (manuscript), 122-123, here 122

a Compensation to her Master or Mistress for the Loss and Damage they had sustained by reason of her bearing such Bastard in the time of her Servitude.²⁸

The document then specifies that these women's indenture could extend for up to two years for this crime.²⁹ This reveals that Pennsylvanians were at least as concerned with the temporary loss of labor as they were with the virtue of their inhabitants. A similar act passed in Virginia in 1696 addressed fornication among other "sins and offences," and weaved in the same regulation against servant women bearing children out of wedlock, but limited the possible extension to no more than one year.³⁰ What is notable in both of these acts is that there is no mention of the fathers being held accountable or having to pay fines; only the female servants received punishment for their transgressions. This not only underscores the notion that women encountered stricter punishment than men, it also supports the argument that temporary loss of labor was such legislation's primary concern.³¹ Men who were guilty of the same crime were not kept from their regular duties like pregnant women or new mothers would be, so there was less motivation to punish guilty men. Not only did this make the servant women particularly vulnerable, it highlights that colonials were at least as concerned with the logistical liabilities of fornication as they were the moral ones.

In the New England colonies, both women and men were held accountable for their sexually immoral behavior, but the legislation reveals that the preservation of colonial resources was a driving factor for the respective regulations. A 1667 act from New York that prohibited fornication stipulated that "If Any Man Committ Fornication with Any Single Woman They shall be Punished by Enjoyning Marriage, Fine or Corporal Punishment, or any of these, according to the discretion of The Court."³² While this may seem like truly moral-driven legislation with an even-handed punishment (including "Enjoyning Marriage"), legislation passed early in the next century is more comparable to legislation from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The 1701 "Act for the Punishing Criminal Offenders" from New Hampshire puts the burden of proof on the woman. It states that an unmarried woman who was pregnant with a child needed to reveal the father, but her peers would test her claim. While the woman was giving birth, she was "put upon the discovery of the Truth in the time of her Travail by the Midwife, who is

²⁸ "An Act Against Adultery AND Fornication," October 14, 1704-January 12, 1705, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1709*, CO 5/1237 (manuscript), 122-123, here 123.

²⁹ "An Act Against Adultery AND Fornication," October 14, 1704-January 12, 1705, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1709*, CO 5/1237 (manuscript), 122-123, here 123.

³⁰ "An Act for Punishment of Fornication, and Several other Sins and Offences" September 24, 1696, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 181-183 (103-104), here 182 (104).

³¹ Brown, *Good Wives*, 192.

³² "[Law concerning] Fornication," November 4, 1667, *New York: Legislation, 1667*, CO 5/1142 (manuscript), 126 (75).

required to do the same.”³³ This means that, while the woman was in labor, an audience would continuously ask her who her soon-to-be-born child’s father was. The participants performed this ritual in order to ensure that neither mother nor child would become financially burdensome on their colony. The father, if found, would be ordered to provide for the child “to secure the Town from charge where such Child shall happen to be born; or shall be committed to Prison, until he find such Sureties, as the Sessions require.”³⁴ This means that when a child was “fatherless,” its well-being became the town’s responsibility, which would strain the town’s resources. In order to avoid the encumbrance of having to take care of fatherless children, colonial officials wrote laws that sought to ensure a father would be identified and held accountable. Fornication was a crime because a caregiving father-to-be might not be apparent or accessible in the case of an extra-marital pregnancy. Colonial lawmakers wanted to ensure that sexual immorality did not lead to children becoming wards of the colony and drain their respective towns of their resources.

III. Servants and Slaves

Another avenue to explore morality is by examining how colonists treated those who belonged to their most vulnerable population groups, namely, servants and slaves. While some legislation was possibly ethics-driven, legislation that benefitted servants and slaves primarily protected their masters. In 1660s Virginia, white indentured servants still comprised the majority of the labor force.³⁵ Labor was dear to Virginians at the time, and there was a constant need for more able-bodied men and women. A 1662 act titled “Cruelty of Masters prohibited” would appear to be morally-fueled legislation.³⁶ The act does indeed stipulate that all masters had to provide their servants with “competent Diet, Clothing, and Lodging,” and that masters should “not exceed the Bounds of Moderation in Correcting them beyond the Merit of their Offences.”³⁷ The act goes on to say that, if servants felt that their masters were abusing them, they could go to the commissioner with their complaints. If they were found to be telling the truth by “just Proof,” the commissioner was “required to give Order for the warning of such Master to the next County Court, where the Matter in Difference shall be

³³ “An Act for the Punishing Criminal Offenders,” June 14, 1701, *New Hampshire: Acts*, CO 5/948 (print), 14-16 (14-15), here 15 (14)

³⁴ “An Act for the Punishing Criminal Offenders,” June 14, 1701, *New Hampshire: Acts*, CO 5/948 (print), 14-16 (14-15), here 15 (14).

³⁵ Morgan, *American Slavery*, 225. There were slaves in Virginia at this time, but Morgan specifies that servants were a far greater source of labor until a boom in slavery at the turn of the next century.

³⁶ “Cruelty of Masters prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 40 (33).

³⁷ “Cruelty of Masters prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 40 (33).

determined, and the Servant have Remedy for his Grievance.”³⁸ While this act did in principle protect vulnerable servants from abuse or excessive punishment and ensured their welfare to a certain degree, it was not entirely altruistic. The act aimed to prevent cruelty, but only in order to not frighten away more prospective servants, for it opens with the lines “Whereas the barbarous Usage of some Servants, by cruel Masters, brings so much Scandal and Infamy to the Country in general, that People, who would willingly adventure themselves hither, are, through Fear thereof, diverted.”³⁹ Preserving a sizable labor force was the priority, not the well-being of the servants themselves. So, while servants may have benefitted from this legislation, maintaining the labor force was the colonial officials’ chief concern.

Legislation written to ease individual hardship reveals that colonists were concerned with protecting one another from misfortune but further emphasizes the colonial priorities of labor, property, and resources. In Massachusetts, a 1703 “Act relating to Mulatto and Negro Slaves” stipulated that slaves should not be

manumitted, discharged, or set free, until sufficient Security be given to the Treasurer of the Town or Place where such Person dwells, in a valuable Sum, no less than Fifty Pounds, [...] in case he or she, by Sickness, Lameness, or otherwise, be rendered incapable to support him or herself.⁴⁰

While this might have protected the recently freed slaves if they fell on hard times, this was only a secondary consideration. The primary intention seems to have been to prevent former slaves from becoming a burden to the town if they were unable or became unable to provide for themselves. The act stated that the fee was required to “to secure and indemnifie the Town or Place from all Charge for or about such Mulatto or Negro,” because in the past “great Charge and Inconveniencies have arisen to divers Towns or Places, by the Releasing and Setting at Liberty Mulatto and Negro Slaves.”⁴¹ This is similar from the concern colonists had for fatherless children: slaves and children were vulnerable individuals, and their helplessness was viewed as a potential drain on a town’s resources. Slaves may have benefitted from this legislation but any comfort they received – if indeed they did – resulted from the colonists’ concerns for resource preservation.

A 1726 “Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in This Province” showed empathy for potential hardships, but not for the enslaved. The act suggests

³⁸ “Cruelty of Masters prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 40 (33).

³⁹ “Cruelty of Masters prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 40 (33).

⁴⁰ “An Act relating to Mulatto and Negro Slaves,” May 26-June 30, 1703, *Massachusetts: Charters and Acts of assembly, 1691-1760*, CO 5/772 (print), 221.

⁴¹ “An Act relating to Mulatto and Negro Slaves,” May 26-June 30, 1703, *Massachusetts: Charters and Acts of assembly, 1691-1760*, CO 5/772 (print), 221.

prevailing practices that were apparently frequent enough that they had to be addressed by legislation:

it too often happens, that Negroes commit Felonies, and other Heinous Crimes, which by the Laws of this Province, are Punishable by Death, but the Loss in such Case falling wholly on the Owner, is so great a hardship, that sometimes [it] may induce him [i.e., the owner], to conceal such Crimes, or to convey his Negroe to some other Place, and so suffer him to Escape Justice.⁴²

Since slaves were considered valuable property and a major source of labor, their execution was viewed as a hardship on their owners. Thus, this legislation protected slave owners from the financial hardship of losing slaves to capital punishment by paying them for whatever their respective slaves were valued, thus ensuring the convicted slaves' execution and providing the owners with the funds to quickly replace them.⁴³ This act makes it abundantly clear that colonists were extremely concerned with maintaining their labor force and property – including human property.

Lastly, one may assess the colonists' views on morality by examining their outlook on and legislation concerning what is arguably the most grievous sin, namely, murder. Colonists viewed murder as a severe offense, yet the laws passed regarding the murder of slaves brings to light, yet again, the colonists' preoccupation with safeguarding their property. Pennsylvanians and New Englanders in New Hampshire both categorized murder as an offense that was punishable by death.⁴⁴ While these two colonies treated other vices differently, their legislation on this particular crime of murder reflects their consensus that murder was the most heinous of all the immoral crimes. Pennsylvanians punished all crimes "inferior to murder" with imprisonment or confinement in a workhouse.⁴⁵ In 1718 New Hampshire, however, rape ("if any Man shall Ravish any Woman, committing Carnal Copulation with her by force against her will"), as well as sodomy and bestiality ("the Detestable and Abominable Sin of Buggery with Mankind, or Beast"), were also considered crimes punishable by death.⁴⁶ Thus, while New Englanders were more severe when it came to handing down death sentences, Pennsylvanians drew the line at murder.

Virginians, too, recognized that murder was a severely immoral act and wrote laws that specifically protected servants. A law from 1662 prevented masters from

⁴² "An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in This Province," August 25, 1726, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 321-326, here 321.

⁴³ "An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in This Province," August 25, 1726, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 321-326, here 321.

⁴⁴ "An ACT for the Advancement of Justice, and more certain Administration thereof," August 19, 1717, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 148-163, here 148-149; "An Act against Murder, etc.," May 13, 1718, *New Hampshire: Acts, CO 5/948* (print), 120-123 (68-69), here 120 (68).

⁴⁵ "An ACT for Erecting of Houses of Correction and Work-Houses, in the respective Counties of this Province," May 26, 1719, *Pennsylvania: Acts, 1700-1729*, CO 5/1238 (print), 169-173.

⁴⁶ "An Act against Murder, etc.," May 13, 1718, *New Hampshire: Acts, CO 5/948* (print), 120-123 (68-69), here 121 (68).

privately burying their servants when they died, because it was deemed too difficult to “make Discovery, if murder were committed” if masters would be allowed to bury their servants on private land with no witnesses.⁴⁷ The law stipulated that “in every Parish” there be should be “Three or Four, or more, Places appointed [...] for Places of publick Burial,” and that when a servant died, “Three or Four of the Neighbors [should be] called, who may, in case of Suspicion, view the Corps.”⁴⁸ This shows that Virginians viewed murder to be serious enough of a crime—even when committed on servants—that they preempted the potential hiding of bodies in order to bring murderers to justice. However, there was what one might call a “manslaughter loophole” when the victim was a slave. A 1668/1669 Virginia “Act About the Casual Killing of Slaves” states that, if any master or mistress was “correcting” a slave, and that if that slave “by Extremity of the Correction should chance to die, such death shall not be accounted Felony.”⁴⁹ This act protected masters from the punishment that in any other situation would have been given to murderers because colonists treated slaves as property. While they viewed murder as the most immoral act a person could commit, the killing of a slave, when it occurred as “correction” and, thus, presumably accidentally, was not presumed as innately sinful, because colonists widely understood that slave owners sought to preserve and protect their own property and labor force at all costs, and slaves were valuable property. The act stated that “it cannot be presumed, that prepensed [i.e., premeditated] Malice, which alone makes Murder Felony, should induce any Man to destroy his own estate.”⁵⁰ This act speaks volumes to colonists’ views on morality and their prerogatives regarding labor and property. The sinful nature of killing, which was acknowledged in every region examined for this study, was overlooked and pardoned when one’s own property was the loss incurred.

Conclusion

The legislation discussed above highlights that colonists were exceptionally concerned with the preservation of their owned property, the maintenance of a labor force, and the conservation of shared resources. Morality was indeed a guiding principle for these societies, but when it appears in legislation it goes hand-in-hand with strategic and logistical concerns regarding material and financial security. Colonists viewed alcohol as the fuel for destructive behavior and sought to restrict it in order to prevent calamitous actions. Their concern with

⁴⁷ “Burial of Servants, or others, privately, prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of Assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 5 (15).

⁴⁸ “Burial of Servants, or others, privately, prohibited,” March 23, 1662, *Acts of Assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 5 (15).

⁴⁹ “An Act about the casual killing of Slaves,” September 17, 1668-October 20, 1669, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 91 (58).

⁵⁰ “An Act about the casual killing of Slaves,” September 17, 1668-October 20, 1669, *Acts of assembly passed in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1715*, CO 5/1380 (print), 91 (58).

labor and property over spiritual integrity becomes clear when examining who they specifically tried to keep sober, namely, non-whites and the servant labor force. Colonies mainly regulated sexual immorality in order to prevent fatherless children from becoming a burden to their town and to keep the indentured servant labor force at work. Since keeping a productive labor force was such a great concern, legislation that sought to protect servants' well-being did so in order to keep prospective servants from being frightened off. Legislation that implemented provisions and protections for those suffering hardships highlights that the loss of labor (even temporarily) was considered a significant hardship. Where killing was concerned, the most immoral of all sins, it was forgivable if one's own property was the victim of "correction."

Where morality and legislation are interwoven, the colonial concern with property, labor, and resources becomes abundantly clear. While this does not negate the fact that colonists were concerned with morality, they were at least equally concerned with the safeguarding of their property and with imposing stricter regulations on the behavior of women and non-whites. This conclusion arguably challenges the popular notion that morality was the guiding and defining principle for colonists. The evidence indicates that virtue, while undeniably central, may be considered as only one aspect of a more nuanced and complicated set of priorities in the colonial American mind.

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Alex Blaa

*A Costly Mindset:
British Overconfidence in the Struggle for Florida
during the American Revolution*

ABSTRACT: *This article examines the factors that led to Florida's transfer from British to Spanish control during the American Revolution. It touches on the overconfidence of British Secretary of State for the North American Colonies, Lord George Germain, the leadership of Spanish Governor Bernardo de Gálvez of Louisiana and British Major General John Campbell, as well as supply and logistics issues that Florida was facing. The Battle of Pensacola (1781) was the climax of an important campaign that pushed Britain out of the Gulf of Mexico, setting the stage for later naval endeavors during the Revolutionary War.*

KEYWORDS: *American colonial history; American Revolution; Florida; Spain; Great Britain; Siege of Pensacola (1781); George Germain; John Campbell; Bernardo de Gálvez; Colonial Office 5 series*

Introduction

Following their critical victory at the Battle of Yorktown (September 28-October 19, 1781), the rebellious North American colonists, along with their French allies, forced the British government to recognize their independence. The thirteen colonies formed a new nation, the United States of America. However, France was not the only European power to have aided the colonies in their rebellion. Spain was also an important and often underappreciated player in the war. In fact, one of the most crucial conflicts of the American Revolution did not even involve the Continental Army or George Washington. Instead, Britain and Spain waged the battle for control of the seemingly insignificant and far-off colony of Florida. Britain's defeat at the Siege of Pensacola (March 9-May 8/10, 1781) and subsequent loss of Florida had significant repercussions. Historians have largely ignored these repercussions, and thus they remain underexamined. In the end, the loss of Pensacola and all of the ills that stemmed from it for the British were avoidable. This article argues that the arrogance and ignorance of the Secretary of State for the American Colonies, Lord George Germain (1716-1785), was the most significant factor contributing to the British defeat. Another factor was the boldness and leadership of Spanish Governor Bernardo de Gálvez (1746-1786) of Louisiana. Taken together, these two factors brought about the fall of Pensacola with all its consequences for the British Empire.

Put into a larger context, this article addresses an extensively debated question, namely: How did the British lose the war for America? It is influenced primarily by Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's 2013 monograph, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*.¹ O'Shaughnessy, a historian at the University of Virginia, argues that it was not the

¹ Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

incompetence of their officers in America, such as Generals Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and Cornwallis, that led to the British defeat, but rather the “insufficient resources, the unanticipated lack of loyalist support, and the popularity of the revolution.”² He uses arrogance as an analytical lens, but it is not at the heart of his central claim, which is where his work differs from this article. O’Shaughnessy does not explicitly name arrogance as a reason for Florida’s fall; instead, he characterizes Germain’s displays of arrogance as military blunders.³

O’Shaughnessy’s fairly recent study (2013) has not been the only one to offer explanations for Britain’s loss of the thirteen colonies. O’Shaughnessy mentions the frustration that General William Howe (1729-1814) displayed toward Germain and the British government, framing the government as incompetent and out of touch with the situation in the colonies.⁴ In his 1965 article, “Lord Howe and Lord George Germain, British Politics and the Winning of American Independence,” American military historian Ira D. Gruber proposes a more nefarious rationale, accusing King George III (r. 1760-1820) and Prime Minister Lord Frederick North (in office 1770-1782) of attempting to use the crisis in America to gain despotic control over Parliament.⁵ Thus, published almost fifty years apart from each other, Gruber’s and O’Shaughnessy’s works suggest rather different interpretations of the same events.

Published one year before Gruber’s article, Oxford scholar Piers Mackesy’s 1964 book, *The War for America: 1775-1783*, criticizes the assessment of the American Revolution by British military historian Sir John Fortescue (1859-1933) and those following in Fortescue’s footsteps who, according to Mackesy, had ascribed the conflict’s outcome to Germain’s folly and ignorance.⁶ Mackesy, it must be noted, does not address Florida or the Battle of Pensacola in his work, even though the latter actually feature Germain’s most blatant displays of arrogance. Omitting this incident, whether intentional or unintentional, alters one’s perception of the role Germain played with regard to the British losses. O’Shaughnessy’s study has not escaped criticism either: in her 2015 University of Georgia PhD dissertation, Ashley D. Allred points to the fact that O’Shaughnessy’s work does not sufficiently take into account the British Army’s extreme and brutal violence against the rebellious colonists in South Carolina, which she considers a significant reason why the local loyalists did not support the British more than

² O’Shaughnessy, *Men Who Lost America*, 353.

³ O’Shaughnessy, *Men Who Lost America*, 346.

⁴ O’Shaughnessy, *Men Who Lost America*, 119.

⁵ Ira D. Gruber, “Lord Howe and Lord George Germain, British Politics and the Winning of American Independence,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (1965): 225-243, here 233; Matthew H. Spring, *With Zeal and with Bayonets Only: the British Army on Campaign in North America, 1775-1783* (2008; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 4.

⁶ Piers Mackesy, *The War for America: 1775-1783* (1964; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), xxiii.

they did.⁷ The British mistreatment of and disrespect toward the Indigenous played a similar role in the fall of Florida and the victory of Spain. This article agrees that the British officers were not responsible for the loss, but contends that O'Shaughnessy's work does not sufficiently consider Germain's willful ignorance as a factor that contributed to the loss of the American colonies.

This article applies both a military history and an economic history lens. To address the theme of arrogance, it analyzes correspondence between Major General John Campbell (1727-1806), the British commander during the Siege of Pensacola, and Germain, as well as secondary sources that demonstrate that the latter's arrogance there was not an isolated incident. For the prelude to the Siege of Pensacola, it utilizes accounts by both Germain and Campbell to describe key moments as well as the role the Indigenous played in the outcome. Most of the documents analyzed below have been accessed via the Adam Matthew Colonial America database⁸ which contains digitized materials from the Colonial Office 5 series of the National Archives, Kew, England,⁹ among them essential first-hand accounts by both Campbell and Germain. Finally, with regard to the consequences of the British defeat at Pensacola, which strengthened Spain's position in the region, quantitative data reveal the economic importance of the West Indies (i.e., the Caribbean) to the British. To tie this event into the overall narrative of the American Revolution, this article examines how the outcome of the Battle of Pensacola affected the birth and early foreign policy of the United States.

I. Florida in Context

To the British Empire, Florida was more important in a strategic sense than it was economically viable. Florida had remained under Spain's control until the end of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) when possession of the colony transferred to Great Britain as part of the Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the war with Spain and France.¹⁰ However, after taking control of the colony, Britain realized that Florida cost more to maintain than it generated in revenue. Unlike other colonies, such as the Carolinas and New England, which offered exports that were crucial to Britain's economy, including timber and clothing dyes, Florida did not feature any important articles of export. What Florida did provide was an important buffer to resist Spanish expansion in the region. Thus, despite the economic drain,

⁷ Ashley Dee Allred, "A Strategy Gone South: The British, the Backcountry, and Violence in Revolutionary South Carolina" (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2015), 58.

⁸ Access to this database is by subscription only, which is why all subsequent citations from this database contain the respective shelfmark used in the National Archives, Kew, England.

⁹ The National Archives, Kew, England, CO (Colonial Office) 5 (Board of Trade and Secretaries of State: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence), 1606-1822, accessed May 18, 2020; hereafter cited as "CO 5."

¹⁰ "The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763," accessed May 18, 2020.

the protection from a potential Spanish attack in the Gulf of Mexico was worth the cost, and the British Crown continued to subsidize the colony.¹¹ This role of Florida as a buffer for the North American holdings explains why Britain was committed to its defense despite its lack of value on the surface. Central to Florida's defenses was the fort at Pensacola, located on Florida's western Gulf coast, and if any European rivals wished to control Florida they had to conquer Pensacola first.

In 1966, librarian Nixon Orwin Rush published the first comprehensive work entirely devoted to the Battle of Pensacola.¹² Rush blames the failure at Pensacola on British Major General John Campbell. Campbell was a veteran of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), as well as the commander of the 57th Regiment stationed in North America. When the British government recognized that Florida was at risk of a Spanish attack, Lord Germain ordered Campbell to take command of the troops stationed at Florida. Rush accuses Campbell of being cowardly and simply unwilling to fight back because he was displeased about the conditions in Florida.¹³ Yet other scholars have depicted Campbell differently. Larrie D. Ferreiro, a historian of engineering, quotes a letter in which Campbell states that he would "defend this post to the last."¹⁴ O'Shaughnessy, though briefly, also mentions the battle of Pensacola and blames Germain for mistakenly putting excessive expectations on Campbell. Historian Kathleen DuVal disagrees with Rush, claims that neither side saw the Siege of Pensacola as an important battle at the time, and thus blames its fall on a lack of interest on the part of the Europeans, stating that neither Britain nor Spain recognized Florida's importance.¹⁵

On the other hand, Rush praises Spanish Governor Bernardo de Gálvez of Louisiana. After serving in the Spanish military against Portugal, Gálvez had been sent to Mexico in 1762 and had fought against the Indigenous in the area. Though he sustained many wounds throughout his military career, he was able to work his way up until he was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1776. Rush lauds Gálvez for his leadership skills, his ability to coordinate an amphibious assault on Florida, and his compassion toward his men and captured prisoners alike.¹⁶ While Germain's overconfidence and Campbell's unpreparedness created an exploitable weakness, scholars should not overlook Gálvez's leadership and boldness. The conquest of Pensacola granted Gálvez much prestige, as well as the honor of

¹¹ Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (2001; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 227-228.

¹² Nixon Orwin Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico: The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781* (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1966).

¹³ Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph*, 21.

¹⁴ Quoted in Larrie D. Ferreiro, *Brothers at Arms: American Independence and the Men of France and Spain Who Saved It* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016), 251.

¹⁵ Kathleen DuVal, *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2015), 189.

¹⁶ Rush, *Spain's Final Triumph*, 18.

acquiring the honorific motto *Yo Solo* (“I alone”) for his coat of arms, which served as a reminder to future generations of the bravery of their ancestor.¹⁷

King Carlos III of Spain (r. 1759-1788) was not sympathetic to the American Revolution. He saw a free and independent United States as a significant threat to Spain’s colonial ambitions, and thus did not intend to get involved.¹⁸ However, Carlos III did see the American Revolution as an opportunity to “eliminate the British presence in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean.”¹⁹ Gálvez was eagerly awaiting his opportunity to strike against Britain. Unlike his king, though, Gálvez was sympathetic to the American cause and provided much needed weapons and financial support, sometimes without Carlos III’s knowledge.²⁰ Despite Carlos III’s fear of what an independent United States could mean to Spain’s imperial ambitions, his disdain for the British proved to outweigh the risks. Their victory in the Seven Years War and subsequent massive territorial gains had made the British massively unpopular among their European rivals. When the American Revolution broke out, Spain saw the perfect opportunity to take revenge.

II. The Siege of Pensacola

When the threat of Spanish intervention increased, following the French support for the American Revolution, Lord Germain dispatched Major General Campbell to Florida to reinforce and take command of the British garrison that was stationed there. Unlike his eventual adversary Bernardo de Gálvez, Campbell’s approach was more cautious and meticulous. After arriving in Florida, Campbell immediately wrote to Germain, informing his superior that he was “extremely concerned [...] [about the] improbability of executing [Germain’s orders].”²¹ He also mentioned the “ruinous state” of the quarters for a commanding officer, describing them with the sardonic description of “a great omen.”²² Campbell’s reaction demonstrates that he was fully aware of the frustrating situation that he was facing. If a letter from Patrick Tonyn, the British Governor of Florida, which suggested the exact opposite of Campbell’s assessment had not arrived on Germain’s desk first, Campbell’s warnings might have been able to convince

¹⁷ Steven Otfinoski *The New Republic* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2008), 16.

¹⁸ Willis Fletcher Johnson, *The History of Cuba, Volume Two* (New York: B. F. Buck & Company, Inc., 1920), 138, 142, 145-146.

¹⁹ Jose I. Yaniz, “The Role of Spain in the American Revolution: An Unavoidable Strategic Mistake” (M. Military Studies thesis, United States Marine Corps University, Quantico, 2009), 3.

²⁰ Paul Chrisler Phillips, “The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution” (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1911; published 1913, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. 2, nos. 2 and 3), 53.

²¹ “John Campbell describes the poor conditions and lack of money and provisions in Pensacola, with enclosures of petitions and correspondence to Campbell,” January 3-March 22, 1779, CO 5/597 pt 1, 9-10.

²² “John Campbell reporting on the work he is doing in West Florida, including arranging fortifications and requesting supplies and labour, and increased naval defence,” April 15-May 10, 1779, CO 5/597 pt 1, 70.

Germain of the “improbability” of the situation. Tonym’s letter stated that “[Spain’s] season for active service must be so far advanced before they could [attack Pensacola].”²³ This phrase, a “season for active service,” denoted the time of year when armies were recruiting most of their soldiers. Thus, Tonym was suggesting that Spain’s army was too small to pose a threat to Florida at the time. Receiving such a letter from Florida probably reassured Germain into thinking that Campbell was simply exaggerating and in no significant danger. According to O’Shaughnessy, Germain “has been accused of misplaced optimism that verged on the realm of fantasy,” and therefore a letter like Tonym’s would have convinced him that Florida would face little difficulty defending itself against Spain despite Campbell’s concerns.²⁴

Seemingly determined to ensure that Germain would comprehend his assessment of the situation, Campbell sent several additional letters. He insisted that he needed more supplies to aid his defense of Florida. In one such letter, Campbell mentioned that the provisions that were supposed to arrive in Florida were “totally destroyed.”²⁵ One notable aspect of this particular letter that indicates Campbell’s assessment of his dire situation is that he wrote it, in his own words, “without ceremony.”²⁶ In those days, when generals corresponded with high-ranking government officials, their letters usually featured an introductory paragraph of praise for their lord and an indication that they had received a previous letter. Meanwhile, Campbell’s letter in question is devoid of this traditional hallmark of pleasantries and opens with a desperate call for assistance. For someone like Campbell, whose previous correspondence had always begun with a paragraph or more of flattery, to begin a letter to Germain like this is a testimony to just how concerned he was about the situation. In his next letter, Campbell acknowledged the frequency with which he was writing to Germain: “I presume to trouble your lordship with [the frequency of] these letters,” and went on to say that he was forced to “guarantee [the arrival of provisions] the morning after [they were supposed to arrive], stating the number of days [in] which each article of provisions [...] will reach [Pensacola].”²⁷ In other words, Campbell found himself forced to deceive his men and claim that more provisions would arrive so that his men would not lose morale or faith. Yet, despite the overburdened Major General’s concerns, Germain decided to add even more pressure.

²³ “Patrick Tonym’s letter to Lord Germain (no. 110), acknowledging his receipt of copies of Germain’s speech at the meeting of the new Parliament,” March 7, 1781, CO 5/560, 80.

²⁴ O’Shaughnessy, *Men Who Lost America*, 187.

²⁵ “John Campbell relates the lack of supplies reaching Pensacola and the dearth of flour in particular and his attempted mediation of affairs in the Indian Department following the death of the superintendent there,” March 12-April 7, 1779, CO 5/597 pt 1, 161.

²⁶ “John Campbell on provisions being provided to West Florida,” October 31, 1779-July 28, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 1, 361.

²⁷ “John Campbell on provisions being provided to West Florida,” October 31, 1779-July 28, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 1, 369, 381.

On November 1, 1780, Germain sent secret instructions for Campbell to launch a surprise attack against New Orleans,²⁸ an idea that had been in the works for some time. Back in 1776, a British soldier by the name of Robert White had addressed a comprehensive plan to Germain as to how to reduce the Spanish presence in the region, stating “First, annihilate, universally, the Spanish Dominion in America.”²⁹ This quote demonstrates a possible motive for Germain’s mindset when he finally decided to order Campbell to strike against New Orleans, disregarding Campbell’s protestations that this would be a mistake. Fortune was on Gálvez’s side, though, as he managed to intercept Germain’s letter to Campbell. The latter then reported that “information has reached [Gálvez] by way of Indians from Orleans and great preparations are being made for the attack on Pensacola, that every person capable of bearing arms [should be] rushing to join the expedition.”³⁰ If Germain had assessed the situation more carefully and realistically, Campbell might have been able to prepare his reinforcements gradually over time. White’s 1776 plan, however, had spurred Germain on and had convinced him that the only way to push Spain out of the region was to, in White’s words, “annihilate, universally, the Spanish Dominion in America.”³¹ Upon intercepting Germain’s letter, Gálvez was convinced that his position in Louisiana was at risk, and he reacted immediately. Once the “secret” British operation had been thwarted, the situation forced Campbell to reinforce Florida even more extensively and more quickly than before. Ever since the Battle of Baton Rouge on September 21, 1779, Gálvez had already been conducting a brilliant campaign, rapidly gaining control of the Mississippi Territory and pushing Britain back into Florida.³² At that time, Campbell had to report “the conquest of the western port of the province by the armies of Spain in consequence of their early intelligence of the commencement [of the attack on New Orleans].”³³

Despite this frustrating situation, Germain assured Campbell that Fort Mobile and Fort Charlotte (both near today’s Mobile, Alabama) would hold until reinforcements would arrive: “Indeed, I am not without hope that Don Gálvez will

²⁸ “George Germain informs John Campbell of a plan to attack New Orleans using reinforcements from Jamaica,” November 1, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 2, 465, 467.

²⁹ “Robert White to George Germain with a plan to reduce Spanish America, should Britain go to war with Spain,” December 9, 1776, CO 5/155, Part 1, 2.

³⁰ “John Campbell relates intelligence from New Orleans of the Spanish preparing men to take arms against the British, the lack of response regarding reinforcements from Peter Parker and John Dalling, and the safe arrival of food supplies; includes a report on Fort Charlotte’s capitulation,” September 22, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 2, 279.

³¹ “Robert White to George Germain with a plan to reduce Spanish America, should Britain go to war with Spain,” December 9, 1776, CO 5/155, Part 1, 2.

³² “George Germain reacts to the news of the Spanish victory in the south, and discusses the defence of Pensacola and other areas with John Campbell,” April 4, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 1, 15.

³³ “John Campbell describes territory lost to the Spanish, and an altercation at sea in which men were lost and taken prisoner,” September 21-December 15, 1779, CO 5/597 pt 1, 115.

find it difficult to continue his garrison at [Fort] Mobile.”³⁴ Luck was with the British for once, as the Spanish held off their initial attack on Florida because they received incorrect information that the British forces were to receive reinforcements.³⁵ When the Spanish finally arrived in Florida, Campbell reported that “[the Spanish] had already thrown up trenches of near a mile in length sufficiently deep to cover and protect them from our cannon,” and went on to state that “The fire from which [i.e., the cannon] however together with that of our howitzers greatly disturbed and [held] them in the north during the day.”³⁶ This report demonstrates that Campbell was certainly not planning to surrender without a fight. On the contrary, despite all of the misfortunes and lack of preparations Campbell had had to endure, he put considerable effort into the defense of Pensacola. However, the British soldiers that were fighting under Campbell were experiencing a steady drop in morale, so much so, that Campbell ordered, in an official proclamation, to “engage and give all due obedience to the orders of the general officer,” threatening “corporal punishment agreeable to the [...] law.”³⁷ The battle’s decisive moment was yet another stroke of luck for the Spanish, namely, when a misfired cannonball hit a large gunpowder keg, the latter exploded and blew a large hole into the wall of the fort, allowing Gálvez to send soldiers in and quickly force surrender.³⁸ The Siege of Pensacola ended on May 8, 1781, and two days later, on May 10, 1781, the British troops left the fort. Britain had been eclipsed by Spain in Florida after a year and eight months. And Gálvez had reclaimed Spain’s glory after the humiliating defeat it had suffered at the hands of Britain eighteen years earlier.

Spain and Britain were the main combatants, but their soldiers were not the only forces in the struggle for Florida: the colony’s Indigenous population also played a part. During the colonial period of North America, forming alliances with the Indigenous was a central aspect of policy. From the original landing at Plymouth Rock, the Indigenous had a critical role in the establishment of the colonies, as well as their European proxy conflicts. Both the British and Spanish armies relied on the Indigenous to supplement their numbers, and thus the latter’s loyalty was crucial. The Europeans in the New World used gift-giving to initiate alliances with the Indigenous and ensure their continued support. In a letter dated

³⁴ “George Germain writes that he believes the defences at Pensacola and their alliance with the Creek Indians will continue to deter the Spanish,” November 1, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 2, 236.

³⁵ “Letter from John Campbell confirming that an invasion by Spain has not happened yet and the need for further supplies,” February 15, 1781, CO 5/239, 88, 89.

³⁶ “Letters from John Campbell regarding Pensacola’s bombardment by both Spain and France and the surrender of Fort George to Spain,” May 7-12, 1781, CO 5/239, 213.

³⁷ “A proclamation by Major General John Campbell, commanding His Majesty’s forces in West Florida,” September 12, 1779, CO 5/598, 49.

³⁸ William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea, “Introduction,” in *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution*, ed. William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1982), viii.

July 22, 1780, Campbell mentioned “a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety” regarding his alliance with the local Creek Indigenous.³⁹ It was a disastrous turning point for the Anglo-Creek relationship when, one year earlier, in 1779, the *Earl Bathurst*, a ship carrying supplies for the local Indigenous, arrived and its goods turned out to be of such poor quality that the Indigenous actually turned against the British when the Spanish attack on Pensacola finally began.⁴⁰ In *Independence Lost: Lives on the Edge of the American Revolution* (2015), Kathleen DuVal discusses this crucial change in allegiance, arguing that Campbell could have done more to unify the Indigenous and strengthen their alliance with the British.⁴¹

III. Missed Opportunities

Even though Major General John Campbell was unprepared and ill supplied, there were two opportunities available to him that he missed. Unbeknownst to Campbell, Bernardo de Gálvez and his admiral, José Calvo de Irazábal, repeatedly disagreed over the most effective way to attack Pensacola. The impatient Gálvez took matters into his own hands and personally led four small ships past a British heavy anti-ship cannon that was positioned on the Red Cliffs battery. Though successful, the incident created a rift between Gálvez and his admiral. This rift only widened when Gálvez insinuated that Calvo de Irazábal was cowardly for not pressing on when Gálvez had ordered it before continuing his attack.⁴²

The second missed opportunity is that Campbell could not utilize the Indigenous to their full potential due to the *Earl Bathurst* supply ship fiasco. The Creek Indigenous realized that they could gain superior supplies by allying with Spain instead of Britain.⁴³ The Indigenous’ switch of allegiance was a major factor in Britain’s final defeat. In a letter to Campbell dated November 1, 1780, Lord Germain had mentioned a previous incident when the “Creek Indians had come to your assistance [and] deterred Don Gálvez and the Spanish [...] from making their intended attack.”⁴⁴ Thus, if Germain had supplied Campbell and his

³⁹ “John Campbell discusses the nature of the Indian Department and trade with groups such as the Creeks, and the defence of Pensacola and the reinforcements to be sent to them,” July 22, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 2, 223.

⁴⁰ “Letters from Brigadier General Campbell regarding the destruction of a ship of provisions and non-arrival of two others, delay of his travel to the Mississippi due to illness and land for the situation of a fort,” April 7-May 10, 1779, CO 5/237, 230.

⁴¹ DuVal, *Independence Lost*, 164-165, 194-196.

⁴² Eric Beerman, “José Solano and the Spanish Navy at the Siege of Pensacola,” in *Anglo-Spanish Confrontation on the Gulf Coast during the American Revolution*, ed. William S. Coker and Robert R. Rea (Pensacola: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1982), 125-143, here 130-133.

⁴³ “John Campbell on the situation in the south, including relations with Indian tribes like the Choctaws in the aftermath of the Spanish having wrested territory from the British,” February 10-March 23, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 1, 125, 127.

⁴⁴ “George Germain writes that he believes the defences at Pensacola and their alliance with the Creek Indians will continue to deter the Spanish,” November 1, 1780, CO 5/597 pt 2, 232.

Indigenous allies with better provisions, Spain might not have been able to sway the Creek Indigenous. With these additional allies who were familiar with Florida's terrain, Campbell might have been able to turn the tide. Instead, the Creek Indigenous turned their backs on Britain in favor of a better deal from Spain.

Tying the events in Florida to the larger war occurring in the North American colonies, having a Spanish-occupied mainland location near the Atlantic Ocean allowed Spain to send ships to attack Britain elsewhere. This is important, considering that one of the main reasons why Washington was successful at Yorktown was due to the absence of the British navy. Washington himself recognized this, stating that Spain could well afford "to transfer the naval war [that Spain was fighting with the British in the Atlantic] to America."⁴⁵ Britain relied heavily on its navy to supplement its army. Without it, the Americans and their allied armies were able to prevail. In order to keep soldiers from deserting at such a crucial stage in the war, Spain also provided funds for the American army to use to pay for supplies and their soldiers' wages.⁴⁶ Spain's attack on Florida and subsequent naval attacks against the British were vital distractions for the massive navy that Britain had at its disposal. The Spanish had entered the war in 1779, two years before Yorktown, and the war was becoming costlier and more humiliating every year. Ultimately, Spain (and France) joined the negotiators' table when Britain and newly recognized United States signed the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

While Spain's actions were helpful to the rebellious colonists during the final stages of the American Revolution, it was the reclaiming of Florida that gave Spain the means to hurt Britain much more severely elsewhere. With the acquisition of Florida, Spain was in perfect striking range of the West Indies. The West Indian islands of Antigua, Jamaica, Dominica, Grenada, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincent, Tortola, and Barbados were producing 80,285 tons of sugar for Great Britain on an annual basis.⁴⁷ From its base in Florida, Spain now had the opportunity to steal these vast quantities of sugar.⁴⁸ Since its discovery as a flavor enhancer and its role in making rum, sugar had become an invaluable resource for Europeans. If Spain managed to take even a few of the West Indian islands for itself, its revenue based on sugar would increase tremendously. According to Alan Taylor, the "British valued their West Indian colonies more than anything on the North American continent."⁴⁹ In other words, the British

⁴⁵ Quoted in Howard Lee Landers, *The Virginia Campaign and the Blockade and Siege of Yorktown, 1781: Including a Brief Narrative of the French Participation in the Revolution prior to the Southern Campaign* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), 131.

⁴⁶ John D. Grainger, *The Battle of Yorktown, 1781: A Reassessment* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 49.

⁴⁷ Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (1973; Kingston: Canoe Press, 1974), 100.

⁴⁸ Alan Taylor, *American Revolutions: A Continental History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2016), 265-267.

⁴⁹ Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 284.

would have rather lost the thirteen colonies than the West Indies. The loss of Florida put Spain in a position to take the treasured tropical islands and precious sugarcane for itself. Though such an invasion of the West Indies is speculative, there is proof that Spain considered the endeavor. According to a 1781 intelligence report from Saint Croix, Spanish ships had left Pensacola and had been spotted trying to attack an island off the coast of Florida.⁵⁰ Going by the report, it is not a great leap to assume that, had Spain seen the right opportunity, it would have taken it. With the British reeling from setbacks inflicted by the rebellious American colonists and their European allies, Spain would have had the chance to add some of the tropical islands to its list of territories. Fortunately for the British, Gálvez faced a staggering distraction in the form of massive slave revolts throughout the Spanish Empire, which took priority over striking further at the British.⁵¹

Conclusion

Historians of the American Revolution have frequently cited logistical issues as the primary reason why the British lost in America. In addition, scholars have considered the arrogance on display by British leaders during this time; however, when discussing overconfidence, they have usually referred to King George III or Prime Minister Lord North, as well as some of the British generals, including Howe, Clinton, and others. O'Shaughnessy has led the charge in breaking down this accusation against the British generals, claiming that it was not their fault and that they were doing their best, given the difficult situation. This article continues with this trend of removing the blame from military leaders and placing it instead on government officials, such as Lord Germain, and their hubris.

The American Revolution was a complicated event, and it seems to become even more so as historians continue to expand our knowledge of the period. North American colonists waged the primary conflict against their British rulers, but France and Spain provided crucial assistance to the rebellious colonists. Spanish intervention was critical to the American success, but Bernardo de Gálvez is still not nearly as much of a household name as some of the war's other leaders. Because Spain did not use Florida as a launching pad for further conquests, historians have not sufficiently acknowledged the threat to British supremacy that the transfer of Florida to Spain generated. In 2014, Gálvez became the most recent of just eight individuals to be awarded honorary United States citizenship,

⁵⁰ "Copy of an Intelligence report from Santa Cruix, reporting on the positioning of various French and American ships at St Thomas's and the likelihood that they would be sailing imminently for America, on the arrival at St Thomas's of Spanish ships from Pensacola, on the movements of American, French and British forces at Rhode Island and West Point, including those of Washington., General Green and Lord Rawdon, and that the British fleet was currently cruising off Boston," July 31, 1781, GEO/ADD/15/0632, Georgian Papers Programme (online), accessed May 18, 2020: "He further adds that a few days before the fleet for St. Thomas's left the Cape, Seven Spanish Men of War had arrived there from Pensacola, which place had been taken by Storm with great loss, that the Spaniards afterwards attempted Augustine, but could not get over the Bar."

⁵¹ Taylor, *American Revolutions*, 267.

indicating that the United States government now views Gálvez as being as important to this country's history as Winston Churchill, Raoul Wallenberg, William Penn and his second wife Hannah Callowhill, Mother Teresa, the Marquis de Lafayette, and General Casimir Pulaski. As historians continue to examine the many aspects of the American Revolutionary War, the role of Spain in helping the United States emerge, albeit perhaps unwillingly, will become clearer.

Today, the United States is arguably the most powerful nation on Earth and has succeeded Great Britain as the power which claims the right to police the world. Ironically, this is what King Carlos III had foreseen in the eighteenth century, and it was precisely why the idea of a free United States concerned him. Carlos III did not fight for the United States for ideological reasons or out of sympathy, but simply because it gave him the opportunity to reclaim something that, in his opinion, belonged to him, namely, Florida. However, Spain's reluctance to recognize the United States does not mean that one should discount or overlook Spain's role in the American Revolution. Indeed, recent scholarship on the American Revolution and the Revolutionary era suggests that Spain's hidden role will not remain hidden for much longer.

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Max Nupen

*Lingua Yakama:
Sahaptin Language Education and Cultural Self-Determination*

ABSTRACT: *This essay asserts the significance of cultural self-determination, particularly as it pertains to the ways in which the Yakama people of the Pacific Northwest have been reclaiming their language. Cultural self-determination is understood here as the ability of a group to retain and pass on its language and traditions without help from outside forces. The author utilizes two Yakama lexicons, one compiled by a French missionary in the nineteenth century and one compiled by a modern Yakama researcher who is spearheading the pedagogy of her language, as well as scholarship on strong language education in the digital age.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Indigenous; Washington; Oregon; Idaho; Yakama Nation; Sahaptin language; Father Charles Pandosy; Virginia R. Beavert; cultural self-determination*

Introduction

Throughout centuries of aggressive colonialism, Indigenous Americans have been resourceful in keeping important parts of their culture, such as language, alive in spite of systemic erasure. The effort of Indigenous people to maintain their myriad languages has taken a long and winding journey, one that is still moving forward as academia, and society as a whole, are becoming more pluralistic. The field of Indigenous linguistics has existed much longer than many might think, and some of the most notable examples of the creation of early language programming in the nineteenth century were brought about as a response to European colonization. Such efforts included the invention of the Cherokee alphabet by Sequoyah (ca. 1763-1843), as well as the dictionary created by Father Charles Pandosy (1824-1891) to serve the Yakama variant of the Sahaptin language. Moving into the twentieth century, there have been significant preservation efforts, such as with the Navajo language after its speakers, the “code talkers,” proved useful to American forces in World War II. However, other Indigenous languages, including the Yakama language, have been in danger of extinction or have already died out. The Red Power movement of the 1960s and its push for the proper teaching of Indigenous history in American schools and universities has influenced Indigenous American linguistic scholarship. The gradual move to save endangered cultures, particularly those indigenous to the Americas, has not only made academia more diverse and pluralistic, but also has the underlying effect of giving Indigenous Americans the tools they need to sustain their languages and cultural practices in the twenty-first century.

Although English versions would not be difficult for American students to understand, Father Pandosy’s textbook, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama People* (1862), represents a first in the scholarship on Pacific Northwest Indigenous Americans.¹ The nineteenth century was a time marked by westward movements

¹ Charles Marie Pandosy, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language*, trans. John Gilmary Shea and George Gibbs (New York: Cramoisy Press, 1862).

of settlers from both the United States as well as the British and French colonies of Canada. In an era when settlers were spurred west by starry-eyed ideas of Manifest Destiny, Father Pandosy, together with his order of French Catholic missionaries, had already reached modern-day Washington state and established the *Mission de l'Immaculée Conception* (1859) where they became prominent figures among the Indigenous peoples.² Father Pandosy's work as an anthropological linguist was so important that it was actively sought out and translated in the twentieth century after it was thought to have been lost in a war between the Indigenous nations that lived in and around Father Pandosy's mission.³

Today, the gold standard as far as Yakama lexicons are concerned is Virginia R. Beavert's *Ichishkíin Sinwit*, which was compiled over the course of several decades.⁴ Virginia Beavert is the prime authority on the Yakama language and also the top linguist in charge of creating the respective educational programming. Beavert teaches about Yakama life and language at Heritage University, located in Toppenish on the Yakama Nation's territory in southern Washington.⁵ Her devotion originates from a place of cultural self-determination to sustain her heritage in the face of pervasive cultural forces that she cannot control. Cultural self-determination, for the sake of this essay, refers to the ability of a group to retain and pass on its language and traditions without help from outside forces.

In the twenty-first century, the voices of Indigenous American students are among those clamoring to get louder in terms of representation among the various strata of society—in the arts, in politics, and particularly in academia, since average college graduation rates for Indigenous American students are less than the national average for students of all races.⁶ *I Am Where I Come From*, a 2017 anthology edited by Andrew Garrod, Robert Kilkenny, Melanie Benson Taylor, and Shannon Prince, chronicles the experiences of Indigenous American students at Dartmouth College, a predominantly white private university in New Hampshire.⁷ Despite Dartmouth being originally founded in 1769 to educate

² The Father Pandosy Mission Committee, "Father Pandosy, History," accessed April 2, 2020.

³ Pandosy, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language*, vii-viii.

⁴ Virginia R. Beavert, Sharon L. Hargus, and Bruce Rigsby, *Ichishkíin Sinwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary* (Toppenish: Heritage University/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009). There have been several reprints since 2009. See also Virginia R. Beavert and Bruce Rigsby, *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary* (Toppenish: Consortium of Johnson-O'Malley Committees, Region IV, 1975).

⁵ Kathleen A. Ross, "Knowledge Brings Us Together," introduction to Virginia R. Beavert, Sharon L. Hargus, and Bruce Rigsby, *Ichishkíin Sinwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary* (Toppenish: Heritage University/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), ix-x.

⁶ Education World, "Reporters' Notebook: Native Americans Struggle, Build Pride," accessed April 2, 2020.

⁷ Andrew Garrod, Robert Kilkenny, Melanie Benson Taylor, and Shannon Prince, eds., *I Am Where I Come From: Native American College Students and Graduates Tell Their Life Stories* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

Indigenous students (albeit as Christian missionaries), resources and a sense of solidarity among Indigenous students are still hard to come by in this community. Melanie Benson Taylor, who teaches Indigenous American literature at Dartmouth, writes that initiatives to help currently enrolled Indigenous students thrive and form a whole, overarching culture are sorely lacking.⁸ In higher education, if campus administrations are unwilling or unable to help Indigenous students sustain their cultures as members of academia, it should be natural that such endeavors are elevated in the classroom.

I. Father Charles Pandosy

In order to appreciate the evolution of Yakama educational programming (and Indigenous language programming as a whole), we must first understand the life and times of Father Charles Pandosy. Jean-Charles-Jean-Baptiste-Félix Pandosy was born on November 21, 1824, in Marseilles, France.⁹ The son of a navy captain, Pandosy led a relatively charmed life, entering into university at the Collège de Bourbon in Arles and, in 1844, joining the Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée as a novice. In 1847, when Pandosy was twenty-two years old, the bishops of his congregation stationed in Canada called upon him to establish a mission for them. According to those within the church hierarchy, Pandosy was notable for his obedience which was comparable to that of the Jesuit San Luigi Gonzaga (1568-1591).¹⁰ Almost a year after he had left France, Father Pandosy was ordained a priest in Walla Walla, Washington. As a Catholic priest, Father Pandosy ran the Mission Saint Rose, where he would go on to interact and learn from the Yakama people.¹¹

Although they ultimately, too, were intended to proselytize local Indigenous peoples, the French missions, particularly the Mission Saint Rose, were different from what most people understand of Spanish missions in the western United States. The treatment of the Indigenous peoples in the French mission system was significantly less violent than that in the Spanish system, relying on a model of integration centered around diplomacy and the marriage of Frenchmen to Indigenous women as a means to establish legitimacy. Father Pandosy established a reputation for himself among the Yakama natives who lived in the area around Walla Walla and the Mission Saint Rose. In addition to famously researching their Yakama language, Father Pandosy repeatedly acted on their behalf, brokering and witnessing treaties between the Yakama and other Indigenous nations in the area,

⁸ Melanie Benson Taylor, "Introduction: Coming Home," in *I Am Where I Come From: Native American College Students and Graduates Tell Their Life Stories*, ed. Andrew Garrod, Robert Kilkenny, Melanie Benson Taylor, and Shannon Prince (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017), 1-16, here 6.

⁹ Yvon Beaudoin and Gaston Carrière, O.M.I., "Pandosy, Charles," *The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate*, accessed April 2, 2020.

¹⁰ The Father Pandosy Mission Committee, "Father Pandosy, History."

¹¹ The Father Pandosy Mission Committee, "Father Pandosy, History."

such as the Cayuse and the eponymous Walla Walla.¹² In 1862, he published his seminal *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama People*, recording their language and its structure for future generations of linguists and anthropologists.¹³

II. Dr. Virginia R. Beavert

In contrast to Father Charles Pandosy, who, for all his diplomacy and integration into the social fabric of the Pacific Northwest's Indigenous peoples, was still an outsider, linguist Virginia R. Beavert is a member of the Yakama Nation and has dedicated her entire life to keeping her culture alive. Unlike Father Pandosy, who became a novice at the age of nineteen, Beavert started her academic career later in life, obtaining a Bachelor's of Science in Anthropology from Central Washington University in 1986 at the age of sixty-four,¹⁴ and earning her PhD in linguistics from the University of Oregon in 2012 at the age of ninety.¹⁵ Before entering the field of linguistics, Beavert was a member of the U.S. Women's Army Corps in World War II, and she has been a participant in the studies of countless non-Indigenous linguists who have conducted research on the Yakama people.

Born on the Yakama Reservation in southern Washington in 1922, Virginia Beavert grew up with a deep understanding of her traditions and the language gifted to her by her mother. As it happened, both Beavert's mother and stepfather also assisted linguists who were doing fieldwork among the Yakama. Much of her childhood was spent exploring the wide-open spaces of her reservation, foraging for plants, collecting small animals, and learning how to use them in food and medicine. By the age of twelve, Beavert had already started helping relay the foundational myths of her culture to outside anthropologists. Beavert's home environment as a child only heard Indigenous tongues: the languages of the Umatilla, Klickitat, and Salish peoples buzzed within those walls alongside her native Yakama. After being honorably discharged from the U.S. Women's Army Corps at the end of World War II, Beavert became deeply affected by the gradual disappearing of her own language while she had been working so far away from her home on Yakama land.¹⁶ Having spent so long not speaking or hearing her mother tongue, Beavert felt adrift, as if she herself was not Yakama anymore.

Many years later, Virginia Beavert began studying as a linguist in order to take up the mantle as the Yakama's own cultural sentinel, as her stepfather's health was failing. Almost immediately into her career as an undergraduate student at Central Washington University, Beavert began forging new paths into the scholarship on

¹² Duane Thomson, "Pandosy, Charles," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12 (Toronto: University of Toronto/Québec: Université Laval, 1990), accessed April 2, 2020.

¹³ Pandosy, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama Language*.

¹⁴ Virginia R. Beavert, *The Gift of Knowledge/Ttnúwit Átawish Nch'inch'imamí: Reflections on Sahaptin Ways*, ed. Janne L. Underriner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 9.

¹⁵ "Yakama Tribe Elder Becomes U of O's Oldest-Ever Graduate," KVAL News & KIMA News, June 15, 2012, accessed May 20, 2020.

¹⁶ Beavert, *Gift of Knowledge*, 8.

Indigenous American culture. In the mid-1970s, her advocacy allowed Central Washington University to obtain funding for two keystone texts on Yakama scholarship: *The Way It Was/Anaku Iwacha: Yakama Legends* (1974) and the *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary* (1975).¹⁷ The childhood she had spent helping her parents relay legends to visiting researchers proved useful to Beavert, as it allowed her to build a strong network of outside linguists who would help sustain her culture alongside her and the next generation of Yakama natives.

During and after her stint as an undergraduate anthropologist, Virginia Beavert taught various aspects of the Yakama way of life at high schools on her reservation. These classes ranged from those on culture for high schoolers to language education at night for adults who were driven to reconnect with their heritage. Teaching younger members of her nation alongside studying the mechanical details of anthropological linguistics developed into a system that was doubly beneficial for Beavert: as she was directly sustaining key aspects of Yakama life, she herself was fostering a greater understanding of more advanced ways to sustain them. After obtaining her Bachelor's degree in 1986, Beavert's research on vowels in the Yakama language came to the attention of Sharon Hargus, another Indigenous linguist (and currently a professor of linguistics at the University of Washington).¹⁸ Through correspondence, both Beavert and Hargus pooled their research materials to create *Ichishkiin Sinwit*, the most comprehensive Yakama dictionary ever compiled and reprinted repeatedly since 2009. In her 2017 memoirs, Beavert asserts her mission statement as a Yakama linguist:

My language means that I, my relatives, and my tribal members, are human. We speak, process, and comprehend the Ichishkiin [Yakama] language in the same way other humans process their languages. The traditions and cultural heritage passed down by the Sahaptin people through generations identify our country and our inherent right to occupy our geographical place.¹⁹

The pluralization of academia, particularly the humanities, does not just mean the representation of the marginalized in hallowed spaces, but an increased knowledge that the latter can use to further themselves and to sustain their cultures against further erasure.

III. Modern Yakama Programming and Its Connection to Pedagogy

As of the 2000 U.S. Census, the Yakama Nation is made up of about 11,000 members living at their respective reservation at the Washington-Oregon border. Of those 11,000, the number of native Yakama speakers only ranges in the double

¹⁷ Virginia R. Beavert and Deward E. Walker, *The Way It Was/Anaku Iwacha: Yakama Legends* ([Yakima]: Consortium of Johnson O'Malley Committees of Region IV/Franklin Press, 1974); Beavert and Rigsby, *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary*.

¹⁸ Beavert, Hargus, and Rigsby, *Ichishkiin Sinwit Yakama/Yakima Sahaptin Dictionary*. In Yakama, "Ichishkiin Sinwit" literally translates to "(in) this language;" see [UW Departments Web Server, Sahaptin Dictionary](#), accessed April 2, 2020.

¹⁹ Beavert, *Gift of Knowledge*, 4.

digits.²⁰ Despite the risk of extinction that comes with so few native speakers, there is still a healthy number of people among the Yakama who are ready, willing, and able to assist in Virginia Beavert's effort to sustain their culture. In addition to these members of the Yakama Nation, outside scholars, such as Bruce Rigsby and Russell Hugo, have adapted their methods to the twenty-first century, utilizing the power of the digital humanities to keep the Yakama language alive.

In their 2015 anthology, *Endangered Languages and New Technologies*, Mari C. Jones and Christopher Connolly explore the application of various aspects of the digital humanities to the preservation of endangered languages, as well as our current array of digital tools to create engaging linguistic programming to keep them alive.²¹ As the field of linguistics finds new ways to interact with language, underrepresented groups such as the Yakama should be able to harness these ways for their own self-determined cultural preservation efforts.

Of the articles collected in *Endangered Languages and New Technologies*, Russell Hugo's "Endangered Languages, Technology and Learning: Immediate Applications and Long-term Considerations" is the most direct application to this present topic.²² Hugo aims to highlight the possibilities of using modern technology to create effective programming for at-risk languages, using the Indigenous nations of the Pacific Northwest as an example. Currently, many of the Pacific Northwest's Indigenous nations focus much of their preservation programming on vocabulary and one-to-one translation, and educators across Washington state truly believe in the ability of technology to help Indigenous students inherit their cultures. Although such a method uses "impressive culturally authentic media, such as photographs or video created by community members [...] many have limited language content (typically fewer than 200 words)."²³ While the memorization of commonplace nouns and simple verbs from an endangered language by using authentic media is commendable, it simply is not enough when languages such as Yakama are facing the threat of an increasingly homogenized language landscape—in this case a culturally homogenized landscape dominated by American English. To combat this, Hugo argues for the creation of more holistic programming that accounts not just for a language's simple vocabulary, but also for the way that a language's phonological, semantic, and grammatical systems operate, among others. Through such linguistically rich material, students are exposed to significantly more complex

²⁰ Census 2000 Brief, "The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2000," U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau (February 2002), 11 (s.v. "Yakama," far right-hand column: "10,851").

²¹ Mari C. Jones and Christopher Connolly, eds., *Endangered Languages and New Technologies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²² Russell Hugo, "Endangered Languages, Technology and Learning: Immediate Applications and Long-term Considerations," in *Endangered Languages and New Technologies*, ed. Mari C. Jones and Christopher Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 95–110.

²³ Hugo, "Endangered Languages," 97.

material that can be practically applied much more quickly than a set of flashcards.²⁴ In this respect, both Virginia Beavert's 2009 *Ichishkíin Sinwit* and Father Pandosy's 1862 *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakama People* hold up, as both contain solid resources pertaining to the Yakama language with regard to its word structure and grammar. As more of Beavert's Indigenous students inherit their mother tongue through her teaching, perhaps they could be the ones creating such robust learning content.

Another chapter of *Endangered Languages and New Technologies* that argues for the overhaul of current approaches to linguistic programming is Bernard Bel and Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus's "Digital Curation and Event-Driven Methods at the Service of Endangered Languages."²⁵ Just as Hugo argues for a more holistic approach to the creation of linguistic materials for students, Bel and Gasquet-Cyrus assert the need for a more holistic approach to the curation of such materials. Instead of serving as a symbolic, nigh-unusable showcase of a culture on the brink of collapse, Bel and Gasquet-Cyrus highlight the importance of curating linguistic materials with accessibility in mind, ideally bridging whatever gaps might exist between academia and heritage organizations.

Although the concept of colonies—as European powers saw them in the nineteenth century—is obsolete in this day and age, the increasing interconnectedness of the world still poses a threat to endangered languages. But while the hungry ghost of globalization threatens the existence of relatively small languages like Yakama, there is a rising number of anthropological linguists who are ready to stand with these endangered languages. Lise M. Dobrin and Josh Berson proclaim that, as linguistic preservation efforts steadily grow, they have had "the salutary effect of rehumanizing linguistics."²⁶ Virginia Beavert and her Indigenous colleagues all across the Americas are a prime example of this, for they are able to imbue their endeavours with a humanity that might have been absent in previous research conducted through non-Indigenous, Western lenses.

The primary problem that Bel and Gasquet-Cyrus take issue with regarding the intersection of digital curation and linguistic preservation is the idea that once fieldwork content such as interviews has been recorded, it languishes in inaccessible archives (digital or physical). To support their push for more accessible linguistic programming, they point to the work of Cecilia Odé (in the same volume), and emphasize that "by providing increased accuracy and

²⁴ Hugo, "Endangered Languages," 109. Hugo defines "linguistically rich" programming as "[containing] sufficient information related to each part of the language (in relation to the total input available to the learners:" Hugo, "Endangered Languages," 97.

²⁵ Bernard Bel and Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus, "Digital Curation and Event-Driven Methods at the Service of Endangered Languages," in *Endangered Languages and New Technologies*, ed. Mari C. Jones and Christopher Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 113-126.

²⁶ See also Lise M. Dobrin and Josh Berson, "Speakers and Language Documentation," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Julia Sallabank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 187-211, here 207.

accessibility of data, [curated programming] should also be a valuable resource for communities of speakers and cultural heritage organizations.”²⁷

Conclusion

As scholars in the fields of linguistics, history, and the digital humanities continue to act in the name of preservation, underrepresented communities are using this trend of heightened pluralism to keep their own cultures thriving. Such devotion to the object of study has not only helped sustain these cultures, but has also gifted scholarship with new perspectives. As it stands, Virginia Beavert’s own history as “a native person who has been involved in [linguistics] as a ‘helper’ or assistant” has given her a unique perspective as both a researcher and a subject.²⁸ However, what makes her such an invaluable asset to the presence of Indigenous peoples in linguistic scholarship is her dual consciousness, writing about “ideas from the other side, as a Yakama person, and a Yakama scholar.”²⁹

So that endangered languages and cultures like Yakama may persist, scholars from all walks of life must learn to adapt language education to the minds and technology of the twenty-first century. Russell Hugo asserts the need for holistic language learning to replace simple memorization models that are sorely lacking in syntactic and phonological enrichment if anthropologists want to ensure the survival of a language. On the other hand, as a means to increase the visibility and speakership of a language, Bernard Bel and Médéric Gasquet-Cyrus both champion the notion of accessibility. Thus, if an endangered language is to have a fighting chance, archivists and language educators must build networks with speaker bases who know how to best disseminate educational materials.

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²⁷ Bel and Gasquet-Cyrus, “Digital Curation,” 117, referencing Cecilia Odé, “Language Description and Documentation from the Native Speaker’s Point of View: The Case of the Tundra Yukaghir,” in *Endangered Languages and New Technologies*, ed. Mari C. Jones and Christopher Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 150-160.

²⁸ Beavert, *Gift of Knowledge*, 4.

²⁹ Beavert, *Gift of Knowledge*, 4.

Christopher Dean Robbins

*Séances, Spirits, and Societal Transformations:
Spiritualism in Victorian and Edwardian Britain (1865-1910)*

ABSTRACT: *This essay examines the historiography of Spiritualism in Victorian and Edwardian Britain (1865-1910), analyzing the societal transformations it experienced over the past century. The author argues that events and movements such as World War I, second wave feminism, and the advent of the internet decisively shaped how scholars approached the history of Spiritualism from a variety of perspectives, including religion, science, gender, and culture.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Britain; Victorian era; Edwardian era; Spiritualism; historiography; religion; science; gender; culture*

Introduction

As heavy drapes fall in a quiet drawing room, darkness surrounds those present, a disembodied hand manifests, and messages from beyond the grave are spelled out for all to see: this is the séance, a sacred ritual in a belief system which came to be known as Spiritualism.¹ During the Victorian and Edwardian eras, belief in supernatural occurrences such as communication with the dead, the production of ectoplasm through mediums, and ghostly apparitions were taken as serious claims, sometimes even meriting official scientific investigation.² Newspaper articles and novels from the period were full of firsthand accounts of these types of phenomena:

In 1860, a journalist reported that he had attended a séance in a private drawing room in London, conducted by the celebrated medium, Daniel Dunglas Home. During this séance, if we are to believe the journalist, the medium had risen in the air and, for several minutes, had floated horizontally around the room.³

¹ Spiritualism can be defined as a religion whose practitioners believe in the ability of mediums (i.e., those with strong spiritual gifts or powers) to communicate with the dead. A key practice of Spiritualism is the séance, a ritual during which a medium attempts this type of communication. Sometimes mediums and their guests use a spirit board (also known as a talking board or Ouija board). See, for example, Jan Harold Brunvand, *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia* (1996; Milton Park: Taylor and Francis, 1998), s.v. "Ouija," "Spirit bodies," etc.

² Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin, *Experiences in Spiritualism with D. D. Home* (1869; republished, with an introduction by Edwin Richard Windham Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2012), provides a firsthand account of séance rituals. Inexplicable noises as well as the manifestation of "spirit hands" and messages on spirit boards were the most common occurrences cited. For further firsthand accounts of séances during this period, see Edward William Cox, *Spiritualism Answered by Science: With Proofs of a Psychic Force* (London: Longman, 1871); and Morell Theobald, *Spirit Workers in the Home Circle: An Autobiographic Narrative of Psychic Phenomena in Family Daily Life Extending over a Period of Twenty Years* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887).

³ Peter Lamont, "Spiritualism and a Mid-Victorian Crisis of Evidence," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 897-920, here 897-898.

Despite the popularity of this new movement, many scoffed at such stories and insisted that these occurrences were the work of charlatans and tricksters. This stark division in British society's attitudes toward Spiritualism came to shape how the topic was and is studied. This historiographical essay examines the theories and arguments scholars have presented regarding Spiritualism and its impact on Victorian and Edwardian British society. In doing so, it intends to understand how major events and cultural movements of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have shaped the topic's place in the study of European history. Utilizing a chronological approach, the essay hopes to enable its readers to better appreciate the shifting arguments and debates presented by scholars in the context of the periods in which they wrote their respective works and place them into the overall scholarship on the topic. In studying the historiography of Spiritualism, five distinct periods emerge: the "foundation" period (1902-1929), the "criticism" period (1930-1959), the "rehabilitation" period (1960-1979), the "resurgence" period (1980-1999), and the "diversification" period (2000-present). Much like the citizens of Britain before them, scholars of both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have struggled to place the study of Spiritualism into the overall history of Europe and its societies, which is why there are comparatively few historiographical works on the topic. For over a century, debates over Spiritualism's merit for academic study have dominated the conversation. Considered at different times a topic for religious history, the history of science, women's and gender history, or cultural history, Spiritualism has experienced interpretative shifts and societal transformations that have directly impacted how its role has been viewed with regard to both British and European history.

The earliest primary sources associated with Spiritualism during this period consist mainly of séance reports and autobiographical works, among them William Peter Adshead's *Miss Wood in Derbyshire: A Series of Experimental Séances Demonstrating the Fact that Spirits Can Appear in the Physical Form* (1879), Georgiana Houghton's *Evenings at Home in Spiritual Séance* (1881), and Morell Theobald's *Spirit Workers in the Home Circle: An Autobiographic Narrative of Psychic Phenomena in Family Daily Life Extending over a Period of Twenty Years* (1887).⁴ These texts permitted religious adherents and skeptics alike to experience (albeit virtually via the printed page) how both working class and high ranking members of British society were integrating séances and other Spiritualist practices into their everyday lives. The works of Houghton and Theobald in particular were written in a tone and style which allowed them to be easily understood and digested. In addition to their accounts, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's two-volume *History of Spiritualism* (1926) remains a key primary source utilized by scholars, both due to

⁴ William Peter Adshead, *Miss Wood in Derbyshire: A Series of Experimental Séances Demonstrating the Fact that Spirits Can Appear in the Physical Form* (London: James Burns Publishing, 1879); Georgiana Houghton, *Evenings at Home in Spiritual Séance* (London: Trübner and Co., 1881); Theobald, *Spirit Workers in the Home Circle*.

its format as a detailed collection of articles and reports on Spiritualist activities, and due to its author's fame.⁵

The scholarship on Spiritualism is varied, beginning in 1902 with Frank Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism: A History and a Criticism* and slowly gaining momentum with works by Joseph McCabe (1920) and George Devereux (1953).⁶ However, it would not be until the late 1980s that Spiritualism gained a wider appeal amongst historians with works by Judith Walkowitz (1988) and Alex Owen (1989), causing radical transformations which have persisted into the twenty-first century.⁷ Most recently, these changes have been seen in publications by Simone Natale (2016), and Hannah Malone (2018/2019).⁸ Many of these texts were directly impacted by contemporary events in their authors' lives, such as World War I, second wave feminism, and the advent of the internet, and left their respective marks on the study of Spiritualism's role in British history accordingly.

I. Foundation (1902-1929)

The earliest scholarly works regarding Spiritualism during the Victorian and Edwardian eras established the focus authors would use on the topic over the next half century, with a great deal of attention dedicated to the rituals and tools associated with the Spiritualist movement, as well as the criticism voiced against it. By presenting Spiritualism from a neutral perspective (giving fair coverage to both believers and skeptics), certain scholars hoped to create a proper field of study around it through a combination of historical, anthropological, scientific, and theological principles.

Frank Podmore (1856-1910), an English author, socialist, and member of the Society for Psychological Research, laid the foundation for the historiography of Spiritualism with his 1902 publication *Modern Spiritualism: A History and a Criticism*, an in-depth assessment of Spiritualism and its associated rituals. Podmore divided his analysis into ten distinct chapters, each focusing on a core aspect of Spiritualist belief, such as mediumship, the materialization of

⁵ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell and Company, 1926). Scholars usually cite this text because it is one of the earliest known collections of its time. During Doyle's lifetime, scholars used the author's fame to popularize the text in both academic and non-academic circles.

⁶ Frank Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism: A History and a Criticism* (London: Methuen & Co., 1902); Joseph McCabe, *Spiritualism: A Popular History from 1847* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1920); George Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult* (New York: International Universities Press, 1953), 66-74.

⁷ Judith Walkowitz, "Science and the Séance: Transgressions of Gender and Genre in Late Victorian London," *Representations* 22 (Spring 1988): 3-29; Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century England* (London: Virago Press, 1989).

⁸ Simone Natale, *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism and the Rise of Modern Media Culture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), reviewed separately by the author of this essay in this volume of *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History*; Hannah Malone, "New Life in the Modern Cultural History of Death," *The Historical Journal* 62, no. 3 (2019): 833-852 (published online 2018).

disembodied limbs, and the act of performing a séance, all through the use of eyewitness accounts and testimonies.⁹ Because Podmore reserved the latter half of his work for criticism leveled against Spiritualism, several contemporary colleagues and other academics praised his ability to take a thorough, yet neutral, stance on what was considered a complex and controversial religious movement.¹⁰ While Podmore's work was groundbreaking at the time, it has become dated, especially with regard to its now obsolete or inaccurate scientific observations and hypotheses.

Following in Podmore's footsteps, the British botanist Edward Truett Bennett (1831-1908) released a publication intended to justify and legitimize the Society for Psychical Research, which had received condemnation from many academics.¹¹ The Society for Psychical Research, founded in 1882, had inspired a number of scientists and mediums (i.e., those who claimed to be able to communicate with the dead) to research Spiritualism on the basis of scientific methods. The society's prominent members included the British chemist Sir William Crookes, the Irish novelist Jane Barlow, and the British physicist Sir Oliver Lodge.¹² In his *The Society for Psychical Research: Its Rise and Progress and a Sketch of Its Work* (1903), Bennett defended the Society for Psychical Research in its attempts to study Spiritualism, hypnosis, the existence of ghosts, and the existence of telepathy by organizing the organization's body of work in a manner very similar to that used by Podmore.¹³ By documenting the society's research and addressing criticism leveled against it, as well as opening it up to a fair bit of criticism, Bennett's work became the first publication made on behalf of the Society for Psychical Research to be taken seriously outside of the organization.¹⁴ While many of the theories and experiments documented by Bennett were eventually considered fraudulent or misleading, his work remains relevant for the historiography of Spiritualism because it serves as one of the earliest examples of how far believers in the supernatural were willing to go to present Spiritualism as a topic worthy of study.

Following Podmore's and Bennett's work, the English writer and former Roman Catholic priest Joseph McCabe (1867-1955) published his own historical analysis of Spiritualism in 1920, one in which it was viewed as a cultural movement that was sweeping across Europe from the United States. McCabe understood that Spiritualism was gaining popularity throughout the country. While being a self-described skeptic of mediums and clairvoyants, his main

⁹ Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism*, vii-xii.

¹⁰ Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism*, 181-182.

¹¹ Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (1985; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 136-138.

¹² Oppenheim, *Other World*, 139.

¹³ Edward T. Bennett, *The Society of Psychical Research: Its Rise and Progress and a Sketch of Its Work* (London: R. Brimley Johnson Publishing, 1903), 3-4.

¹⁴ McCabe, *Spiritualism*, 88-89.

argument in defense of studying Spiritualism was that beliefs in ghosts and the supernatural were as old as humankind itself. Spiritualism was a development in the belief in an afterlife and served as a type of organization for those who were grieving or longing to speak with the dead.¹⁵ It is relevant to note that interest in the study of Spiritualism became much more popular between 1914 and 1930 due to two factors, namely, World War I and the influence of one of Spiritualism's most famous practitioners, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930). Due to the unmitigated level of death and carnage associated with World War I, the grieving families and friends of fallen soldiers, as well as surviving soldiers, sought out mediums to connect with loved ones who had perished on and off the battlefield. Best known for his literary creation, the famous detective Sherlock Holmes, Doyle appeared to many as a living contradiction: the writer of fiction focused almost entirely on science, logic, and deduction, but also an avid supporter of Spiritualism.

Early in his life, Doyle realized he had a fascination with all things mystical and occult, and while he lightly dabbled in both Spiritualism and Freemasonry during the 1880s and 1890s, he never truly participated in either movement. When World War I began in 1914, however, his previously shallow relationship with Spiritualism evolved into an obsession. While Doyle was considered too old to enlist in the British military, his eldest son Kingsley was not and decided to join the army. Around the same time, Lily Symonds, the nanny hired to take care of the Doyle children, claimed to have psychic abilities and offered to conduct a séance. According to Doyle's testimony, Symonds' abilities were authentic, and she made several predictions about the deaths of those close to the Doyle family.¹⁶ Doyle interpreted the events of that night as a "Revelation from God" and decided to commit his life to Spiritualism from that moment forward.¹⁷ Doyle's version of Spiritualism adapted several Christian ideas, such as the belief that mediums were blessed with miraculous powers by God, and that God himself chose which deceased spirits could communicate with the living.¹⁸ When news of his son Kingsley's death reached the family in 1918, Doyle further involved himself in the Spiritualist movement, with the desire to speak to his son as his main motivation.

While some have claimed that Doyle came out publicly as a Spiritualist in 1916, his efforts in researching and participating in the movement did not occur until late 1918, namely, after Kingsley's death. In 1919, Doyle lost his brother and two nephews to pneumonia and the Spanish flu.¹⁹ These losses further motivated Doyle to prove that the human soul existed beyond death. He encouraged Christian Spiritualism because he believed it could bridge the divide between

¹⁵ McCabe, *Spiritualism*, 18-21.

¹⁶ Matt Wingett, *Conan Doyle and the Mysterious World of Light, 1887-1920* (Portsmouth: Life is Amazing, 2016), 43-44. Wingett's book, it should be noted, is not a scholarly study.

¹⁷ Wingett, *Conan Doyle*, 49.

¹⁸ Wingett, *Conan Doyle*, 55-57.

¹⁹ Wingett, *Conan Doyle*, 59.

secularized Spiritualism and the Christian Church. Doyle even attempted to convince the Spiritualists' National Union (founded in 1901) to adopt an eighth bylaw into their charter which would have stated that it was their goal to follow the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth when using their abilities as mediums and clairvoyants.²⁰ While his initial involvement with Spiritualism had remained mostly behind closed doors, this changed when Doyle decided to publicly debate well known critics of the movement.²¹

As an advocate for Spiritualism, Doyle promoted studies that had been inspired by the works of Podmore and Bennett, but he also received a great deal of backlash from those who insisted that Spiritualism was nothing more than a chance for frauds to make a quick buck (or, rather, a quick quid). He countered, however, stating that the information given to him through séances would have been impossible for any outsider to know, as specific stories and phrases had been repeated during these séances that had never been mentioned beyond his family.²² It was criticism that inspired Doyle to compile numerous articles and papers on Spiritualism to help others understand why he was convinced of its validity.²³ When speaking to reporters, Doyle went on record stating that he truly believed Spiritualism was a gift from God which allowed divine and miraculous messages to be given to the living, most likely in order to improve their lives. Doyle continued the interview by stating:

People ask, what do you get from spiritualism? The first thing you get is that it absolutely removes all fear of death. Secondly, it bridges death for those dear ones whom we may lose. We need have no fear that we are calling them back, for all that we do is to make such conditions as experience has taught us, will enable them to come if they wish. And the initiative lies always with them. They've many times told us that they could not come back if it were not God's will, and that it makes them intensely happy to be able to help and to comfort us, to tell us about their happy life in that world, to which we, are in our turn, destined to come.²⁴

It becomes clear from his interview that Doyle believed in some form of positive afterlife, but he did not use the word "heaven" to describe it. As the interview continued, Doyle made it clear how he viewed the media's handling of séance reports and other associated phenomena:

In contacts with higher spirit people, we do get lofty religious teachings and most inspiring knowledge. The press, unfortunately, usually only notices spiritualism when fraud or folly is in question. Fraud and folly do exist, as in everything, but the press does not mention, as a rule, the thousands of cases where consolation and proof have been brought to suffering hearts. We bring important facts, new facts, which will revolutionize the whole thought of the human race, both in religion and in science. It is the great question of the future, and it will end by

²⁰ Robert A. Baker, *Hidden Memories: Voice and Visions Within* (London: Prometheus Books, 1996), 117-118.

²¹ McCabe, *Spiritualism*, 44-46.

²² Doyle, *History of Spiritualism*, vol. 1.

²³ Doyle, *History of Spiritualism*, vol. 2.

²⁴ Quoted in Wingett, *Conan Doyle*, 32-33.

making religion a real living thing, so that all doubt of God's goodness, or of the destiny of mankind, will be forever banished, since we shall each be in actual touch with what is higher than ourselves. And the communion of Saints will at last be an established fact.²⁵

This new theoretical framework, established by Podmore and expanded by Bennett, McCabe, and Doyle, attempted to legitimize the academic study of Spiritualism by defining it as a contribution to European culture and the culture of Great Britain in particular.²⁶ To these authors (with the exception of Doyle) the Spiritualist movement had garnered enough of a following to warrant serious scientific consideration. Whether the reported phenomena associated with séances were legitimate or not did not matter. What mattered was that those who chose to adhere to Spiritualism's beliefs and rituals were sincere in their actions, and these actions would have to be taken into account when studying the topic. While McCabe's work had made considerable strides in its presentation of theories and ideological frameworks, it would be overshadowed and even partially ridiculed by some scholars in subsequent years when a large number of fraudulent mediums and clairvoyants were exposed during the 1920s and 1930s.

Despite the fact that the scientific theories outlined in these early publications have become outdated, the works of the foundational period in the historiography of Spiritualism remain indispensable to researchers studying the topic. Podmore, Bennett, and McCabe each offered unique perspectives, and their syntheses of the rituals and beliefs associated with the Spiritualist movement serve as cornerstones for those looking to research the topic. As the belief system of Spiritualism declined in popularity over the following decades, critics of Spiritualism began to take center stage in academia and attempted to dismantle the scholarly foundations that had been laid.

II. Criticism (1930-1959)

Due to the considerable number of exposed charlatans and frauds, as well as the general disillusionment that came with the outbreak of World War II, Spiritualism lost its popularity in both society and academic fields of study. During the 1930s and 1940s, very few scholarly works were published on the topic. Those that were published throughout the 1940s and 1950s mostly shied away from the structure and themes of earlier publications, focusing instead on disproving Spiritualism and its associated beliefs. While a few attempts were made to defend Spiritualism, they often backfired or went unnoticed in the realm of academic scholarship.

Considering Bennett's work on the Society for Psychical Research outdated, the British classical scholar and lawyer William Henry Salter (1880-1969) in 1948 published a new history of the organization, which he was serving as president at the time. Unlike Bennett, however, Salter did not attempt to appear neutral in his writing, instead insisting on the organization's legitimacy and role in encouraging

²⁵ Quoted in Wingett, *Conan Doyle*, 33.

²⁶ McCabe, *Spiritualism*, 115-141.

the practice of Spiritualism throughout Britain.²⁷ Salter directly cited Doyle as one of the most influential figures in encouraging research in Spiritualism and the paranormal, hoping the author's fame would increase the success of his own work.²⁸ Unfortunately for Salter, his publication caused a downward spiral for the Society for Psychical Research and is seen by some as truly launching a period of criticism against the study of Spiritualism in academic communities.²⁹ Members of the public who had previously supported the organization scoffed at Salter's work and soon began to associate the group with the very same charlatans and frauds whom the Society for Psychical Research had condemned in the past for giving Spiritualism negative connotations. Both academics and skeptics outside of the Society for Psychical Research seized the chance to publish scathing reviews against psychical research, Spiritualist practices, and all things supernatural.

In 1953, Georges Devereux (1908-1985), a Franco-Hungarian ethnologist and psychoanalyst, published his study *Psychoanalysis and the Occult* (1953). Devereux initially attempted to appear neutral in his study of Spiritualism but then completely dismissed Podmore's and McCabe's earlier analyses of the movement as a cultural phenomenon.³⁰ Instead, Devereux argued that those who practiced Spiritualism or any of its rituals were individuals who suffered from a combination of mental illnesses and psychiatric delusions.³¹ He especially attacked the writings of Doyle and could not understand how the creator of Sherlock Holmes, a character dedicated to the pursuit of logic, deduction and reasoning, could have been a devout Spiritualist practitioner.³² For Devereux, Doyle served as the ultimate example of how deeply Spiritualism could affect an individual's perceived intelligence and critical thinking skills.³³ Devereux's argument against Spiritualism as a cultural movement and legitimate religious practice came to have lasting repercussions, with academics left to attempt defenses of the movement over the next few decades. However, Devereux's claims are perhaps unsurprising when placed into the context of the era in which they were written, as the 1950s were a time period in which Europe (and the United States) saw many scientific breakthroughs and technological developments, and were, after the destruction of World War II, more concerned with things material rather than things spiritual.

Following the end of colonization, as some countries were developing nuclear weapons which could potentially end all human life in an instant, Europe, and the

²⁷ William H. Salter, *The Society for Psychical Research: An Outline of Its History* (London: The Society of Psychical Research, 1948), 11-13.

²⁸ Salter, *Society for Psychical Research*, 33-34.

²⁹ Oppenheim, *Other World*, 208-209.

³⁰ Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 118-120.

³¹ Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 119-120.

³² Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 55-59.

³³ Devereux, *Psychoanalysis and the Occult*, 58-59.

rest of the Western world entered into a decade of increased emphasis on science and technology. Spiritualism, already considered a niche belief system at best, was relegated to the margins of society and the peripheries of academic study. Very few scholars were willing to defend the study of such a topic, fearing that they might be labeled as delusional or be ridiculed for their research. Over the next two decades, a handful of cultural scholars managed to keep the topic alive, finding clever ways around any associated negative stigmas, while also avoiding association with Spiritualist practitioners who were engaged in their own apologetics.

III. Rehabilitation (1960-1979)

With only a few works on Spiritualism published between 1960 and 1979, this period of rehabilitation proved to be pivotal. English writer Ronald Pearsall (1927-2005) and Welsh academic David Gwilym James (1905-1968) were among the first who attempted to revive scholarly interest in the topic, hoping to undo what they perceived as the damage caused by Devereux. Both Pearsall and James wrote about topics related to British history, with Spiritualism serving as a secondary or complementary topic in their respective works.³⁴

In *The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality* (1969), Pearsall focused his attention on sexuality and the roles of both men and women during the Victorian era. Through his research, he discovered that the imbalance of power between men and women extended beyond the bedroom and into many aspects of social and religious life.³⁵ Men who attended séances were seen as healthily exploring their spiritual side, while women who practiced Spiritualism were seen as delusional, particularly if their beliefs proved problematic for their husbands.³⁶ Pearsall skillfully kept Victorian sexuality as the focus of his work, but the inclusion of several sections on Spiritualism allowed the topic to remain conversant in academic circles.³⁷

In a similar fashion, James weaved Spiritualism into his study on science and faith in Victorian England. While focusing on Cambridge scholar Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900), a highly influential figure in the fields of ethics and philosophy during the Victorian and Edwardian eras, James was able to zoom in on a largely overlooked aspect of Sidgwick's life, namely, the fact that he had helped establish the Society for Psychical Research back in 1882.³⁸ James also dedicated a portion of his 1970 monograph, *Henry Sidgwick: Science and Faith in Victorian England*, to Sidgwick's role as the organization's first president and his efforts to allow women

³⁴ Ronald Pearsall, *The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); and David Gwilym James, *Henry Sidgwick: Science and Faith in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

³⁵ Pearsall, *Worm in the Bud*, 55.

³⁶ Pearsall, *Worm in the Bud*, 67-68.

³⁷ Pearsall, *Worm in the Bud*, 77, 93.

³⁸ James, *Henry Sidgwick*, 21.

into academic groups associated with the organization.³⁹ Throughout his text, James carefully balanced out any attention given to Spiritualism to prevent critics from outright dismissing his research. The response to both Pearsall's and James's works were positive, which encouraged other scholars to keep the study of Spiritualism viable as a secondary focus in their respective publications. James's work in particular managed to gain traction by reviving McCabe's ideology of defining Spiritualism as a cultural movement and belief system, one which needed to be looked upon with neutrality in order to facilitate academic study.⁴⁰

Partially inspired by the publications of Pearsall and James, Latvian social anthropologist Vieda Skultans (b. 1944) made the most overt attempt at reestablishing the study of Spiritualism during this period. In her work *Intimacy and Ritual: A Study of Spiritualism, Mediums, and Groups* (1974), Skultans reconstructed a group of Spiritualists attending a séance through the lens of ethnography.⁴¹ By placing Spiritualism and its practitioners in this particular type of context, Skultans was able to place herself outside the Spiritualist movement. Because she wrote as a social anthropologist and viewed the group as an outsider, academics and critics were more willing to accept her work without associating her directly with Spiritualism. Using techniques similar to those employed by McCabe, Skultans analyzed the tools and rituals of Spiritualism, arguing it merited study without trying to prove or disprove the beliefs of those who practiced it.⁴²

Scholarly publications were light during this period of rehabilitation. Those who did choose to write about the topic apparently did so with some hesitation and often relegated it to the sidelines of their research. Critics slowly seemed to accept Spiritualism as a secondary area of focus, with less emphasis placed on proving or disproving the supernatural elements associated with it. Yet the texts of this rehabilitation period proved instrumental in keeping academic interest in Spiritualism alive. As the 1970s came to a close, the topic's resurgence was on the horizon.

IV. Resurgence (1980-1999)

As second wave feminism was gaining more traction in Europe and the United States, scholars started to analyze women's various roles in the past and discovered that a majority of mediums and clairvoyants in Victorian and Edwardian Britain had indeed been women. This discovery dramatically altered the way in which Spiritualism's history was examined. Instead of focusing on the rituals of Spiritualism, scholars now began to look toward the identities of those

³⁹ James, *Henry Sidgwick*, 44-46.

⁴⁰ James, *Henry Sidgwick*, 44-45.

⁴¹ Vieda Skultans, *Intimacy and Ritual: A Study of Spiritualism, Mediums, and Groups* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974).

⁴² Skultans, *Intimacy and Ritual*, 24-25.

clairvoyants and mediums who had gained fame and monetary success through their skills during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

The resurgence of scholarship on the history of Spiritualism in the 1980s began with journalist, author, and amateur (i.e., not academically affiliated) historian Ruth Brandon (b. 1943), who attempted to reconcile the ideas previously presented by Devereux with her own focus on women in the Spiritualist movement. In *The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1983), Brandon focused on the control the mediums had over the environment and guests during a séance, with an emphasis on the ways in which they could manipulate the senses of those around them.⁴³ While her work echoed Devereux's in its focus on fraudulent individuals, Brandon's work was unique and unprecedented because it also examined the ways women could exert power and control over men during a time period in which they were often confined to the home.⁴⁴ By analyzing the ways in which gender roles were temporarily nullified during a séance, Brandon changed how scholars looked at Spiritualism, transforming it from a debate over rituals and fraud to a discussion on gender and social struggles in British society.

In 1988, while still a professor of History at Rutgers (she would accept an appointment at Johns Hopkins the following year), American historian Judith R. Walkowitz (b. 1945) published her seminal article, "Science and the Séance: Transgressions of Gender and Genre in Late Victorian London."⁴⁵ While Spiritualism and its history up until that point had largely been the scholarly domain of amateur writers, literary scholars, scientists, psychoanalysts, anthropologists, and ethnologists, Walkowitz now added the voice of a professional historian. In this article, she examined the life of a medium named Mrs. Weldon. While highly influential in Spiritualist circles, Mrs. Weldon was challenged by psychiatric doctors who claimed women were unfit for Spiritualism due to the "feebleness of their small minds."⁴⁶ By focusing on Mrs. Weldon's struggles within the patriarchal systems of Victorian Britain, Walkowitz was able to demonstrate how Spiritualism had acted as an escape and reprieve for women

⁴³ Ruth Brandon, *The Spiritualists: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), 34-36.

⁴⁴ Brandon, *Spiritualists*, 74. Brandon's focus on the power dynamics in Spiritualism has impacted other scholars; see, for example, Logie Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians, 1850-1910* (London: Routledge, 1986). While scholarship on Spiritualism during the 1980s tended to focus on its role in women's history, there were several works which addressed the role of Victorian class structures in shaping Spiritualism's appeal. In *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians: 1850-1910*, social scientist Logie Barrow argues that Spiritualism appealed to every social class, challenging the traditional notion that Spiritualism was merely a movement for the upper classes. For the impact of Brandon's work, see also Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).

⁴⁵ Walkowitz, "Science and the Séance."

⁴⁶ Walkowitz, "Science and the Séance," 3-4.

who were feeling constrained by the societal expectations of their day.⁴⁷ Her study on a female medium echoed many of the themes found in Pearsall's earlier publication. Walkowitz chose to focus on women in society, rather than sexuality or sexual expectations. Due to Walkowitz's work, the role of Spiritualism in European history became further linked to women's history and the struggle for gender equality. While both Brandon and Walkowitz made strides in developing this new narrative in the history of Spiritualism, some feminist scholars felt that neither had gone far enough in recognizing women in the Spiritualist movement.

In 1989, while still working in Women's Studies at Harvard (she would subsequently spend most of her career at Northwestern), British historian Alex Owen (b. 1948) published the most complete work on women in the historiography of Spiritualism to date, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power, and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England*. In this groundbreaking analysis, Owen focused on the issues of "power and subversion" impressed upon women during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.⁴⁸ By utilizing newspaper articles, diaries, newsletters, posters, audio recordings, and eyewitness testimonies, Owen illustrated how deeply engrained Spiritualism was in the culture of Victorian and Edwardian England, especially for women.⁴⁹ Owen's publication became the definitive historical work on Spiritualism for the rest of the twentieth century and has cast a long shadow. As of 2020, nearly every subsequent work on the topic has cited Owen's analysis of women in the movement.

This period of resurgence sparked a new interest in Spiritualism.⁵⁰ Academics working on women's history especially embraced the history of Spiritualism with a fervor the topic had not seen since its inception. As attitudes in academia grew more positive toward the study of Spiritualism and its history, more professional historians (such as Walkowitz and Owen) began to write on the topic. However, Spiritualism still remained secondary and was usually presented as complimenting other main areas of study. For example, while publications on the history of women or the history of religion featured sections about Spiritualism, these books were considered women's history or religious history first and history of Spiritualism second. Thus, Spiritualism still found itself relegated to specific parameters created by each researcher.

V. Diversification (2000-Present)

At the turn of the twenty-first century, a new generation of historians began to analyze the history of Spiritualism and in turn drastically shifted the

⁴⁷ Walkowitz, "Science and the Séance," 22.

⁴⁸ Owen, *Darkened Room*, ii-iii.

⁴⁹ Owen, *Darkened Room*, 295-299.

⁵⁰ For additional publications on the history of Spiritualism, see Catherine L. Albanese, review of *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* by Barbara Goldsmith, *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 915-916; and Jennifer Hazelgrove, "Spiritualism after the Great War," *Twentieth Century British History* 10, no. 4 (1999): 404-430.

historiographical frameworks previously associated with it. The advent of the internet brought with it an information revolution the likes of which had not been seen since the invention of the printing press. New and diverse viewpoints on a variety of topics now exist because of the increased accessibility of past knowledge and source material. In this new world, the historiography of Spiritualism is taking new and often exciting steps forward.

In 2004, historian Peter Lamont (who is also a magician and works at the University of Edinburgh's School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language) published his article "Spiritualism and a Mid-Victorian Crisis of Evidence," placing Spiritualism into a wider cultural struggle of the Victorian era, namely, the conflicting ideologies of modern science and traditional faith. Lamont argued that British citizens of the Victorian and Edwardian eras turned to Spiritualism because they had lost faith in traditional Christian religion and believed that séance phenomena had more validity than the Christian faith or miracles.⁵¹ Lamont placed Spiritualism firmly between science and faith, claiming that its unique vantage point contributed to its popularity in Europe and particularly Britain.⁵² While Lamont's article echoed some of the earlier attempts to legitimize Spiritualism as a sincerely held belief system by its practitioners, his effort to situate it within the history of scientific developments was new.

Due in part to the rise of social media and a new dependence on technology, some scholars, such as Simone Natale, a Lecturer in Communication and Media Studies at Loughborough University in the UK, but originally from Italy, have begun to look at Spiritualism's rise during the Victorian and Edwardian eras as the result of mass media developments during these periods. In *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism and the Rise of Modern Media Culture* (2016), Natale argues that Spiritualism only gained its popularity due to the coverage it received in newspapers and other publications, while the topic itself in turn fueled the rise of mass media culture.⁵³ Natale acknowledges that the movement was a genuine religion for some but states that it was the media coverage and showmanship of the séance ritual that caused its popularity to increase, as opposed to any supernatural experiences.⁵⁴

In 2018/2019, one of the most recent works in the field, the article "New Life in the Modern Cultural History of Death," was published by architectural historian Hannah Malone (currently a researcher in the Center for the History of Emotions at Berlin's Max Planck Institute for Human Development). Malone drew inspiration from McCabe's 1920 work and redefined Spiritualism as one of many movements across the globe in which a particular culture copes with death.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Lamont, "Spiritualism," 917.

⁵² Lamont, "Spiritualism," 912-913.

⁵³ Natale, *Supernatural Entertainments*, 44-47.

⁵⁴ Natale, *Supernatural Entertainments*, 111-113.

⁵⁵ Malone, "New Life in the Modern Cultural History of Death," 194.

Spiritualism, according to Malone, was the method by which Europeans and Americans held on to those who passed, similar to the ways in which the dead are preserved or remembered in Asian and African cultures.⁵⁶ Malone's interpretation of Spiritualism appears to stem from the increased globalization of the past decade. Instead of focusing solely on Europe, global movements are examined and compared in their local contexts. As a result, Spiritualism has become one example of many beliefs and ideas about death found throughout the world.

The placement of Spiritualism into a wider global context aligns the topic with other cultural viewpoints on death and mourning. For the British citizens of the Victorian and Edwardian eras, being able to communicate with past loved ones served as a motivating cultural force. As scientific and technological advancements continue, humanity will perhaps learn some of the answers to questions which have only been alluded to in the past. How will the study of Spiritualism and its accompanying historiography be affected by such discoveries? Will another period of criticism and doubt take hold, or will future events cause an increase in the topic's popularity?

Conclusion

By examining the chronological development of theories and ideas associated with Spiritualism and by considering the contemporary events that affected the scholars working on the topic, this historiographical essay has shown how Spiritualism gradually became a secondary factor in various fields of historical research. Found at different times in religious history, as well as the histories of science, gender, and culture, studies on Spiritualism have had a lasting impact. Future publications on the topic may draw from these works or may instead take the subject into uncharted waters, possibly by associating Spiritualism with events and movements that have yet to materialize.

For all the topic's longevity and diversity, someone has yet to write a scholarly synthesis on Spiritualism. Perhaps the fear of stigma still persists. Whatever the reason may be, one thing is clear: Spiritualism's appeal has been its ability to serve as an access point to many different types of historical study. Much like the spirits who serve as the cornerstone for its rituals and beliefs, Spiritualism's legacy remains anything but dead or forgotten.

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⁵⁶ Malone, "New Life in the Modern Cultural History of Death," 199-200.

Ian Woodson Fisher

“Olav Trygvason” by Edvard Grieg and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson: Viking Identity in Norway’s Romantic Nationalist Movement

ABSTRACT: This article explores how the composer Edvard Grieg and the author Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson approached contemporary nationalist sentiment and historical ownership over the Norse sagas in their works. Focusing on textual and musical components in these artistic collaborations, the author argues that Grieg and Bjørnson sought to transform traditional historical characters from the Norse sagas into modern re-conceptions that reflected the values of the nationalist discourse of a new Norway.

KEYWORDS: European history; Norway; Vikings; Olav Trygvason; Norse sagas; Edvard Grieg; Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson; opera; Romanticism; nationalism

Introduction

Outside of Norway, the composer Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) is chiefly remembered for his incidental music to Henrik Ibsen’s 1867 drama, *Peer Gynt*,¹ but – well before Ibsen – Grieg was collaborating with another poet, namely, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), for whom he wrote music to accompany *Sigurd Jorsalfar* and *Bergliot*, and with whom he planned at least two opera projects, one of which was *Olav Trygvason*.² Both opera projects were left unfinished, but what is left of *Olav Trygvason* demonstrates Grieg and Bjørnson’s continued relationship in the face of a changing landscape of national sentiment in their home country of Norway.

Just as in the case of the Italian *Risorgimento*, which intended to promote national unity and statehood in Italy,³ the relationship between Romantic era nationalism in Norway and the explicit intent of the Norwegian artists in their art is often complicated.⁴ While there are undoubtedly some bald, surface-level

¹ Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906) was a Norwegian playwright whose dramas had strong modernist and surrealist influences, and he is often seen as one of the founding fathers of modernism in drama. *Peer Gynt* (1867) is Ibsen’s best known dramatic work, chronicling the travels of the titular character around the world from the mountains of Norway to the deserts of North Africa. It is loosely based on a Norwegian fairy tale.

² Finn Benestad and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg: The Man and the Artist*, trans. William H. Halvorson and Leland B. Sateren (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988; first published 1980 in Norwegian). Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe’s work is the most authoritative biography of the composer to date, as both authors were involved in the categorization of all the Griegiana bequeathed to the Bergen Public Library (Norway) by the composer in his will. For a period biography compiled during Grieg’s life, see Gerhard Schjelderup, *Edvard Grieg: Biographie und Würdigung seiner Werke* (Leipzig: Peters, 1908).

³ The Italian *Risorgimento* (“rising again”) movement strove for Italian unification and culminated in 1861 with the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy. Giuseppe Verdi’s melody for “Va, pensiero” (“Fly, thought”), a chorus from his 1842 opera *Nabucco*, came to express many Italians’ national longing or desire for a unified state. While many of Verdi’s operas have come to be viewed as explicitly nationalist in retrospect, this connection is not always evident.

⁴ See Daniel M. Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2006), for the interaction between a composer’s intent, nationalism, and national identity.

attempts at invoking nationalist sentiments in art (Verdi's 1871 opera *Aida* is a prime example), the influence of nationalism is often indirect, operating at the level of the artist rather than the art itself. Understanding the Norse and Romantic nationalist influences on the art of Bjørnson and Grieg can illuminate the culture, society, and politics of nationalism in nineteenth-century Norway.

In their respective art forms, Grieg and Bjørnson refashioned the heroes of old into modern incarnations where these historical characters reflect the values of a new Norway, a practical necessity for the contemporary national discourse. In the process, they also re-asserted ownership over the Norse sagas from which the stories derive. To understand this reclamation, however, several topics need to be addressed. First, defining the problem of the relationship between nationalist movements and the art they produce can situate Bjørnson, Grieg, and others in the moment in which they produced their work. Next, we can look to the sagas and histories to reveal the suitability of Bjørnson's cast of characters for a modern drama, and why he chose the Norwegian kings Olav Tryggvason and Sigurd I "Jorsalfar" Magnusson as the historical embodiment of the new movement. Finally, we can look at the works themselves to see how these modern conceptions of Norwegian identity are expressed in the performance and production of *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, *Olav Trygvason*, and the constellation of works that surround them.

I. The Grieg-Bjørnson Collaboration

Bjørnson's and Grieg's collaboration focused on historical characters found in the Norse sagas. Olav Tryggvason, Sigurd Jorsalfar, and Sigurd Slembe were Bjørnson's main historical inspirations.⁵ Taken together, these characters encompass a period of nearly two hundred years from the tenth to the twelfth century. The specter of the Norse sagas inevitably hovers over any artistic movement associated with Nordic identity, and the works which the Norwegian nationalist movement produced during the last half of the nineteenth century – by Ibsen, Bjørnson, Grieg, Ole Bull (the musician), and Johan Halvorsen (the composer) – are no exception. These works, produced for an inward-looking Norwegian community, are rich in historical context, but often languish out of view of the collective historical memory. Outside of Norway, for instance, Grieg's contemporaries like Rikard Nordraak (the composer of the Norwegian national anthem) or Halvorsen are all but unknown, and Bjørnson suffers a similar fate. Grieg's nationalist output, however, is much better known by comparison.

Beginning in 1850, Ole Bull, famed violinist and paternal figure to the entire Norwegian arts community, began promoting a new movement in Norwegian art

⁵ Olav Tryggvason (ca. 968-1000) was King of Norway 995-1000. Sigurd I "Jorsalfar(e)" ("Jerusalem-Farer") Magnusson (1089-1130) was King of Norway 1103-1130 and a son of Magnus III Berrføtt ("Barefoot") Olafsson (ca. 1073-1103; King of Norway 1093-1103). Sigurd Slembe (ca. 1100-1139) claimed to be Magnus III's son as well and was a pretender to the throne. A note on spelling: the historical Olav's cognomen is spelled here as "Tryggvason," while his name in Grieg's opera fragment is spelled *Trygvason*.

based on a burgeoning interest in Norwegian folk tales, as well as new translations of the sagas and a renewed interest in the components of a Norwegian – as distinct from Danish – identity. In the context of the latter half of the nineteenth century, this movement would inevitably include the folk stories and songs of the rural *bonde* or freeholder, the return of a “folk spirit” in music, and ownership over the rich source of historical drama found in the sagas.

Before his death in 1907, Grieg willed his collected manuscripts to the Bergen Public Library, close to his home, where they have since been cataloged several times. Finn Benestad, together with Dan Fog and Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, started an initiative to create a complete thematic catalog in the early 1960s, an effort which took until 1995 to produce a complete set.⁶ The library also maintains a large collection of Grieg’s letters and public writings, which Benestad and his English translator William H. Halverson have collected into two volumes, and is generally the source for modern English scholarship on Grieg’s personal life. The historical Norse characters from which Bjørnson drew his libretti are all contained in Snorri Sturluson’s thirteenth-century *Heimskringla* (“Earth’s Circle”), which experienced a revival in the mid-nineteenth century. The more detailed view of Olav Tryggvason, found in the twelfth-century *Saga of Olav Tryggvason*, compliments the resources which appear in an abbreviated form in the *Heimskringla* and also provides the necessary additional context for the life of this Viking hero.⁷

Fortunately for Grieg research, many of the same scholars responsible for the categorization of Grieg’s complete works and personal items are also behind much of the original scholarship on the salient topics of the composer’s life. Beryl Foster, who has focused primarily on Grieg’s choral and dramatic works, proves instrumental to any discussion about the analysis of the operatic fragments or the incidental music *in situ* during their premieres and subsequent productions, albeit from the perspective of vocal performance and choral pedagogy.⁸ When the focus turns to nationalism and the collective creation of national identity, especially in the context of music, Eric Hobsbawm’s anthology on tradition, as well as Benedict Taylor’s monograph on nationalist trends, make note of the problem in defining nationalism.⁹ To situate Grieg and the Norwegian art culture inside that

⁶ For C. F. Peter’s complete editions, see *Edvard Grieg: Samlede Verker*, vols. 16 and 19, ed. Finn Benestad (Frankfurt and Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1986-1988). Of particular interest are *Foran Sydens kloster* Op. 20, *Sigurd Jorsalfar: Scenemusikk til Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsons skuespill* Op. 22, *Landkjenning* Op. 31, and *Olav Trygvason: Operafragment* Op. 50. All of these have lyrics or libretti by Bjørnson.

⁷ Snorre Sturluson, *Heimskringla, or the Lives of the Norse Kings*, ed. Erling Monsen, trans. Albert H. Smith (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), contains passages on Saint Olaf, Olav Tryggvason, and Sigurd Jorsalfar. For Olav Tryggvason, see Oddr Snorrason, *The Saga of Olav Tryggvason*, ed. and trans. Theodore M. Andersson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁸ Beryl Foster, *Edvard Grieg: The Choral Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); and Beryl Foster, *The Songs of Edvard Grieg* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990; new edition Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).

⁹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (1983; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Benedict Taylor, *The Melody of Time: Music and Temporality*

production of national identity, Daniel Grimley has examined Grieg's *Haugtussa* ("Mountain Maid" Op. 67) and *Slåtter* ("Peasant Dances" Op. 72), in the frame of musical techniques, an exploration that is very relevant to his dramatic works.¹⁰

II. Forming the New Norway

Several trends in the history of Norway after 1814 increased the potency and urgency of the nationalist movement there, which was fully underway by the 1860s when Bjørnson and Grieg began their collaboration. The Treaty of Kiel, which ended King Frederick VI of Denmark's rule over Norway in 1814 and nominally handed control of the country to the king of Sweden, was fiercely opposed by the Norwegian *bonde*, and Prince Christian Frederick led Norway in an insurrection against Sweden's rule.¹¹ It was the belief of many Norwegians that "no king had the right to dispose of a sovereign kingdom without the consent of his subjects and that they were neither legally nor morally bound to observe the terms of the treaty."¹² The rebellion, despite the enthusiasm of the "Eidsvoll Men,"¹³ did not result in lasting independence for Norway, and the parliament of Norway (the *Storting*) was forced to accept a personal union between the Kingdom of Norway and the Kingdom of Sweden under the auspices of Charles XIII of Sweden (d. 1818)—although the French marshal Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte in reality became the leader of the union as Charles XIV John (1818-1844).¹⁴ Charles XIV John's concessions to the parliament, however, endowed the Norwegian *Storting* with more power than almost any other comparable assembly in Europe, with the King only able to temporarily veto a parliamentary action until such time as three consecutive *Storting* sessions had passed it.¹⁵

The Kingdom of Norway lasted independently for only a few brief months, but the ideals behind it, which had made their way into the constitution of the *Storting*, lived on. Even though the "Eidsvoll Men" acquiesced first to Charles XIII and later to Charles XIV John in their union with Sweden, there was some sense that the majority of Norwegians "looked back to the brief months of complete independence as a national dream which had been needlessly shattered."¹⁶ More to the point, however, the national dream persisted. If the founding principles of the *Storting* were self-determination and democratic rule, it was essential to find

in the Romantic Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; London: Verso, 2006).

¹⁰ Grimley, *Grieg*.

¹¹ Thomas Kingston Derry, *A History of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), 212.

¹² Harold Larson, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson: A Study in Norwegian Nationalism* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1944), 3.

¹³ Derry, *History of Scandinavia*, 213.

¹⁴ Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 572.

¹⁵ Derry, *History of Scandinavia*, 218.

¹⁶ Derry, *History of Scandinavia*, 217.

out the true character and heritage of actual Norwegians, selectively reinforcing a national past that conformed with the ideas of the new post-1814 Norway. The collection of folklore and the traditions of the *bonde*, which for centuries had been considered as the periphery or "cultural backwaters," could instead be turned into the ethnographic portion of an argument that supported Norway's fundamental, innate ability to self-govern.¹⁷

To Norwegian artists, there was one principal roadblock to artistic sovereignty, namely, the influence of the Danish capital of Copenhagen. They believed that they were being stifled by Danish talent, that the metropolitan elite of Oslo would forever speak Danish instead of Norwegian, and that Norway would be relegated to a subservient place in relation to Denmark and Sweden. Harold Larson lays out these problems succinctly in his study of Bjørnson, where these concerns about the influence of Denmark and Sweden over Norwegian culture are enumerated: "the bureaucrat generally had his cultural roots in Denmark, read Danish books, enjoyed Danish plays, and used a language which was closer to the Danish than to the Norwegian dialects."¹⁸

It was in this dialogue that the distinctly Norwegian sensibility emerged. Almost as repartee to the prevailing sentiment of Danish hegemony, Bjørnson's letters and articles reveal a mantra that Ole Bull had shared with him regarding the Norwegian theater which Bull had started in 1850: "Norwegian characters, not French ones; Norwegian music, not the music of Leipzig; and a Norwegian ballet" ("norske Karakterer, ikke franske, norsk Musik, ikke Leipziger Musik, – og norsk Dans").¹⁹ Bjørnson took this maxim to be his guiding star when he became the artistic director of Bull's theater in 1857 and encouraged his actors to depart from the Danish style of acting which was "conventional, superior in a technical way," but without the individuality and freedom that Bjørnson wanted.²⁰

To truly express that unique Norwegian sense of individual freedom, however, one needed a consensus on what it meant to *be* Norwegian, or even what Norway was. While an earlier generation of folklorists had provided the raw matter for artistic endeavor, it was largely up to the community of Norwegian Romantic nationalist artists to offer answers to the question of Norwegian identity. The raw matter of the past had to be shaped by Bull, Bjørnson, and Grieg's cousin Rikard Nordraak, who was the first to set Bjørnson's dramas to music. Their fascination with their Norse history, which was already burgeoning by the early nineteenth century, was invigorated by the translations of the *Heimskringla* and other Norse sagas by Peter A. Munch, as well as by the folk story collections compiled by

¹⁷ Grimley, *Grieg*, 18.

¹⁸ Larson, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, 8.

¹⁹ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, *Artikler og taler, udgivet af Chr. Collin og H. Eitrem*, ed. C. Collin and H. Eitrem (Kristiania: Gyldendal, 1912), 153.

²⁰ Larson, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, 25.

Jorgen Moe and Peter Christian Asbjørnsen.²¹ Publications like Munch's edition of the *Historia Norwegiae* ("History of Norway") and his translation of the *Heimskringla* were part of a broader revived interest in Norway's Viking heritage, and all of the major Romantic nationalist artists in Norway looked to them for inspiration: Bull, though known better as a performer, composed such works as his *Halling Springdans* ("Halling Leaping Dance") based on folk wedding dances; Nordraak set Bjørnson's *Ja, vi elsker dette landet* ("Yes, We Love This Land") to music, which became Norway's national anthem; and Grieg's collaborations with Bjørnson all required the sagas to be brought into contemporary discourse.²²

Establishing which publications of the sagas and *Eddas* (i.e., collections of Norse mythology) Bjørnson and Grieg would have had access to can solidify the context in which they would have received them—especially once those sagas were claimed as distinctly Norwegian. It is likely that the version of the sagas published by Munch, since they were the most recent and by far the most popular, would have been the source material for Bjørnson's artistic endeavors. Munch did much of the legwork in translating the sagas into contemporary Norwegian—even though *which* "Norwegian" would qualify to be called that language was still being debated at the time—and claiming them for the nationalist discourse. The Norwegian Historical School of which Munch was a member took a public stance that "most of the supposedly 'Scandinavian' literary antiquities, such as the sagas and *Eddas*, were definitely Norwegian and Icelandic, rather than a common possession of the Scandinavian peoples. Thus, the Danes, together with the Swedes, were excluded from this heritage."²³

The constructed nature of national identity is what makes it hard to define.²⁴ For our discussion here, the very discourse of national identity itself is revealed to have two interesting features. These features do not just apply to the case of Norway but to most cases of nationalist re-definitions of history. First, nationalism generally attempts to assimilate *extra-territorial* materials into the discourse of nationhood.²⁵ Territory can mean literal, actual land, which usually brings with it a certain bellicosity to integrate such land into the "motherland" or "fatherland"

²¹ Larson, *Björnstjerne Bjørnson*, 10. The 1859 Norwegian translation of the *Heimskringla* by Peter A. Munch was (and this is just speculation) likely the version used by Bjørnson and others for their dramatizations. In 1850, Munch had edited the sole extant manuscript of the *Historia Norwegiae* (ca. 1500) as *Symbolae ad Historiam Antiquiorem Rerum Norwegicarum*.

²² See [Ole Bull, *Halling Springdans*, holograph manuscript, 1848, Bergen Public Library](#), accessed May 19, 2020; and Rikard Nordraak, *Ja, vi elsker dette landet* (Kristiania: Norsk Musikforlag, 1864).

²³ Larson, *Björnstjerne Bjørnson*, 10.

²⁴ See Celia Applegate, "How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century," *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 274-296; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977).

²⁵ Grimley, *Grieg*, 23.

to which it supposedly belongs, or it can mean some cultural heritage with influences that are more difficult to sort out. Secondly, nationalism has an innate tendency to *exclude* by defining what the borders of nationality are and what lies outside of that definition. National ideologies can be described as having "finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations," which is nebulous enough as a definition, but in practice it can lead to systematic privileging or exclusion of anything believed to be "beyond."²⁶ The nationalist discourse has a problem with its historical place in addition to its issues with physical boundaries. While the nation-state can be seen as a purely political entity, created out of a collective identity with ethnic or cultural boundaries, it also requires a historical imperative, a *raison d'être*, to justify it.²⁷ In a sense, the nation must *always* have existed, something which Benedict Anderson has described as follows: "If nation-states are widely conceded to be [both] 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future."²⁸

In Norway's case, that would mean a dominion over the sagas and *Eddas* which – especially since Iceland, Greenland and the Faroes were still a part of the Kingdom of Denmark at the time – could be seen as Pan-Scandinavian instead. By claiming the entire Viking past for Norway, however, the Norwegian nationalist discourse could appropriate vast swathes of history to provide justification for the ideals of the new Norway.

III. The Cast and Crew

Knowing why Bjørnson was attracted so strongly to figures like Olav Tryggvason and Sigurd Jorsalfar is a good entryway into the ideals he desired – not only for the protagonist-heroes in his dramas, but also into the ideals he wanted to see embodied in the new Norway. Concerning *Olav Trygvason*, Bjørnson's fascination is easy to comprehend. As one of the first Christian kings of Norway, and by all accounts a man of heroic proportions, Olav seemed the perfect fit for the kind of self-reliance and vitality that Bjørnson envisioned for Norway. Erling Monsen, in the introduction to the 1932 English translation of the *Heimskringla*, described Olav Tryggvason as a "sea-king [...] the embodiment of sportsmanship, bravery and strength combined at times with recklessness."²⁹

Olav Tryggvason's peculiar place in medieval Norwegian history as a "violent importer of Christianity,"³⁰ as someone who acted like a true Viking – but in the name of the Christian faith, put him into an ideal position to bridge the gap between heathendom and Christianity which separated the Vikings from

²⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

²⁷ Grimley, *Grieg*, 12.

²⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11.

²⁹ Erling Monsen, in Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, xvii.

³⁰ Letter (Edvard Grieg to Frederick Delius), December 9, 1888, in Foster, *Edvard Grieg*, 109.

Bjørnson's contemporary audience. Casting Olav as a prominent Christian was not, however, unique to the nineteenth century. The passage of the *Heimskringla* where Olav adopts Christianity betrays an attempt at amelioration by the writer, Snorri Sturluson:

The hermit said that the God of Christian men let him know all he wished, and then he told Olav of many great works of God and after all these words Olav agreed to be baptized, and so it came about that Olav and all his following were baptized. He stayed there very long and learned the right faith and took with him from there priests and other learned men.³¹

Olav's duality as Viking and Christian is not reconciled in the same way as it is in accounts of later Christian kings, for example the early twelfth-century Norwegian co-rulers Sigurd Jorsalfar and Eystein I Magnusson. Instead, Olav Tryggvason has more in common with Olav Haraldsson (ca. 995-1030, King of Norway 1015-1028), canonized as Saint Olav, and both are recognized as instrumental in bringing Christianity to Norway, to the point of neglecting their respective violent tendencies.³² Grieg and Bjørnson were not unaware of Olav Tryggvason's violence and, in the course of planning the opera *Olav Trygvason*, portrayed the title character as "the evil Olav" coming to rout the pagan temple near Trondheim where the first three scenes of the opera are set.³³

Sigurd Jorsalfar and his brother Eystein represented a very different dramatic potential, which Bjørnson chose to address at a turning point in his career. The melodrama *Sigurd Jorsalfar* was completed in 1872, when Bjørnson was well on his way beyond his former constraints as a poet and patriot. His subsequent works (apart from the failed libretto for *Olav Trygvason*) were all contemporary social dramas. Grieg immediately wrote the incidental music to *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, and it was performed on May 17, 1872 (Constitution Day in Norway), to a packed auditorium, with Grieg and Bjørnson both in attendance.³⁴ Most of the drama of *Sigurd Jorsalfar* is found in the love triangle between the two brother-kings and Borghild, the maiden who is the focus of the two brothers' romantic overtures. For Bjørnson, the quarrel between the brothers signals a change in dramatic purpose. Instead of the thematic unity of retaking Norway for Christianity that is present in *Foran Sydens kloster* ("Before a Southern Convent"), Grieg's Op. 20, the focus in *Sigurd Jorsalfar* is on the modern dichotomy that the two brothers represent: Eystein, the state-builder, is reasonable and cautious, but Sigurd displays the classic Viking desire for exploration and great accomplishments. By this time an elder "statesman," Bjørnson in *Sigurd Jorsalfar* stresses a need for balance, tempering the desire to enter world affairs with a recognition of the duty to develop the domestic institutions at home.³⁵

³¹ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, 137.

³² Larsen, *History of Norway*, 95.

³³ Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 168.

³⁴ Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 154.

³⁵ Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 153.

Borghild's and Sigurd's relationship is portrayed as a contentious issue between the brothers, even though it only occupies a few lines in the *Heimskringla*. In the latter, after consecutive visits by first Sigurd and then his brother Eystein to Borg, which is ruled by Borghild's father Olav of Dale, Borghild learns that she has been accused of improper conduct and undergoes a ritual to prove herself innocent on the matter:

Borghild, Olav's daughter, heard the rumor that folk were speaking ill of her and King Eystein about their talks and friendship. She then went to Borg and fasted and underwent the ordeal of hot irons for this matter and was well cleared. And when King Sigurd heard this, he rode two long days' journeys in one day and came forth into Dale to Olav. He was there during the night. He then had Borghild as his concubine and took her away with him. Their son was Magnus.³⁶

In the melodrama, however, Bjørnson transforms this quarrel into an essential conflict. Sigurd and Eystein grow to be at odds with each other, but ultimately make peace in Act III. Since Sigurd's Christian morals *and* Viking credentials were without reproach, both the cautionary duality of Sigurd and Eystein, as well as their deep and introspective disagreement, could be explored without any other underpinnings.³⁷

IV. Grieg and the Opera

Grieg's unique musical vocabulary across his dramatic works (including *Peer Gynt*) was highly suitable for expressing his Norwegian heritage. The clash of heathen and Christian tropes that permeate his *Landkjenning* ("Land-Sighting" Op. 31), the use of the Freudian "Uncanny" in "Borghild's Dream" from *Sigurd Jorsalfar* (Op. 22), and the symbol of heathendom found in the augmented-fourth intervals during the recitative portion of Scene I of *Olav Trygvason* (Op. 50), are all illustrative of a Norwegian artistic culture that enthusiastically refashioned their Norse heritage for the present day.

Although the eponymous character never appears in Grieg's *Olav Trygvason* opera fragment, there is a great deal about him in the hymn-cantata *Landkjenning* from which the opera is supposed to have proceeded.³⁸ In the cantata, Olav is transformed into a Christian conqueror seizing a land unknown. Although his family hails from Viken, and he has a legitimate claim to the throne through Harald Fairhair, Olav is spirited away from home as a young child, with his father's killer, Harald Greycloak, hot in pursuit. From there, he is sold into slavery

³⁶ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, 624.

³⁷ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, 608.

³⁸ Colin Timms, Nigel Fortune, Malcolm Boyd, Friedhelm Krummacher, David Tunley, James R. Goodall, and Juan José Carreras, *Grove Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), s.v. "cantata," subscription database online, accessed May 19, 2020. The word "cantata," because of its ubiquity in history, ends up being relatively ill-defined, but here it can be read as meaning "a work for one or several voices, with instrumental accompaniment," which generally has a religious or secular patriotic undertone.

and rescued by a relative, and after he has regained his freedom, he gradually rises in station at the court of King Valdemar of Garderik, until he consorts with the queen and is expelled.³⁹

Olav's return to Norway comes as a stranger, as a conqueror of foreign lands. In Bjørnson's text setting for *Landkjenning*, the revelatory moment where Olav experiences nature's might and symbolically takes Norway for Christianity happens when he and his men finally set foot on shore. Olav immediately swears an oath, declaring he will build a church at Nidaros (Trondheim).⁴⁰ The moment is recorded in the *Heimskringla* briefly: "Thereafter Olaf went out to sea to the eastward, and made the land at Morster Island, where he first touched the ground of Norway. He had High Mass sung in a tent, and afterwards on the spot a church was built."⁴¹ By this time, Olav had become a man converted to Christianity by proof, which is to say by the words of a soothsayer from the Scilly Isles. Bjørnson uses the "Land-Sighting" moment to claim all of Norway for Christianity – via a man who, to all outward appearances, is a thoroughbred Viking. The arrival as envisioned by Bjørnson

Sounds as though church bells chiming,
and then spake the King, spake as tho' dreaming:
Here is the spot to found our kingdom!
Hell, these temple walls defy thee!
Hearts are swelling, souls are yearning
God to Thee alone be glory!⁴²

Grieg's treatment of that musical moment, in the approach to a preparatory cadence in measures 80-82, is reminiscent of a hymn or sacred work, employing turns of phrase more likely to be found in sacred music by Handel than in a national anthem. By means of contrast, the beginning of the piece is very much like a national anthem (though in the case of Norway, the actual national anthem was set to music by Grieg's cousin, Rikard Nordraak).⁴³ Grieg and Nordraak both composed a variety of music intended to be performed at *Sangerfests* ("Singers' Festivals") where male choruses sometimes competed and where the majority of the Norwegian nationalist musical repertoire was born. The change from rousing anthem to solemn cantata only comes at the first mention of their Christian faith, right before Olav is getting ready to speak. For that revelation, the orchestration is

³⁹ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, 115-131, here 129 (Olav's expulsion from Valdemar's lands).

⁴⁰ Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 155.

⁴¹ Snorre Sturlason, *Heimskringla*, 153.

⁴² Grieg, *Landkjenning* Op. 31, in *Edvard Grieg: Samlede Verker*, vol. 16, ed. Benestad, mm. 77-98. The abbreviation "mm." denotes measures or bars in musical notation.

⁴³ The moment in question is a decorated, drawn-out cadence in the key of B major, where the first and third voices in the male choir have passing neighbor-notes around their ultimate destination of D# and F# respectively. The cadence which comes afterwards is resolved authentically, although the passage which follows—the solo recitative—is in the key of E. For a fine example of a Protestant "hymn," see Martin Luther's *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (ca. 1529).

reduced to four cellos, which marks the quiet moment of Olav speaking "Be my faith as yonder mountains / root as deeply, shine as purely / and as these my faith strive upward / on to Him the All-Creator!"⁴⁴ In a sense, the separate styles and aesthetics of religious hymn and national anthem are used as devices that solidify the symbolic conversion that Bjørnson affected in his poem.

By way of contrast, Grieg's incidental music to *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, composed before *Landkjenning*, focuses more heavily on the Romantic tropes regarding magic and mysticism, as well as the feminine. The second movement, "Borghild's Dream," takes place at the moment described earlier where, after being accused of improper conduct, Borghild submits to a trial by hot irons. The dream occurs during the night before the trial and acts as a portent of the future – Bjørnson's stage directions are thus:

Borghild lies partially clothed upon the coverlet. Her hair is disheveled, her sleep restless ... Soft music begins before the curtain goes up, and as it rises it reveals her restless sleep little by little until it comes together in a great terror; she screams, awakens, and sits up. The music reflects the awakening, confused thoughts that swarm to the fore; it stops and she whispers: 'Still burns my anger like glowing iron!' The music follows her as she slowly comes forward, stops, and leans against the back of a chair.⁴⁵

Grieg's treatment of that description involves a very soft melody, rising and falling like the tormented Borghild, with the strings muted and a low roll on the timpani. Harmonically speaking, the passage is dominated by diminished chords and lines which descend chromatically.⁴⁶ While the passage is, in the words of Finn Benestad, "the absolutely weakest part of the entire piece [...] Musically it is thin and cliché-ridden compared to the rest," it does make ample use of the musical tropes that suggest themselves to dreams, mystery and the occult.⁴⁷ In particular, passages which make use of the diminished sonority – two interlocking tritones, or a collection of four minor-thirds – defy the bounds of tonality, existing in a state of ambiguity.⁴⁸ Harmony that is symmetrical and cyclical, like the diminished chord, also suggests an unendingness that is associated with nature and the feminine, both of which have ties to the theme of magic.

⁴⁴ Grieg, *Landkjenning* Op. 31, in *Edvard Grieg: Samlede Verker*, vol. 16, ed. Benestad, mm. 99-106.

⁴⁵ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, n. 154.

⁴⁶ "Borghild's Dream," in Edvard Grieg, *Sigurd Jorsalfar: Scenemusikk til Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsons skuespill* Op. 22, in *Edvard Grieg: Samlede Verker*, vol. 19, part 1, ed. Benestad, mm. 1-11.

⁴⁷ Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 154.

⁴⁸ There are several reasons for this ambiguity. Primarily, it is due to the nature of the diminished chord in relation to common-practice tonality. The diminished harmony is constructed entirely symmetrically, and each note can be construed to resolve in several different ways. Because of that, it is often used to take the music to more remote keys. By the time of Grieg, however, the semantic association between diminished chords and themes like uncertainty was more important than the actual harmonic implications. For Romantic approaches to tonality, see *The Second Practice of Nineteenth-Century Tonality*, ed. William Kinderman and Harald Krebs (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

Richard Cohn has discussed the link between the Freudian "Uncanny" and the Romantic musical gestures which hint at the phenomenon. *Sigurd Jorsalfar* is rife with signs of the Uncanny: first between the mystical and cyclical aspects as discussed; second from the blurring of boundaries of the real and the imagined with techniques such as modal inflection, which obscures the feeling of cadences; and last, between the oscillation of parallel major and minor keys in "Borghild's Dream."⁴⁹ These marks of the Uncanny were a major tool in Grieg's reconciliation of "that which was heathen and foreign" with "that which belonged to our people's history," or as a tool to remedy those heathens.⁵⁰

The three extant scenes of *Olav Trygvason* deal almost entirely with the heathen priest and seeress at Trondheim who beseech the gods for victory against Olav – similar to the priests of Baal in Felix Mendelssohn's 1846 oratorio *Elijah*.⁵¹ The prophetess's invocation and the high priest's ritual are rife with musical symbolism, the most prominent of which is the *diabolus in musica* ("the devil in music"), the augmented fourth (or tritone) interval that was considered a sure mark of heathendom in classical European musical repertoire.⁵² Grieg enhances this with other modal inflections and altered scales, set in stark contrast against the triumphant horn-call passages which were surely intended to herald Olav's arrival later in the opera, and the chorus movements which were, in my opinion, planned to be transformed thematically at the end of the opera – sung first in the context of pagan praise, but later sung by all the heathens wishing to be baptized.⁵³

The trajectory of the opera, as Bjørnson imagined it, would have seen Olav triumphant over the burnt remains of the pagan temple:

Olav before the burned-out temple. With the bishop and people standing further down the steps singing God's praise; and from above, from the surrounding forest, the throng of white-robed people desiring to be baptized [...] white-robed men and women who come singing from every direction, white music, white sun shining on the land and in their faces.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Although the "Picardy third" to alter the final cadence of a piece in a minor key to its parallel major (for example, a piece in B minor ending in B major) had been in use for hundreds of years by the time of the Romantic period, it had grown to encompass a number of techniques which are broadly called "mode mixture." I distinguish between tonic chords in parallel keys and the rest of the modal techniques here because of the unique ambiguity that it introduces into a piece.

⁵⁰ See Richard Cohn, "Uncanny Resemblances: Tonal Signification in the Freudian Age," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 2 (August 2004): 285-324, here 286. For Grieg, see Wojciech Stepień, "Musical Categories of the Uncanny in Edvard Grieg's 'Troll Music'," in *Memory of Prof. Finn Benestad (1929-2012)*, *Studia Musicologica Norvegica* 38, no. 1 (2012): 46-64.

⁵¹ Foster, *Edvard Grieg*, 109.

⁵² Grieg, *Olav Trygvason: Operafragment* Op. 50, in *Edvard Grieg: Samlede Verker*, vol. 19, part 2, ed. Benestad.

⁵³ For passages involving recitative with augmented fourths (tritone), see Grieg, *Olav Trygvason*, mm. 21-24. The triadic "horn-call" appears at mm. 77-84, which is followed in mm. 86-123 by the choral passage that was most likely intended to be transformed at the end of the opera.

⁵⁴ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 162.

While it may have been difficult to realize Bjørnson's vision of the opera, which was "totally out of step with the aesthetic standards of the 1870s," according to Benestad, it may well have been within Grieg's power to "blow life into this torso of rough-hewn granite."⁵⁵ The opera as it was envisioned would have showcased both the Christian redemption arc of *Landkjenning* (which also featured Olav Tryggvason) and the mystical and magical heathen associations of "Borghild's Dream" from *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, and in keeping with that, Grieg's music in *Olav Trygvason* shows signs of tropes from both of these categories.

Conclusion

If it had ever been fully realized, *Olav Trygvason* would have demonstrated Edvard Grieg's latent talent for drama on a scale which the composer had not yet expressed in his career up. He never wrote a proper opera, since *Peer Gynt* was a melodrama like *Sigurd*. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, for his part, even though he moved on to more Realist artistic endeavors, was crucial in shaping Grieg as an artist and providing him with verse that was suitable to the composer's immense talents. Together, they shaped the artistic conversation in Norway for almost an entire generation.

Bjørnson's historical dramas have been neglected for any sort of textual analysis in modern scholarship, and very few have accessible English translations. Likewise, very little English language scholarship has been done on Grieg relative to his output and historical significance. Both artists would benefit from closer scholarly examination, which would enhance our understanding of nationalist movements on the European "periphery" in the nineteenth century.

Grieg and Bjørnson displayed complex relationships with their nation's history and the Romantic nationalist discourse in which they participated. Tracing the path of historical figures through the sagas into the consciousness of nineteenth-century Norway, and from there into works like *Olav Trygvason*, reveals the part that historical ownership had to play in defining national identity in Norway. Folklore, folk melodies, and historical sagas were crucial to providing the framework for nationalist discourse, and in *Olav Trygvason*, *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, and *Landkjenning* we can see how these materials were applied to great effect.

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⁵⁵ Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in Benestad and Schjelderup-Ebbe, *Edvard Grieg*, 162, 167-168.

Eric Anthony Valencia

*Chemical Discoveries, Patriotism, and Jewish Identity:
Assessing the German Nobel Laureate Fritz Haber (1868-1934)*

ABSTRACT: *This article suggests a methodology for the assessment of a scientist with a controversial legacy, in this case the German physical chemist Fritz Haber (1868-1934) who is known for his work on the nitrogen fixation, used to make fertilizer, but also for his support of chemical warfare in World War I. On the basis of lectures, letters, and media coverage, it explores three components of Haber's life as possible parameters, namely, Haber's scientific research, national identity, and religious heritage, to obtain a balanced assessment.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Germany; Europe; Fritz Haber; nitrogen fixation; chemical warfare; Nobel Prize; patriotism; Jewish heritage; National Socialism*

Introduction

Among the most prestigious awards that can be bestowed upon a scientist is the Nobel Prize. Conversely, one of the most denounced forms of warfare involves the use of chemicals and gases. Therefore, it would seem odd to have a Nobel Prize laureate associated with chemical warfare, but there is such a case, namely, the German chemist Fritz Haber (1868-1934).¹ Haber is considered one of the best physical chemists in the world. He was awarded the 1918 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for his work on nitrogen fixation, a chemical process used for the manufacture of fertilizer and, thus, agricultural food production. However, Haber is also infamously known as a proponent of chemical warfare, particularly the use of chlorine gas in trench warfare during World War I.² The focus of this article is not to condemn or defend Haber for his actions as a scientist regarding his role in food production and chemical warfare. Much scholarship has already been published to justify, rationalize, or denounce him for his role in World War I. Rather, this article provides a methodology—a set of parameters—to consider when assessing a scientist's actions before, during, and after a war.

Various types of primary sources are used here in an attempt to assess Haber as a scientist, as a German citizen, and as a Christian convert from Judaism.³ These include lectures, personal letters, and foreign newspaper articles. Haber's lectures

¹ For Fritz Haber, see Dietrich Stoltzenberg, *Fritz Haber: Chemist, Nobel Laureate, German, Jew* (Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Press, 2004); and Morris Goran, *The Story of Fritz Haber* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967). See also Fritz Stern, "Fritz Haber: Flawed Greatness of Person and Country," *Angewandte Chemie* (International Edition) 51, no. 1 (January 2012): 50-56.

² For chemical warfare, see Ludwig F. Haber, *The Poisonous Cloud: Chemical Warfare in the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press/Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); and Michael Freemantle, *The Chemists' War: 1914-1918* (2014; Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2015). For nitrogen fixation, see Vaclav Smil, *Enriching the Earth: Fritz Haber, Carl Bosch, and the Transformation of World Food Production* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

³ For Haber's Jewish heritage, see Thomas Hager, *The Alchemy of Air: A Jewish Genius, a Doomed Tycoon, and the Scientific Discovery That Fed the World but Fueled the Rise of Hitler* (New York: Harmony Books, 2008).

provide insight into his thought processes regarding the discovery of nitrogen fixation as well as his defense of the use of chemical warfare even after World War I; these lectures are mostly devoid of personal thoughts, framing Haber strictly as a scientist. Haber's letters, collected by his friend, the German physician Rudolf A. Stern (1895-1962), can help us understand Haber's thoughts on post-World War I Germany and his attempts to aid his home country. Finally, newspaper articles provide insight into what the foreign press, Haber's fellow Germans, and the Nazi regime thought about him. Both the letters and the newspaper articles offer personal details on Haber as more than a scientist, namely, as a patriotic German with a Jewish heritage.

Scholarship on Haber is diverse, ranging from scientific works to more traditional historical research articles. It appears to be common for scholars to examine only one area of Haber's life. For example, *Enriching the Earth: Fritz Haber, Carl Bosch, and the Transformation of World Food Production*, a 2001 monograph by Czech-Canadian environmental scientist Vaclav Smil (b. 1943), only addresses Haber's role in the creation and use of his nitrogen fixation process,⁴ and while it is a comprehensive analysis of Haber's Nobel Prize-winning scientific research it does not mention Haber's relationship with chemical warfare. Alternatively, works by Ludwig F. Haber (1921-2004), a German-British economist and economic historian (and—it should be noted—Fritz Haber's own son), and Michael Freemantle, a British chemist and science writer, focus almost exclusively on Haber's involvement in World War I.⁵ This article argues that, to assess Haber and his actions holistically, we need to consider his research as a scientist, his national identity as a German, and his religious background as a Christian convert from Judaism. The first part examines Haber during the development of both his nitrogen fixation process and chemical weapons; the second part analyzes Haber's actions in postwar Germany, explaining how his sense of national identity played a role in Germany's recovery; and the third part looks at Haber's Jewish ancestry and what it meant, regardless of his conversion to Christianity, in Nazi Germany.

I. A Tale of Two Discoveries

Analyzing Haber's research offers clues as to what his thoughts and motivations were when he was working on nitrogen fixation and on chemical weapons. In April 1914, Haber gave a lecture on the state of the chemical industry, opening it by stating "there is more brilliancy around the accomplishment of the organic than of the inorganic industries."⁶ Haber offered this valuation because he had already developed his nitrogen fixation process, which was being used as a source of nitrate for fertilizers. For the rest of the lecture, Haber discussed different

⁴ Smil, *Enriching the Earth*.

⁵ Haber, *Poisonous Cloud*; Freemantle, *Chemists' War*.

⁶ Fritz Haber, "Modern Chemical Industry," *The Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 6, no. 4 (April 1914): 325-331, here 325.

chemistry topics, ranging from oxides used in the enamel industry⁷ to the comparison of a blast lamp and a Bunsen burner.⁸ Toward the end of the lecture, when addressing the state of usable nitrogen in the chemical industry, Haber emphasized the importance of nitrogen fixation.⁹ In 1914, as the lecture shows, Haber was a scientist who had won recognition for his breakthrough in ammonia synthesis. He had not yet been awarded the Nobel Prize, but his reputation as a prominent physical chemist was on the rise. He had not yet developed chemical weapons, meaning his legacy up until that point was that of a peacetime chemist dedicated to chemical reactions, not weapons. According to Vaclav Smil, the discovery of nitrogen fixation was at least as important as that of flight or the light bulb.¹⁰ To this day, this discovery is a critical component in food production, and as his 1914 lecture indicates, Haber fully realized the importance of his discovery.

Haber was awarded the 1918 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for his development of what is known today as the Haber-Bosch process of nitrogen fixation. This process had catapulted him to scientific fame and was the primary reason why, after World War I, Haber was considered a Nobel Prize candidate. The process involved the combining of gaseous nitrogen with gaseous hydrogen to produce ammonia gas.¹¹ From this gas, the nitrates needed for farming were then extracted and used in industrial fertilizer. In his Nobel lecture of June 2, 1920, "The Synthesis of Ammonia from Its Elements," Haber acknowledged that "the three substances involved have been well known to the chemist for over a hundred years."¹² This was not a sideswipe at fellow scientists, but, rather, a testament to how difficult it had been to achieve the successful chemical process of combining the two inorganic gases into an organic one. Haber explained that it had been so difficult that "this gave rise to the prejudice that such a production of ammonia was impossible."¹³ There was no question in his (or probably anyone else's mind) that the Haber-Bosch process was a major scientific breakthrough.

Haber began his Nobel lecture by saying that it was a great honor to have been awarded the Nobel Prize and that it was his "obligation" to explain what had led to the development of the nitrogen fixation process.¹⁴ Haber then proceeded to explain in depth that agriculture played a part in his development of nitrogen fixation: "with the advent of the industrial age, the products of the soil are carried off from where the crops are grown to far-off places where they are consumed,

⁷ Haber, "Modern Chemical Industry," 326.

⁸ Haber, "Modern Chemical Industry," 327.

⁹ Haber, "Modern Chemical Industry," 328.

¹⁰ Smil, *Enriching the Earth*, 81.

¹¹ Fritz Haber, "The Synthesis of Ammonia from Its Elements: Nobel Lecture, June 2, 1920," *Resonance* 7, no. 9 (2002): 86-94, here 86. Also available [online](#), accessed May 23, 2020.

¹² Haber, "Synthesis of Ammonia," 86.

¹³ Haber, "Synthesis of Ammonia," 87.

¹⁴ Haber, "Synthesis of Ammonia," 86.

with the result that the bound nitrogen is no longer returned to the earth from which it was taken.”¹⁵ Haber understood that, due to increased food production (driven by the Industrial Revolution and necessitated by population growth), the amount of usable nitrogen or nitrate was depleting faster than it could be restored. He ended his lecture by stating that “improved nitrogen fertilization of the soil brings new nutritive riches to mankind and that the chemical industry comes to the aid of the farmer who, in good earth, changes stones into bread.”¹⁶ Haber’s Nobel lecture illustrates that Haber knew just how beneficial his fixation process had become. However, Haber’s Nobel lecture was given after World War I, and his scientific legacy was being contested at this time. In fact, as Israeli chemical engineer Jaime Wisniak explains, Haber is the only Nobel Prize recipient to ever have been contested.¹⁷ The reason for this was Haber’s role in the development of chemical weapons. By the end of World War I, Haber’s two discoveries were interacting with each other: one brought him widespread fame and recognition, while the other brought him infamy.

On November 11, 1920, five months after his Noble lecture, Haber spoke before officers of the German *Reichswehrministerium* (“Reich Ministry of Defense”). He began his lecture “Chemistry in War” by emphasizing the need for “cooperation between the officer, the scientist, and the technologist, so that the power of imagination and decision of the latter two could benefit the military preparation. But this cooperation was lacking [in World War I].”¹⁸ Haber explained that, due to a lack of cooperation between the military and the scientists, gas warfare had not been used effectively in combat. According to German-Canadian historian Ulrich Trumpener (1930-2017) the use of gas was indeed ineffective at the Second Battle of Ypres (April 22-May 25, 1915) because of the German army’s lack of faith in the new weapon.¹⁹ However, what must be noted here is that Haber was defending the use of gas weapons. He explained that to be killed by gas in combat was no crueler than death by “flying pieces of steel.”²⁰ Haber spent the rest of the lecture addressing his critics, stating “the field of chemical warfare is burdened with misgivings from an orthodox standpoint.”²¹ It was his continued defense of chemical weapons after World War I that painted Haber in a negative light to those in academia and the general public alike. Haber was unapologetic when it came

¹⁵ Haber, “Synthesis of Ammonia,” 88.

¹⁶ Haber, “Synthesis of Ammonia,” 94.

¹⁷ Jaime Wisniak, “Fritz Haber: A Conflicting Chemist,” *Indian Journal of History of Science* 37, no. 2 (November 2014): 153-173, here 170.

¹⁸ Fritz Haber, “Chemistry in War” (a lecture before officers of the “Reichswehrministerium” [Reich Ministry of Defense] on November 11, 1920), *Journal of Chemical Education* 22, no. 11 (November 1945): 526-529, 553, here 527.

¹⁹ Ulrich Trumpener, “The Road to Ypres: The Beginnings of Gas Warfare in World War I,” *The Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 3 (September 1975): 460-480, here 480.

²⁰ Haber, “Chemistry in War,” 528.

²¹ Haber, “Chemistry in War,” 528.

to the use of chemical weapons. From his perspective, in war, every member of society had a part to play to win the war. Thus, he did not just take pride in his discovery of the nitrogen fixation process (which, by extension, could help feed his country's soldiers and general populace) but also in his work on chemical weapons (which could aid his country's war effort directly). That he did not distance himself from the latter impacted his legacy. According to Haber's son Ludwig, at a ceremony held in 1968 to honor his father, two college students unfurled a sign stating "Haber = Vater des Gaskriegs" ("Haber = Father of Gas Warfare").²² When assessing a scientist's actions before, during, and after a war, it is not enough to consider the content and impact of that scientist's discoveries. One also needs to take into account any rationale and self-assessment such a scientist has to offer at various points in time for these discoveries. It is there, though, that we find just how complex and incomprehensible personalities are.

II. For the Love of Country

According to German-American historian and UNC-Chapel Hill professor Konrad Jarausch (b. 1941), post-World War I Germany found itself in a precarious position with massive debts as stipulated by the Paris Peace Conference (1919-1920).²³ This in turn allowed Haber to play a prominent role in Germany's economic recovery, which brings us to the second parameter suggested here to assess Haber, namely, his patriotism, particularly as viewed from abroad. To do so, this article utilizes press coverage from *The New York Times* and *The Times* of London. On October 19, 1930, *The New York Times* published an article by British science journalist James G. Crowther (1899-1983), titled "Fritz Haber's Clue to Germany's Revival: Famous Chemist Gives the Credit to Close Relation of Science and Business." In this article, published over a decade after World War I, Crowther expressed his amazement at how Germany's industry had been able to recover, calling it "one of the wonders of history."²⁴ As the article indicates, Crowther had been told repeatedly, not just by other scientists but by distinguished Germans as well, that Fritz Haber was one of the leaders of this recovery and that Germans were referring to him as "our greatest man."²⁵ Later in the article, Crowther explained that Haber was also responsible for the creation of the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* ("Emergency Association of German Science"), established in 1920 to save Germany's scientific institutions.²⁶ By 1930, this article suggests, Haber was considered a respected German and a heroic scientist. In his 1967 monograph, *The Story of Fritz Haber*, American science educator Morris Goran (1916-1987) provides

²² Haber, *Poisonous Cloud*, 1.

²³ Konrad H. Jarausch, *Out of Ashes: A New History of Europe in the Twentieth Century* (2015; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 150.

²⁴ James G. Crowther, "Fritz Haber's Clue to Germany's Revival: Famous Chemist Gives the Credit to Close Relation of Science and Business," *New York Times* (New York), October 19, 1930.

²⁵ Crowther, "Fritz Haber's Clue."

²⁶ Crowther, "Fritz Haber's Clue."

further details concerning Haber's engagement during this period. For example, Haber suggested the use of acetylene instead of gasoline due to the petroleum shortage.²⁷ The *Notgemeinschaft*, co-founded by Haber, provided research grants, established fellowships, bought scientific equipment, acquired scientific literature from other countries, and published worthy noncommercial manuscripts.²⁸ Haber supported all these efforts despite his own monetary problems which resulted from the fact that postwar inflation in Germany had rendered Haber's patent royalty agreement for the nitrogen fixation process nearly worthless, at least until his lawyers were able to secure more beneficial terms for this patent royalty agreement.²⁹ After World War I, Haber was doing everything he could to help Germany both in terms of its industry and its scientific community.

In 1935, one year after Haber's death, *The Times* of London published the article "A Fighter for Germany: Commemoration of Professor Haber," according to which fellow scientists at a memorial service had "laid emphasis on Haber's love of his country and services to it."³⁰ The article includes quotes from a speech delivered at the occasion by none other than German physicist and 1918 fellow Nobel Prize laureate Max Planck (1858-1947), at the time the president of the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften* ("Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science"). In his speech, Planck asserted that Haber and his nitrogen fixation process "had saved Germany from military and economic collapse in the first months of the war."³¹ His fellow scientists clearly viewed Haber as a patriot. It was Haber's patriotism, too, that had led him to work on chemical weapons, which he saw as his contribution to the German war effort.³²

This is, however, where Haber's legacy has encountered considerable scrutiny. A 2001 article, co-authored by Roald Hoffmann (b. 1937), a Holocaust survivor, Polish-American chemist, and 1981 recipient of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry, and French chemist Pierre Laszlo (b. 1938), challenges the notion that Fritz Haber's legacy should be assessed in the context of a post-Holocaust and post-Hiroshima world—a notion supported, among others, by the prominent German-American historian Fritz Stern (1926-2016), Fritz Haber's own godson.³³ According to Hoffmann and Laszlo, "Haber falls very much short."³⁴ The two chemists explain their methodology as follows: "We approach the issue here by way of an attentive

²⁷ Goran, *Story of Fritz Haber*, 86.

²⁸ Goran, *Story of Fritz Haber*, 87.

²⁹ Goran, *Story of Fritz Haber*, 87.

³⁰ "A Fighter for Germany: Commemoration of Professor Haber," *The Times* (London), February 1, 1935.

³¹ "Fighter for Germany," *The Times* (London).

³² Trumpener, "Road to Ypres," 468-469.

³³ Roald Hoffmann and Pierre Laszlo, "Coping with Fritz Haber's Somber Literary Shadow," *Angewandte Chemie* (International Edition) 40, no. 24 (December 2001): 4599-4604, here 4603.

³⁴ Hoffmann and Laszlo, "Coping with Fritz Haber's Somber Literary Shadow," 4603.

reading of a selection of the literary pieces featuring Haber, whether under his own name or in transparent disguise, and of recent biographies of Haber.”³⁵ Haber left a controversial legacy; however, one does not get the impression that Hoffmann and Laszlo were interested in viewing Haber holistically.

In considering patriotism as an assessment criterion, we now turn to a letter written by Fritz Haber in 1931 to the German *Finanzminister* (“Minister of Finance”) Hermann Dietrich. Haber shared a copy of this letter with his friend, the physician Rudolf Stern, who—according to his son Fritz (Haber’s godson and the aforementioned prominent historian)—was surprised by what he referred to as the “ardent patriotism” displayed by the disgruntled scientist.³⁶ Haber was dismayed by Germany’s economic climate and pleaded with the minister that something had to be done. Haber recognized that he did not possess the answers to Germany’s financial woes and told the minister: “[I]t cannot be my business to make one-on-one poetic suggestions to you in terms of your job, position, and experience.”³⁷ Haber then criticized the economic landscape: “It no longer believes in grandfather liberalism and the slow development path of trade union social democracy. It is filled with the conviction that it is behind the façade of capitalism.”³⁸ Haber wanted nothing more than to help his country. The post-World War I years were hard on Germany, and Haber was doing anything he could to help, even reaching out to members of the government. In his 2012 article, “Fritz Haber: Flawed Greatness of Person and Country,” Haber’s godson, the historian Fritz Stern, argued “there was a remarkable affinity between Haber and his country, an affinity in greatness and in failure. He experienced the flaws of his country, he could bend them, and he suffered from them. To understand Haber is to understand Germany.”³⁹ Stern did not publish this article in a historical journal but, rather, in the international edition of *Angewandte Chemie* (“Applied Chemistry”)—certainly a very public signal by the historian Stern to the two chemists Hoffmann and Laszlo, in an international journal of German provenance with a publication history since 1887/1888, that holistic context matters.

III. Jewish Identity vs. Nazi Ideology

The final criterion suggested here for assessing Haber involves his Jewish heritage which became an area of conflict between him and the Nazi regime. Even though Haber had converted to Protestantism by 1894, this was not enough to escape persecution by the Nazis,⁴⁰ both during his life and after his death. On May 4, 1933,

³⁵ Hoffmann and Laszlo, “Coping with Fritz Haber’s Somber Literary Shadow,” 4599.

³⁶ Rudolf A. Stern, “Fritz Haber: Personal Recollections,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 8, no. 1 (January 1963): 70-102, here 96-97. Rudolf A. Stern died on November 9, 1962, so these “recollections” were published posthumously by Stern’s son (and Haber’s godson) Fritz.

³⁷ Stern, “Fritz Haber: Personal Recollections,” 96-97.

³⁸ Stern, “Fritz Haber: Personal Recollections,” 96-97.

³⁹ Stern, “Fritz Haber: Flawed Greatness,” 55.

⁴⁰ Stern, “Fritz Haber,” 52.

a mere three months after the Nazis had seized power in Germany, *The Times* of London reported that Haber had resigned his directorship at the “Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry” and his professorship at Berlin University. *The Times* attributed this to anti-Jewish legislation supported by the German Minister of Education, Dr. Bernhard Rust (1883-1945), exposed as a Nazi in the article. The article reported that student unions championing Aryan-only faculty were causing problems at the university, and that Dr. Rust was responsible for the removal of ten members of the faculty due to their Jewish heritage.⁴¹ Even though Haber was a Christian convert from Judaism, he did not turn his back on his former religion. In his 2008 monograph, *The Alchemy of Air: A Jewish Genius, a Doomed Tycoon, and the Scientific Discovery That Fed the World but Fueled the Rise of Hitler*, American science historian Thomas Hager (b. 1953) quotes from a letter that Haber wrote in 1933 to his friend, the German chemist and 1915 Nobel laureate Richard Willstätter, explaining that he was fighting “the feeling of having made serious mistakes in my [i.e., Haber’s] life.”⁴² Hager surmises that this might be a reference to Haber’s conversion to Protestantism and his attempt to assimilate, while witnessing other Jews being persecuted in Nazi Germany.

On January 21, 1935, *The New York Times* ran an article, titled “Memorial to Haber Forbidden by Nazis: Professors Told Not to Attend Services for Colleague Who Saved Reich in War,” illustrating that, as far as the Nazis were concerned, Haber was to be considered a Jew even after his passing, regardless of his conversion. The article explained that the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and the German Chemical Society had jointly sent out invitations to an event commemorating the anniversary of Haber’s death but that the Nazi Minister of Education had prohibited anyone from attending the memorial service.⁴³ The article suggests that the Nazis felt it necessary to undermine Haber’s legacy and did not want a person of Jewish descent to be celebrated for his accomplishments, even if these accomplishments had been for the benefit of Germany. According to NPR writer Daniel Charles’s 2005 book, *Master Mind: The Rise and Fall of Fritz Haber, the Nobel Laureate Who Launched the Age of Chemical Warfare*, the Nazis considered a person Jewish based on ancestry,⁴⁴ not religious practice or denominational affiliation. To them, Haber was a Jew and not a German scientist or a German patriot.

Haber’s Jewish heritage was not a secret at home or abroad. Nine days after the article in *The New York Times* on the forbidden Haber memorial, *The Times* of

⁴¹ “Nazi Racial Ideals: University Changes: Famous Chemist’s Protest,” *The Times* (London), May 4, 1933.

⁴² Hager, *Alchemy of Air*, 235.

⁴³ “Memorial to Haber Forbidden by Nazis: Professors Told Not to Attend Services for Colleague Who Saved Reich in War,” *New York Times* (New York), January 21, 1935.

⁴⁴ Daniel Charles, *Master Mind: The Rise and Fall of Fritz Haber, the Nobel Laureate Who Launched the Age of Chemical Warfare* (New York: Ecco, 2005), 221.

London printed a letter to the editor by the British chemist Philip Joseph Hartog (1864-1947) in which the author referred to “the great Jewish German chemist Fritz Haber.”⁴⁵ Hartog then proceeded to ask the question, “Who represent[s] the better Germany – her scientific men or her Nazi officials? Many educated Germans will be asking themselves that question to-day.”⁴⁶ In his 1992 article, “To Serve Mankind in Peace and the Fatherland in War: The Case of Fritz Haber,” Oxford University professor of Medicine Henry Harris (1925-2014) illustrates how Haber’s death was viewed among the educated; Harris quotes an obituary by German physicist and 1914 Nobel laureate Max von Laue (1879-1960), which ended by stating: “That’s how we remember Haber. For he was one of us.”⁴⁷ To Max von Laue, who did not hesitate to say so publicly despite the very real danger of Nazi retaliation, Haber was an accomplished fellow German scientist whose legacy was being tarnished by the Nazis because the latter chose to make Haber’s Jewish ancestry the sticking point.

It is clear from Haber’s actions in 1933 that he was not prepared to deny his Jewish heritage, even though he had converted to Protestantism forty years earlier: after resigning from his public posts in Germany, he emigrated to the UK and died on January 29, 1934, in Basel, Switzerland, *en route* to Mandatory Palestine where Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann had offered him a position. Foreign journalists and scholarly colleagues, both at home and abroad, were fully aware of Haber’s Jewish heritage but chose to emphasize his scientific accomplishments and his patriotic service to Germany.

Conclusion

The three criteria applied in this article should be viewed as suggested parameters for a holistic assessment of Fritz Haber. The first criterion, Haber’s scientific work, helps us understand how he viewed both his development of nitrogen fixation and chemical weapons. The second criterion, Haber’s patriotism, illustrates how Haber dedicated himself to aiding Germany both economically and scientifically during the interwar years. The third criterion, Haber’s religious background, sheds light on the tension between Haber’s Jewish heritage and Protestant denominational affiliation when the Nazis chose to focus on the former and discarded both Haber’s scientific accomplishments and his patriotism.

Since there are a number of other scientists with controversial legacies, developing similar parameters will be important to come to holistic assessments in their respective cases. One possible candidate for such an approach would be the German physicist Werner Heisenberg (1901-1976). Like Haber, Heisenberg was a prominent, yet controversial German scientist who worked during World

⁴⁵ Philip Joseph Hartog, “Professor Fritz Haber,” *The Times* (London), January 30, 1935.

⁴⁶ Hartog, “Professor Fritz Haber.”

⁴⁷ Henry Harris, “To Serve Mankind in Peace and the Fatherland in War: The Case of Fritz Haber,” *German History* 10, no. 1 (January 1992): 24-38, here 38.

War II and remained active into the Cold War period.⁴⁸ Another prospective candidate would be the German-American engineer and rocket scientist Wernher von Braun (1912-1977), even though the latter was different from Haber and Heisenberg in that he was extracted to the U.S. during “Operation Paperclip” and went on to play a prominent role in American Cold War history.⁴⁹

Humans are not perfect, for we are capable of both amazing and terrible things. We rarely encounter someone who would be universally considered good or evil – if such a binary is even helpful. Rather, most historical figures, indeed most humans, end up somewhere in the middle, in a gray area where the line between what is considered good and evil is subject to interpretation and to the assessment criteria we are willing to apply.

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⁴⁸ Michael Eckert, “Werner Heisenberg: Controversial Scientist,” *Physics World* 14, no. 12 (December 2001): 35-40, here 35.

⁴⁹ Jason L. O’Brien and Christine E. Sears, “Victor or Villain? Wernher von Braun and the Space Race,” *The Social Studies* 102, no. 2 (February 2011): 59-64, here 59.

Miguel A. Quirarte

*A People without a Nation:
Anti-Chinese Campaigns and Violence in Northern Mexico (1900-1940)*

ABSTRACT: This article explores the experiences of the Chinese diaspora in northern Mexico between 1900 and 1940. From their economic contributions in the late Porfiriato era (1900-1911) to Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary persecution and systemic oppression, this ethnic community changed the region's socio-political and racial makeup. The economic success of Chinese individuals and businesses in Mexico's northern states created resentment and distrust among native Mexicans who absorbed "antichinista" ideologies that manifested themselves in race separation laws, expulsions, and massacres. The author shows that organized anti-Chinese tensions in northern Mexico preceded systemic "mestizaje" which granted some people citizenship while ostracizing the ethnic Chinese as "non-Mexicans."

KEYWORDS: modern history; Mexico; northern states; Chinese; immigration; diaspora; antichinismo; Torreón massacre (1911); mestizaje; José Ángel Espinoza

Introduction

As Mexico entered the twentieth century, the country headed toward a wave of political, economic, and social reforms. While these changes provided opportunities of prosperity for the nation as a whole, ethnic Chinese living in Mexico soon faced an era of persecution and marginalization. The northern part of the country experienced anti-Chinese hostilities as a blend of economic resentment that manifested itself in Sinophobic nationalism, anti-Chinese organizations, and demonstrations, albeit tempered by diplomatic relations with China and a dependency on Chinese labor and business. Since the Chinese population was heavily concentrated in the northern regions of Mexico, this area felt the respective changes the most. In the northern states and Baja California territories, Chinese men owned land, composed the majority of the labor force, established crucial merchant trade and businesses, and married native and *mestizo* women.¹ Mexicans viewed the Chinese economic success and status in their communities with envy and soon condemned their presence as threatening to the nation and to *mexicanidad* ("Mexican-ness"). Even though Sinophobia—fearful or belittling attitudes toward China, its people, and culture—spread to several regions in Mexico, the north witnessed the foundations of *antichinista* ("anti-Chinese") movements. Attempts to curtail and restrict the Chinese presence in these regions originated in the later part of the Porfiriato era (1900-1911).² However, Mexican Sinophobia reached a new level during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) when Revolutionaries embraced *mestizaje*—*mestizo*

¹ Verónica Castillo-Muñoz, *The Other California: Land, Identity, and Politics on the Mexican Borderlands* (2016; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 48-49.

² The Porfiriato era is named after José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz Mori, President of Mexico between 1876 and 1880, and between 1884 and 1911.

identity – as part of Mexican nationalism.³ This ethno-national identity triggered an aggressive persecution of Chinese communities, especially in the north where over three hundred Chinese lost their lives in the city of Torreón in the state of Coahuila between May 13 and 15, 1911.

Exclusion of the Chinese continued after the Revolution ended in 1920. Intellectuals, as well as regional and state politicians, articulated notions of the Chinese as a race genetically inferior and detrimental to the country's prosperity and progress. Sinophobic propaganda depicted the Chinese as disease-carrying and intellectually inferior.⁴ Crimes, boycotts, and anti-interracial marriage laws further pushed the ethnic Chinese toward the margins of Mexican society. Some states in the north even expelled their Chinese populations, for example, the state of Sonora (northwestern Mexico, mostly bordering Arizona). Yet, despite their social tactics and systemic restrictions, the *antichinistas* did not achieve their vision of a Chinese-free Mexico, as some regions resisted and defied *antichinista* movements and offered a safe haven for Chinese communities exiled elsewhere. The northern states economically depended on Chinese labor and businesses, and the central government was well aware of the possible repercussions with China should the nation expel every Chinese person.

Existing scholarship on the Chinese in Mexico and anti-Chinese hostility in the country dismisses the particular role Mexican northern states and territories played both in the cultivation and defiance of anti-Chinese movements. Robert Chao Romero, a historian at UCLA, utilizes a diasporic method of analysis in his 2010 monograph *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940*, and claims to explain the Chinese in Mexico “within the context of the broader global Chinese diaspora of the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth century.”⁵ Romero's approach dismisses the unique identity and impact Chinese communities had specifically in Mexico, even though similarities across the different Chinese diaspora communities could certainly be found at the turn of the century. Other scholars encounter the opposite problem, namely, by extrapolating from a particular location to interpret the climate of the entire northern region. In *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (2012), historian Grace Peña Delgado (at the time at Penn State, now at UC Santa Cruz) situates her research of the Chinese in the northern Mexican borderlands but does not elaborate on the areas outside the Arizona-Sonora region.⁶ The focus of this article is to create a holistic narrative and to include several northern states

³ Jose Vasconcelos, “The Cosmic Race,” in *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 15-20.

⁴ José Angel Espinoza, *El ejemplo de Sonora* (Mexico: D.F., 1932), 92.

⁵ Robert Chao Romero, *The Chinese in Mexico, 1882-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 5.

⁶ Grace Peña Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican: Global Migration, Localism, and Exclusion in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

and the North Territory of Baja California to come to a better understanding of the Chinese in northern Mexico. It expands on the theory of Jason Oliver Chang, an Ethnic Studies scholar at the University of Connecticut, according to which *antichinismo* did not develop from *mestizo* nationalism, but rather incorporated the Porfiriato's economic tensions that incited ethno-national rhetoric during and after the Revolution.⁷ These economic and national components can be seen in both regional and federal legislation that did not expel the Chinese from Mexico entirely but placed them outside the Mexican citizenship and the benefits offered by the Revolutionary government.

I. Beginnings: Chinese Prosperity in the North and the Roots of Sinophobia

President Porfirio Díaz sought to modernize every corner of the country.⁸ Importing foreign labor to northern Mexico to achieve rapid industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century set the stage for tensions between Chinese populations and *antichinista* movements in subsequent decades. Chinese immigrants settled in the northern states and territories, especially in border towns. For Porfirio Díaz and his political circles, modernization meant to improve underdeveloped economic, social, and political structures in the country by encouraging the growth of industrial capital as well as political stability. The Porfiriato regime strove to emulate European nations – urban, industrial, wealthy, and even establishing empires abroad. Interest from the consortia of global trade would create competition for economic relationships with Mexico, which in turn would strengthen the nation even more. These economic modernization projects included the development of factories and industrial transportation networks. Porfiriato policy makers pushed for foreign capital and a European labor force to occupy rural and frontier lands like Mexico's northern regions.⁹ They believed European arrivals would bring and share their farming and labor methods to help speed the modernization process. Much to its disappointment, the Porfiriato regime found itself unsuccessful in attracting large-scale European immigration due to the country's lack of transportation resources and due to many Europeans refusing to settle in rural areas.¹⁰

Determined to modernize the nation but unable to recruit large number of immigrants from Europe, whom Mexicans called *colonos blancos* ("white settlers"), Porfirio Díaz initiated an open-door immigration policy with China to fill low-density rural areas with Chinese migrant workers. Large-scale arrivals from China began in 1880 and continued into the early years of the twentieth century with China holding a "most favored nation" status, meaning that Chinese immigration

⁷ Jason Oliver Chang, *Chino: Anti-Chinese Racism in Mexico, 1880-1940* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 14-16.

⁸ Chang, *Chino*, 33.

⁹ Romero, *Chinese in Mexico*, 25.

¹⁰ Romero, *Chinese in Mexico*, 25.

was not subject to a threshold or quota.¹¹ The 1899 “Treaty of Amity and Commerce” between Mexico and China contained amicable language to convey the solidarity between both nations, which included the protection of each other’s representatives and workers. For example, the treaty’s Article IV (“Chinese Travelers to Mexico”) allowed the Chinese to freely travel and settle anywhere in Mexico as long as they abided by Mexican law.¹²

As Chinese workers were crossing the Pacific, the Porfiriato regime prepared the northern regions for industry that would use Chinese labor. That included the removal of the Indigenous. In northern states like Sonora and the territory of Baja California, the government forcefully removed or pushed back the resident Yaqui Nation, as well as the Cocopah, Apache, and Tohono O’odham from the Colorado Delta. These would soon find themselves on the “Indian” reservation in Yuma, Arizona, across the U.S.-Mexico border and away from their ancestral homelands.¹³ The removal of the Indigenous had begun decades earlier and continued after the arrival of Chinese laborers and American businesses who were investing in these lands for profitable agricultural and industrial projects.¹⁴ Thus, Mexican officials had found an answer to their “Indian” problem: relocating the Indigenous from usable land would push Mexico closer toward modernity. Years later, the *antichinistas* cited these same land “repatriations” as a justification to expel the Chinese from Mexico, accusing the latter of having altered the allocation of landed property that rightfully belonged to native Mexicans.

As Chinese laborers populated the north, they soon found economic success in several industries and trade. The Chinese dominated agricultural labor thanks to investments from the United States. American companies like the Colorado River Land Company (CRLC) acquired 840,000 acres of land to cultivate cotton in Baja California. The CRLC anticipated opposition from an empowered native Mexican labor force that would eventually dictate the company’s decisions in the region. Thus, fearing a potential takeover from the Mexican working class, the CRLC hired thousands of Chinese farmers and laborers instead.¹⁵ Chinese workers incorporated their knowledge in silk weaving into the cotton industry, which

¹¹ “Treaty of Amity and Commerce, December 14, 1899,” in *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China: 1894-1919*, ed. John V. A. MacMurray, vol. 1 (Manchu Period: 1894-1911) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1921), 214-220 (no. 1899/7), here 214. During the Porfiriato era (1876-1880, 1884-1911), Mexico maintained diplomatic relations with the Qing dynasty which had ruled China since 1644.

¹² “Treaty of Amity and Commerce,” 214.

¹³ Jeffrey M. Schulze, *Are We Not Foreigners Here? Indigenous Nationalism in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 3-4; Castillo-Muñoz, *Other California*, 13.

¹⁴ Chang, *Chino*, 42-43.

¹⁵ Scott Warren, Wan Yu, and Donna Ruiz y Costello, “La Chinesca: The Chinese Landscape of the Mexico-U.S. Borderlands,” *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 77 (2015): 62-79, here 65.

made them significant assets to the cotton industry and other agricultural industries. Chinese immigrants also found work with other American companies that lacked a manual labor force, such as railroad and mining operations in the American West. Aside from manual labor, the Chinese ventured into trade as well, both for produce and for human smuggling. While Chinese merchants were providing fresh produce and other goods to their neighbors in states like Sonora, the United States passed Chinese Exclusion Laws in the 1880s that greatly limited immigration from China.¹⁶ However, Chinese immigrants in Mexico continued to attempt to cross the U.S.-Mexico border to move north, and the Chinese in Mexico took advantage of a rigorous underground smuggling system to send fellow Chinese immigrants to the United States. These profitable ventures earned Chinese individuals a prominent place in the economy of the borderlands.

The Chinese presence in the northern states and territories caused alarm and resentment from a few Mexican groups and individuals who would channel their disapproval of the Chinese in the northern regions into a synchronized *antichinismo* and nationalism in later years.¹⁷ The Mexican military suspected Chinese workers of helping the Indigenous to undermine the central government's authority. Railroad companies like the Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico recruited Chinese laborers to extend the transcontinental railroad into the state of Sonora, which meant it would cut through Yaqui territory and disrupt the preservation of their land. To make matters worse, many Chinese railroad workers settled where they had built the railroad line and interacted with women from the Yaqui, Mayo, Kumeyaay, and Cocopah nations.¹⁸ While Indigenous men were fighting in the "Indian" wars, Indigenous women stayed behind, and Chinese workers intermingled with them. Mexican soldiers interpreted the Sino-Indigenous collaboration as a conspiracy to resist military authority and plan future attacks. Marriages between Chinese men and native Mexican women, Indigenous or not, would be questioned, and over the following decades Chinese men were routinely accused of corrupting Mexican women.

Apart from the military, the Mexican merchants, too, despised the Chinese as their neighbors, especially due to the latter's success in trade and commerce. However, Mexican merchants did not claim envy as the reason behind their resentment. They looked for other pretexts to warn Mexico of Chinese vices and diseases. The Mexican consular representative in Chile, José Díaz Zulueta, accused Chinese merchants of being greedy and guilty of other vicious deeds; some accusations associated with Chinese immigrants focused on diseases and lack of

¹⁶ "The United States Passes Chinese Exclusion, 1882," in *Major Problems in the History of North American Borderlands: Documents and Essays*, ed. Pekka Hämäläinen and Benjamin H. Johnson (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 2011), 351-355; Grace Peña Delgado, "Neighbors by Nature: Relationships, Border Crossings, and Transnational Communities in the Chinese Exclusion Era," *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 3 (August 2011): 401-429, here 407, 411.

¹⁷ Chang, *Chino*, 72.

¹⁸ Chang, *Chino*, 72.

hygiene, which was based on fears stemming from Mexico's recent past.¹⁹ In 1903, a plague broke out in the northern port city of Mazatlán in the state of Sinaloa, and many blamed the Chinese arrivals for importing the epidemic.²⁰ Even though a commission report had speculated that the plague had traveled via animals in cargo, probably from San Francisco, Mexicans in the region were determined to consider the Chinese arrivals as disease-carrying threats. Under the protection of the Mexican government, Chinese communities continued to live in peace, and tensions with other groups did not escalate into outright hostilities just yet. However, the success of Chinese ventures over other businesses in the north and Mexicans' general anxiety over replacement and its corresponding ostracizing, which had begun in the late Porfiriato era, carried over to the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), when nationalism became the trigger of public and violent outbursts against the Chinese-- especially in northern Mexico.

II. Revolution: The Torreón Massacre (1911) and "the Cosmic Race"

Within months after the Revolution had begun, the state of Coahuila witnessed the biggest anti-Chinese atrocity in the Americas. In the southern city of Torreón, Revolutionary *maderistas* (i.e., followers of Revolutionary leader Francisco I. Madero) seized the city for its significance in commerce and transportation. However, the *maderistas* had another agenda once they arrived in the city on May 13, 1911. For three gruesome days, the Revolutionaries, a total of 636 men, massacred 303 Chinese people in the most grotesque ways.²¹ Chinese and American officials employed the law firm Wilfley and Bassett to investigate the incident. One of the attorneys, Arturo Bassett, described how soldiers on horseback dragged a Chinese man through the streets, while another grabbed a small boy and brutally beat his head against a lamp post.²² The newspaper *El Criterio* in the northern Mexican state of Durango printed a summary in which Bassett stated that, before the outbreak of the Revolution, the Chinese settlers in Torreón had been "peaceful and attentive to the law" and that they "did not own arms prior to May 15 [1911]."²³ Overall, the Torreón reports distinguish between Revolutionary resentment and the resentment of the Chinese in Mexico.

News of the chaos soon reached American newspapers across the border.²⁴ Despite unfavorable views many Americans held toward the Chinese, the press

¹⁹ Chang, *Chino*, 82, 94.

²⁰ Eduardo Liceaga, "The Bubonic Plague in the Port of Mazatlán, State of Sinaloa, Republic of Mexico," *Public Health Papers and Reports* 30 (1905): 226-237, here 234.

²¹ Chang, *Chino*, 100-103.

²² Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 105.

²³ "La matanza de chinos en Torreón: informe de dos comisionados," *El Criterio* (Durango, Mexico), September 17, 1911.

²⁴ "Chinese Official Report Says Torreón Victims Did Not Resist," *El Paso Morning Times* (El Paso, Texas), September 21, 1911, 7.

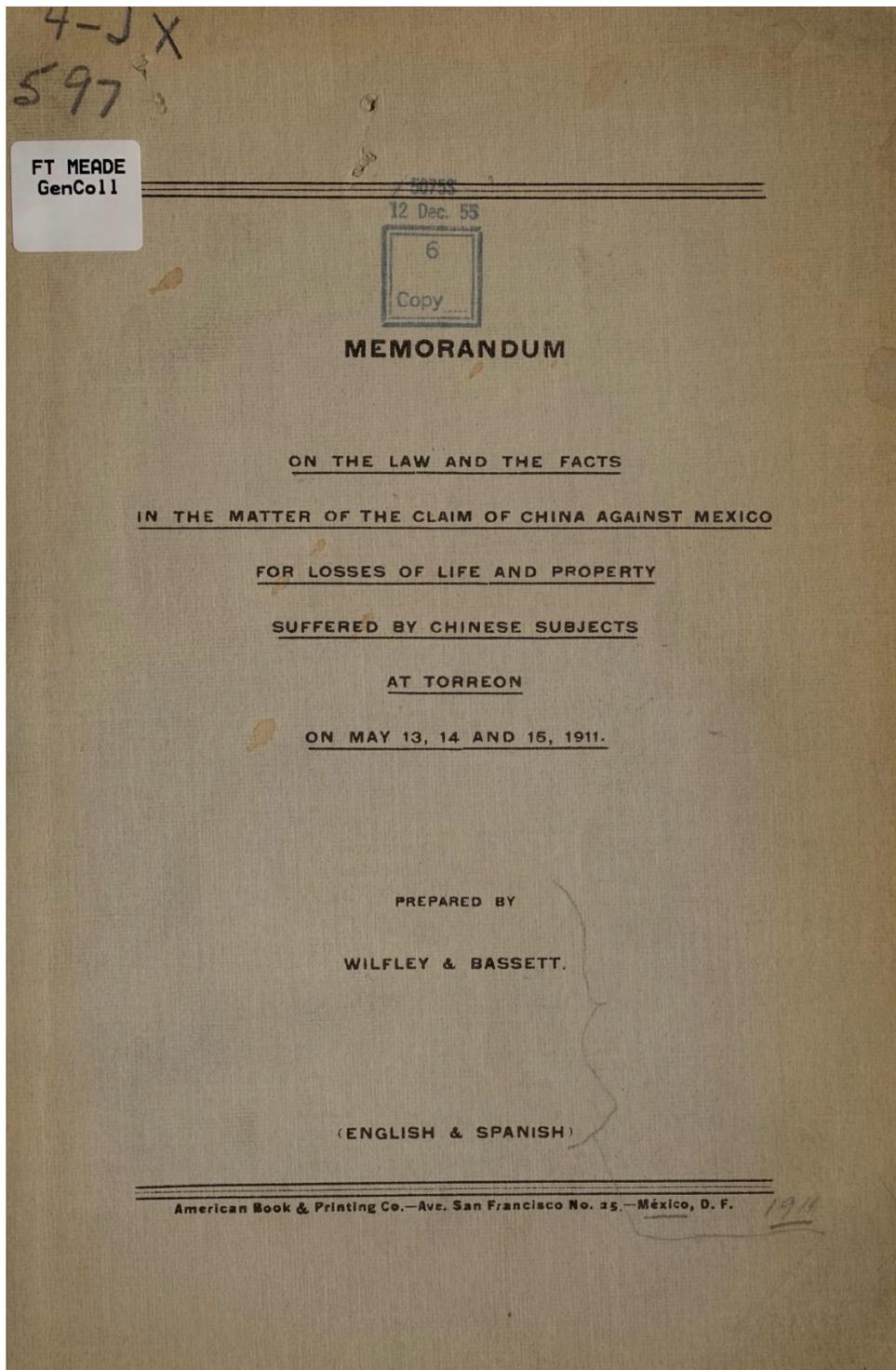


Figure 1: Wilfley and Bassett [law firm], “Memorandum on the Law and the Facts in the Matter of the Claim of China against Mexico for Losses of Life and Property Suffered by Chinese Subjects at Torreón on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911” (San Francisco: American Book & Printing Co., 1911), Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, General Collections, 4JX 597, accessed May 26, 2020.

reports of the Torreón incident portrayed the Chinese as the true victims. A Texas based newspaper, the *El Paso Morning Times*, claimed that “[the Chinese] did not

resist.”²⁵ The article cited Bassett’s account and further defended the Chinese victims of the massacre by questioning the integrity of soldiers who would attack the unarmed. Other American newspapers specified particular victims by name and profession: the *Bellingham Herald* (based in Washington state) mentioned a banker in Torreón by the alias “Dr. Lim” who had been murdered during the massacre. Given these accounts, arguably only the Revolutionaries believed that the Chinese posed any threat at all. The Chinese, meanwhile, found themselves at the Revolutionaries’ mercy (or lack thereof). In light of the international attention, it was only a matter of time before the Chinese government would respond to what had happened to Chinese nationals in Mexico.

The tragedy in Torreón prompted the Chinese government to investigate the matter and demand reparations from the Mexican government. A judge, Lebbeus Wilfley (of Wilfley and Bassett), spent months composing a memorandum to submit to the Chinese minister Chang Yin Tang regarding “the injuries inflicted upon Chinese subjects by Mexican citizens” at Torreón.²⁶ The crimes at Torreón did not just include homicide. The memorandum also mentions the valuables lost by the Chinese during the attacks: private homes, businesses, and stores of the Chinese had been “completely wrecked and robbed.”²⁷ The memorandum’s attention to the property lost by Chinese nationals reflects its main objective, for Wilfley used the record of possessions lost to induce Mexico to pay reparations to China. Mexico would pay over one million dollars of reparations on the grounds of “injuries inflicted on neutral aliens by soldiers.”²⁸ Offering the Chinese government monetary compensation while masquerading the motives behind the Revolutionaries’ homicidal attacks against the Chinese in Torreón rendered the latter casualties of war and not victims of a genocide rooted in Sinophobia.

However, the carnage was far from over. Other parts of the nation reported the killing of Chinese as well, including Mexico City and Piedras Negras in the northern Mexican state of Coahuila, raising the death toll to about 500 Chinese individuals for 1911 alone.²⁹ While these atrocities may not have been the sole catalyst, the Chinese living in these areas left in an exodus for other locations, such as Mexicali in Baja California, or crossed the U.S.-Mexico border. The *antichinistas* drove out Chinese people from certain parts of the north, thus supposedly providing relief for some of the discomfort felt since the last years of the Porfiriato.

The atrocities against the Chinese did not occur in a vacuum, nor did they follow impulsively from the nationalistic rhetoric of the Revolution. While these

²⁵ Chang, *Chino*, 72.

²⁶ Wilfley and Bassett [law firm], *Memorandum on the Law and the Facts in the Matter of the Claim of China against Mexico for Losses of Life and Property Suffered by Chinese Subjects at Torreón on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911* (San Francisco: American Book & Printing Co., 1911), 3.

²⁷ Wilfley and Bassett, *Memorandum*, 5.

²⁸ Wilfley and Bassett, *Memorandum*, 10.

²⁹ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 105.

attacks on Chinese people and businesses might seem driven by xenophobia and racism, they still involved the economic anxieties that Mexicans had been feeling since before the start of the Revolution. During the raids in Torreón and other cities with considerable Chinese populations, the perpetrators routinely looted Chinese businesses. The *maderistas* knew the economic value of Torreón. They did not initially target random Chinese residents in the city. They first sacked Chinese-owned farms and demanded money, food, and other resources from Chinese businesses, banks, and stores, before shooting Chinese owners and workers.³⁰ The Revolutionaries certainly held racist views toward the Chinese. Yet, had the *maderistas* or other Revolutionaries targeted Chinese communities out of xenophobia alone and with no regard to the economy, Chinese casualties might have been even higher and distributed perhaps more randomly.

As hostilities continued throughout the last phase of the Revolution, Mexican businessmen in Sonora campaigned to aid Mexican merchants and reduce competition from Chinese businesses. Enamored of *antichinista* rhetoric, these businessmen claimed Chinese merchants unfairly monopolized the consumer market with their inferior products sold at lower prices, which they claimed left native Mexican businesses unjustly out of the competition.³¹ According to the Revolutionaries, scams by Chinese merchants reflected the latter's ethics and did not correlate with Mexican moral values. One such accusation claimed that the Chinese could afford to sell cheap merchandise, unlike Mexicans, because Chinese migrants arrived without families and therefore did not need to earn a high income as they only had to take care of themselves. Given the wide range of Chinese-owned businesses in Sonora, many products could be targeted. A 1913 directory lists several cities in Sonora, such as Guaymas and Cananea, with Chinese-owned groceries, shoe stores, laundry services, and general services.³² Sonora's Mexican businessmen hoped their fabricated myths of Chinese low-quality products and lack of business ethics would lay more blame on Chinese communities, and maybe purge the Chinese from Mexico once and for all.

However, claims of economic disadvantage alone would not win popular approval and support for *antichinista* movements. A more persuasive strategy needed to be devised to convince the rest of the nation that the "Chinese" problem did not just affect merchants or others in direct contact with the Chinese, but the nation as a whole. Intellectuals and regional political sympathizers served as bridges between the *antichinistas'* hidden goals and popular support. They incorporated inferior-superior race concepts to label certain groups as genetically incompetent and not contributing to the nation. During the Revolution, Mexican nationalism came to define all Mexican people as one homogeneous race entitled

³⁰ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 105; Chang, *Chino*, 100-101.

³¹ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 106.

³² Wong Kin, *International Chinese Business Directory of the World for the Year 1913* (San Francisco: International Chinese Business Directory Co, Inc., 1913), 1578-1581.

to inherit the land and the protections under the Constitution. Noted scholar José Vasconcelos (1882-1959) talked about a “fifth race” found in the Americas that would serve as the quintessential model for the future: *la raza cosmica* (“the cosmic race”).³³ According to Vasconcelos, the mixing of European and Indigenous blood, or *mestizaje*, would produce people crucial for Mexico’s progress toward modernity. With this concept, Indigenous communities previously ostracized under Porfirio Díaz’s regime found a place in Mexico’s new national order. Vasconcelos advocated for the inclusion of the Indigenous in Revolutionary projects as they carried half of the Mexican modern identity, especially in the countryside. Meanwhile, Vasconcelos and other intellectuals like him strove to keep Mexico’s ethnic heritage protected from other races and ethnicities that could corrupt the core of Mexico’s hope for a better future. He condemned the mixing of other races, particularly the Chinese, with *mestizos*.³⁴ Vasconcelos’s theory of *la raza cosmica* offered the leverage businessmen and intellectuals needed to convince the rest of the nation to expel the Chinese from Mexican soil.

To further strengthen Vasconcelos’s cosmic race theory on a national level, the *antichinistas* revived conspiracy theories of the Chinese as racially inferior and as a disease threat. Many foreigners, labor workers, and large businesses had to face hostilities and ostracizing during and after the Revolution. For example, officials in Mexicali forced CRLC shareholders to surrender their lands to the state.³⁵ However, both Revolutionaries and *antichinistas* declared the Chinese the biggest threat to Mexico, resulting in much more serious consequences for the latter. Toward the end of and after the Revolution, Sinophobic demonstrations were less physically threatening but continued to deliver messages that the Chinese communities lingering in Mexico were detrimental to the nation’s progress to prosperity, especially in the north which still featured sizable Chinese populations. A state representative from Cananea in the state of Sonora, José Ángel Espinoza, led the eugenics campaign against the Chinese. Espinoza joined other *antichinistas* at a convention in 1925 that addressed the “Chinese” problem on the grounds of business competition and health risks.³⁶ Espinoza claimed the Chinese were vulnerable to vices such as the consumption of opium and heroin. He later published his theories in *El ejemplo de Sonora* (1932), and one of the color images in his book depicts Chinese individuals with syphilis, trachoma, and leprosy, and the caption reads: *Los terribles malas del Oriente, del fácil contagio, que los chinos encubren con ropajes limpiísimos cuando desempeñan trabajos de mozos de café, lavaderos o dependientes.* (“The terrible evils from the Orient, easily contagious, which the Chinese cover up with clean clothes when they work as coffee waiters,

³³ Vasconcelos, “Cosmic Race,” 18.

³⁴ Castillo-Muñoz, *Other California*, 50.

³⁵ Castillo-Muñoz, *Other California*, 76.

³⁶ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 169.

laundrymen, or clerks.”)³⁷ According to Espinoza, the Chinese did not just carry any illnesses; they carried contagious ones that were beyond remedy. The message was clear: these disease-infested people had to be kept at bay to avoid diseases and the moral contamination associated with these same diseases.

III. Women: Eugenics and National Duties

Espinoza’s fearmongering of Chinese disease and inferiority specifically targeted Mexican women. Aware of the Mexican-Chinese intermarriages in the northern states, *antichinistas* warned Indigenous and especially *mestizo* women of the health risks they brought on themselves and, by extension, the nation should they pursue marriage and children with Chinese men. In *El ejemplo de Sonora*, Espinoza included cartoons that showed the detrimental consequences women in intimate unions with Chinese men would have to endure. One image, titled *La noche de bodas ... y cinco años después* (“The wedding night ... and five years later”), depicts a Mexican woman in two phases of her marriage to a Chinese husband.³⁸ On the left side (“The wedding night”), she is healthy and happy, standing semi-dressed in front of a mirror, while her new Chinese husband is waiting behind a vanity screen with a big smile. On the right side (“five years later”), she looks aged, haggard, and depressed, is wearing an apron, and is surrounded by three little children, while her Chinese husband, dressed in a suit, is walking away from her. The image warns women that, should they give in to Chinese suitors, they would be exposed to their new husbands’ vices and unhygienic habits, and their health would decay beyond recognition. According to Espinoza, the diseases and immoral vices these Chinese immigrants brought from their homeland would rub off on others, especially those who shared their households.

By rejecting Chinese suitors, so the *antichinistas* maintained, Mexican women not only saved themselves from physical and moral deterioration, they saved the prosperity of the Mexican nation. Mexico had in the past already experimented with eugenic theories. Porfirian elite technocrats, or *científicos*, had advised President Porfirio Díaz on how to modernize the country via a social hierarchy based on a person’s biological heritage.³⁹ The *Científicos* encouraged bringing European immigrants to Mexico, for European blood “is the one with whom [Mexico] must attempt the crossbreeding of [the] Indigenous groups” for the sake of progress and modernization.⁴⁰ They aimed to increase European immigration to outbalance the inferior groups in the country, like the Indigenous populations who, at that time, were still seen as the burden of Mexico. The *antichinistas* used

³⁷ Espinoza, *Ejemplo de Sonora*, 93.

³⁸ Espinoza, *Ejemplo de Sonora*, 36.

³⁹ Chang, *Chino*, 50; Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 31.

⁴⁰ Justo Sierra [Méndez (1848-1912)], “The Present Era,” from *The Political Evolution of the Mexican People* (1900-1902) [selections], in *Nineteenth-Century Nation Building and the Latin American Intellectual Tradition: A Reader*, ed. Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2007), 275-289, here 289.

similar rhetoric to further separate Chinese men and Mexican women. In Espinoza's *El ejemplo de Sonora*, there is a cartoon, titled *La Mestización* ("Miscegenation"), which compares a *mestizo* boy (on right) to a boy of Sino-Mexican heritage (on left).⁴¹ The healthy, well-fed twelve-year-old *mestizo* boy (*Mestizo indo-latino de 12 años*) stands tall with a big smile, is wearing what seems like a boy scout outfit (complete with hat, backpack, and hiking staff), and is outside in nature, while his hunched over, malnourished fourteen-year-old Sino-Mexican counterpart (*Producto de la mezcla chino-mexicana de 14 años*) is at least a foot shorter (even though he is two years older), seems to be shivering, and stands in a corner. Espinoza suggested that underdevelopment, deformity, and social disgrace would be the fate of children born to parents who were Mexican and Chinese. To twenty-first-century viewers, Espinoza's *mestizo* boy resembles a person of European heritage, certainly not one of Mexican Indigenous descent. The boy's "Western" or "white" facial features and light skin, as well as his boy scout-like outfit, make him appear unlike any ethnic Mexican. Mexicans in the early twentieth century, however, would have viewed the same boy as a handsome, strong youngster of a preferable mixed race and the figure next to him as a the unfortunate result of forbidden race-mixing (hence his label: *Producto de la mezcla*).

Espinoza's teachings and illustrations would have appealed to *antichinista* women who were repeating his message of a purified national *mestizo* race. María de Jesús Valdez, a prominent schoolteacher, gave speeches and lectures in Sonora, condemning the Chinese presence in Mexico and reminding Mexican women of their national purpose. She blamed the Chinese for the nation's poor economic productivity and moral corruption, and she advocated for her ultimate goal, namely, the removal of the Chinese to the point where they "cannot obstruct the path of prosperity" (*donde no pueda obstruir la senda de la prosperidad*), ending her speech with *Abajo los chinos!* ("Down with the Chinese!")⁴² Prior to 1952, women in Mexico did not have the right to vote. But with speeches like Valdez's, Mexican women felt empowered as mothers of the nation and compelled to contribute to their country's future. The anti-Chinese campaign apparently reached multitudes in the northern states, irrespective of gender and class. The "national" message of the *antichinistas* soon impacted laws and regulations and targeted Chinese communities throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

IV. Systemic Oppression: Laws Limiting the Rights of the Chinese

Antichinistas increased their following with the blessing of those in power, influential individuals who identified with their cause or were *antichinistas* themselves. The federal government, for example, sympathized with the popular disapproval of the Chinese presence in Mexico. Post-Revolutionary presidents like

⁴¹ Espinoza, *Ejemplo de Sonora*, 36.

⁴² Anti-Chinese Speech by María de Jesús Valdez, 26 November 1917, University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, MS 009 (José Maria Arana Papers), Box 1, Folder 1: 1904-1916.

Álvaro Obregón (in office 1920-1924) needed a scapegoat as a distraction from the failed agrarian reforms that did not guarantee fertile agrarian land for farmers and rural workers.⁴³ Instead of tackling the agrarian issues directly, putting blame on the Chinese, especially those involved in agricultural businesses, seemed like a win for both *antichinistas* and a post-Revolutionary government that refused to admit fallibility. The Chinese became associated with the Porfiriato regime, reminding Mexicans that during the Porfiriato only certain people had benefited from the country's industrialization, namely, the Mexican elite and foreign investors. According to this narrative, a major portion of profits trickled down to Chinese immigrant laborers recruited by American companies. Therefore, those Chinese remaining in Mexico after the Revolution came to be viewed as the reason why land reforms could not succeed.

The *antichinista* movement reached new heights when Obregón's successor, Plutarco Elías Calles (in office 1924-1928), became the first *antichinista* president. Calles agreed with Obregón that the Chinese needed to be restricted. On the other hand, both Obregón and Calles anticipated negative economic and diplomatic consequences should the Chinese in Mexico be deprived of their full protection by the state.⁴⁴ At the time of the Mexican Revolution, China had also faced domestic unrest and civil war, resulting in the end of the Qing dynasty's rule (1911). The following year, the Nationalist Party or *Kuomintang* (KMT) ascended to power, forming the government of the new Republic of China with Sun Yat-sen as China's provisional president.⁴⁵ Chinese political leadership had changed but that did not negate treaty obligations toward the Chinese diaspora. Should another Torreón-like massacre occur, Obregón and Calles feared that China and the United States might investigate Mexico again and publicize their findings. Chinese officials in Mexico knew well the hostilities toward Chinese nationals in the country and wrote letters to the Mexican government, urging it to abide by the 1899 "Treaty of Amity" and fulfill its duty to offer protection and rights to the Chinese living in the country. By 1926, 24,218 Chinese immigrants were living in Mexico.⁴⁶ Both Obregón and Calles curbed *antichinista* demonstrations and laws but compromised by limiting Chinese immigration in 1921 and again in 1927.⁴⁷ The

⁴³ Chang, *Chino*, 121.

⁴⁴ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 158.

⁴⁵ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 159; Thomas Crump, *Asia-Pacific: A History of Empire and Conflict* (New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 4. Exiled in 1916, Sun Yat-sen (KMT) returned to power as Premier of China and ruled again from 1919 until 1925, at the time when Obregón (1920-1924) and Calles (1924-1928) served their respective terms as President of Mexico. The KMT would rule China until 1949 when the Communist Party of China (CPC) took over.

⁴⁶ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 159; Romero, *Chinese in Mexico*, 183.

⁴⁷ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 158, 178. Under President Calles, the Immigration Law of 1927 did not specifically restrict immigration from China but from the Middle East. It gave Calles a reputation of advocating for the ethnic Mexican working class.

federal government thus averted an international crisis but on the domestic level the *antichinista* movement now turned to other methods to remove the Chinese.

Antichinistas in the north were not satisfied with merely restricting Chinese immigration, which they resented and interpreted as a lack of support from the central government. Since federal law would not support their platform they took matters into their own hands. Much to the *antichinistas'* surprise, the Chinese population in northern Mexico had grown in the 1920s – despite the Revolutionary era's massacres and expulsions. Thus, the northern regions experimented with and promulgated laws that limited economic and social protection for the Chinese. The state of Sonora established *antichinista* laws, hoping that neighboring states and the Baja California territory would soon emulate them. *Antichinista* groups in Sonora pushed for laws in accordance with the new Mexican Constitution which declared that “states are free and sovereign in all internal matters and on that basis, can legislate on any subject.”⁴⁸ With this legal leverage to pass state laws that did not require the federal government's consent, the state of Sonora imposed systemic legal restrictions on the Chinese. Emulating ideas provided by José Ángel Espinoza in *El ejemplo de Sonora*, the state passed laws that forbade marriages between Chinese and Mexicans, stating that illicit unions “shall be punished by a fine of \$100.00 to \$500.00 [pesos].”⁴⁹ If the Chinese population could not be expelled for fear of international economic repercussions, their presence in Sonora could at least be restricted to enclaves and separated from the rest of the Mexican population. For *antichinistas* in Sonora and elsewhere, laws banning the Chinese from mingling with native Mexicans would push the former to the margins of society – to the point of encouraging them to leave Mexico altogether.

Antichinistas in Sonora further limited the Chinese through other laws that undermined Chinese-owned businesses. They distrusted stores and other businesses run completely by Chinese owners and employees. This distrust was based on allegations that the Chinese sold cheaper products and recruited more Chinese to work in Sonora, eventually pushing native Mexicans to seek employment elsewhere. In 1931, the state of Sonora passed the “Labor and Social Provision Law,” also known as the “Eighty Percent Law.” It required foreign-owned businesses to hire at least eighty percent employees of Mexican descent.⁵⁰ Even though the law targeted foreign companies regardless of their country of origin, *antichinistas* used it to attack Chinese businesses that failed to meet the Mexican worker quota. Cities like Magdalena and Hermosillo threatened Chinese businesses who failed to comply with the new employee-equity law. Other cities,

⁴⁸ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 158.

⁴⁹ “Sonora Legislative Bans Mexican Chinese Marriage, 1923,” in *Major Problems in the History of North American Borderlands*, ed. Hämäläinen and Johnson, 355.

⁵⁰ Fredy González, “Chinese Dragon and Eagle of Anáhuac: The Local, National, and International Implications of the Ensenada Anti-Chinese Campaign of 1934,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2013): 46-68, here 57; Espinoza, *Ejemplo de Sonora*, 74.

like Guaymas, imposed taxes that targeted Chinese merchants.⁵¹ Some stores and businesses owned by the Chinese had no alternative but to close permanently. These economic and legal repercussions did the trick. *Antichinistas* used intimidation to the point of causing the Chinese to leave their cities altogether.

Across the northern states, *antichinistas* advocated for and sometimes initiated legal platforms that undermined or weakened Chinese businesses and labor forces. They reached out and lobbied state and local politicians for land reforms and repatriation. They also used this maneuver to reach out to the peasant and working classes to join the anti-Chinese national campaign.⁵² *Antichinistas* reminded other Mexicans that Chinese laborers had acquired land from other Mexicans, especially from Indigenous populations in the northern part of the country. Since the Indigenous were now considered part of the *mestizo* identity and the agrarian reforms were intended to nationalize land, the *antichinista* objective for the northern states of Coahuila, Durango, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas focused on agricultural expansion and targeted Chinese-owned agrarian lands.⁵³ *Antichinista* chapters from Sonora and Coahuila aided their counterparts in Tamaulipas to pass land reform laws. Members of the anti-Chinese group *Torreón Comité Anti-Chino* ("Anti-Chinese Committee in Torreón") delivered speeches on the state's congressional floor and gained support from the state's governor, Emilio Portes Gil (1890-1978). Portes Gil had initiated agricultural expansion projects and sympathized with peasant unions in Tamaulipas like the "Agrarian League" (*Liga Agraria*).⁵⁴ When twelve Chinese faced deportation for their alleged role in the failure of the agrarian reforms, they received no protection from President Calles. Thus, deportations of Chinese individuals in essence masqueraded as agrarian reforms, ultimately helping the *antichinistas* to achieve their goal to expel more and more Chinese from Mexico.

Situated to the south of the U.S. state of California, the Mexican territory of Baja California witnessed a form of land reforms that aggressively pushed Chinese workers from their own properties or shareholdings in favor of giving privileges to "Mexicans by birth." In 1921, the Chinese comprised forty percent of the population in cities like Mexicali.⁵⁵ By the 1930s, nativist movements with *antichinista* social values were pushing for national legislation that would elevate Mexicans over those they considered foreigners, whether the latter became naturalized citizens or not. Organizations like the *Federación de Sindicatos y Uniones Obreras de Tijuana* ("Syndicate and Trade Union Federation of Tijuana") advocated that native Mexicans be given priority when it came to land ownership and employment. Baja California held territory status at the time, meaning it did not

⁵¹ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 119.

⁵² Chang, *Chino*, 152.

⁵³ Chang, *Chino*, 153.

⁵⁴ Chang, *Chino*, 154.

⁵⁵ González, "Chinese Dragon," 67.

have the same political autonomy as a state. Therefore, the central government compelled the governing body in Baja California to abide by the federal law which prohibited hostilities against Chinese individuals or communities.

After 1923, Baja California governor Abelardo L. Rodríguez (1889-1967) upheld federal law in the territory but pursued *antichinista* methods to curtail Chinese workers, like CRLC's labor force, and drive them out of Baja California. Rodríguez promoted cotton-growing operations to recruit more domestic workers and reduce Chinese competition. To accomplish this, the governor encouraged the tensions between two Chinese political organizations, the masonic society *Chee Kung Tong* (CKT) and the *Kuomintang Partido Nacionalista China de la República Mexicana* (KMT), who were feuding publicly in the Mexicali-Imperial Valley region,⁵⁶ ultimately leading to violence in Chinese-owned casinos and to the deportation of thirty-two organization leaders.⁵⁷ Rodríguez was hoping that removing the leaders of Chinese organizations would lead to a reduced Chinese presence in his territory. However, the Chinese persisted. Many Mexican laborers did settle in the territory during these schemes against the Chinese, but Rodríguez's initiatives for a predominantly native Mexican labor force did not have the infrastructure or profit earnings to permanently unseat their Chinese counterparts. Acknowledging the profits earned by the Chinese laborers and their contributions to the territory, Rodríguez eventually made no further attempts to reduce the Chinese population. His *antichinista* goals remained unfulfilled until the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (in office 1934-1940), when the "Union of National Identity, Labor, and Land Benefits" forced the administration in 1937 to nationalize CRLC property and distribute it for good.⁵⁸

With stronger labor laws enacted in Sonora, the state achieved by the early 1930s what *antichinistas* across the nation were hoping to achieve at a national level, namely, the expulsion of all Chinese. José Ángel Espinoza and other *antichinistas* formed the *Comité Directivo de la Campaña Nacionalista Antichino* ("Steering Committee of the Anti-Chinese Nationalist Campaign") that pushed to implement Sonora's eighty-percent labor law at the national level.⁵⁹ There, however, the new law would require businesses to hire up to ninety percent domestic labor. The law reached Mexico's House of Representatives (*Cámara de Diputados*) and passed in 1931.⁶⁰ The new quota affected many companies but it especially affected Chinese businesses in the north with a predominantly Chinese

⁵⁶ Although it had the term "Kuomintang" in its name, the Mexican KMT merely supported the new Nationalist Party in China while the CKT showed loyalty to China's imperial heritage. Both groups were private organizations and did not serve as official extensions of any political entities in China. See Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 159.

⁵⁷ Chang, *Chino*, 160.

⁵⁸ González, "Chinese Dragon," 67.

⁵⁹ Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 187.

⁶⁰ Romero, *Chinese in Mexico*, 25.

labor force. Some could not meet the percentage requirement and were forced out of certain states.

Sonoran *antichinistas* considered their state as an example of successful racial cleansing that other states should emulate. In *El ejemplo e Sonora*, Espinoza included a map that showed Sonora all white and clear while all other states appeared with yellowish-orange stains, representing a Chinese presence. The caption urged: *Mexicano: El color amarillo que ves en la carta geográfica de tu patria, es la demostración del dominio mongol. Ves a Sonora limpio de la mancha asiática, pues sigue el ejemplo de este pueblo batallador y pronto harás de tu patria chica una entidad que podrás llamar tuya y de los tuyos.* (“Mexican: The yellow color you see in the geographical map of your fatherland is the demonstration of Mongol dominance. You see Sonora clean of the Asian stain, so follow the example of this battling community and soon you will make your small country an entity that you can call your own and of your own [people].)⁶¹ The color choices underscored the *antichinistas’* perception of the Chinese presence: the whiter a state appeared on the map, the purer and more “Mexican” it was. That Espinoza likened the Chinese presence in Mexico to a Mongol domination shows the *antichinistas’* fear-mongering. By 1940, only 92 out of the 3,571 Chinese who had been in the state in 1930 remained: just over 2.5 percent. The Chinese who had left Sonora resettled in other states or territories in the north of Mexico and even crossed into the United States, despite the latter’s immigration ban against the Chinese. Sonora certainly experienced the largest Chinese exodus, but other states saw a similar phenomenon. The Chinese population in Coahuila, for instance, decreased by eighty-three percent, while sixty percent of the Chinese in Chihuahua left the state in 1932.⁶² Thus, the *antichinistas* were gradually achieving their goal of a “Chinese-free” Mexico.

Yet, despite the violence, campaigns, and legislation, the native Chinese and Chinese Mexicans stood their ground. They formed organizations and challenged *antichinista* accusations and proposed laws in court. While the majority of the respective legal decisions favored *antichinista* platforms, some provided safe havens for Chinese communities in some parts in the north, including Baja California: this northern territory welcomed Chinese settlers that had been expelled from other states like Sonora and Sinaloa. However, by 1934, *antichinistas* in Baja California were campaigning vigorously to drive the Chinese out of business and out of Mexico. In Ensenada, the city’s largest *antichinista* organization, the Nationalist League, sought to confiscate Chinese businesses and even blocked entrances in some locations.⁶³ The movement’s chapter in Ensenada applauded the Chinese exodus from the state of Sonora and believed that the

⁶¹ Espinoza, *Ejemplo de Sonora*, 187.

⁶² Delgado, *Making the Chinese Mexican*, 187.

⁶³ “Chinese Flee Mexican Drive: Score Leave Ensenada for Safety of Border Cities, Persecuted Aliens Protest Against Discrimination, Stores Closed as Result of Trade War Outbreak,” *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), February 23, 1934, 8.

Chinese in their city and potentially in all of Baja California could be removed as well. Some *antichinistas* entered Chinese-owned stores and businesses and forced the owners to close them. Some even warned Chinese residents to leave their property within three months.⁶⁴

As intimidating as the *antichinistas* presented themselves, Baja California's Chinese organizations would not tolerate these raids and rapidly reacted to the situation. The "Chinese Association" 中華會館 (*Zhōnghuá huìguǎn*) hired attorneys to defend Chinese clients affected by the public hostilities and advocated for their legal right to own businesses and private property in Ensenada.⁶⁵ The same organization reached out to the Chinese vice consul to visit Ensenada and investigate the situation, and the news even reached the Chinese consul in Los Angeles who condemned the anti-Chinese campaigns. This local incident drew international attention, with three federal governments becoming involved. After pressure from China and the United States, the message was clear: Should legal and public hostilities toward Chinese residents and workers in Ensenada continue Mexico would face serious consequences. The Chinese government sought to protect its nationals abroad, while the United States sought to control the situation to avoid further Chinese immigration into their states north of the border.⁶⁶ Pressure from both countries persuaded Mexico to put a stop to hostilities against Chinese nationals in Baja California. Agustín Ochoa, the governor at the time, banned anti-Chinese activities, and Chinese businesses in Baja California reopened, averting any further threats to Mexico's national sovereignty and Ochoa's own political career.⁶⁷ This did not end Sinophobia in Mexico, but it effectively ended the campaigns to drive the Chinese out of the country.

Conclusion

Between 1900 and 1940, the Chinese in northern Mexico faced the worst manifestations of Sinophobia in the country despite their crucial business and mercantile contributions to the region's economic prosperity. Instead of being regarded as valuable players by regional and national bodies, their success singled them out among other foreigners in Mexico and earned them distrust and resentment. Organized forms of Mexican Sinophobia survived the end of the Porfiriato regime and synchronized with nationalist rhetoric that targeted Chinese communities and individuals during the Mexican Revolution. At that time, anti-Chinese groups used any excuse they could to intimidate the Chinese, both through violence and through legal force. Although physical and fatal assaults

⁶⁴ González, "Chinese Dragon," 58, 62.

⁶⁵ González, "Chinese Dragon," 58-60. 中華會館 roughly translates to "Chinese Association."

⁶⁶ González, "Chinese Dragon," 60.

⁶⁷ González, "Chinese Dragon," 60, 63. Because Baja California held territory status and was therefore under federal jurisdiction at the time, governors were appointed by the federal government and elected via a democratic process, which meant that the government in Mexico City could dismiss territorial officials at will. See González, "Chinese Dragon," 58-59.

decreased after the Revolution, Sinophobia in Mexico continued. By the 1920s and 1930s, state laws like Sonora's labor and marriage laws further ostracized Chinese individuals to the point of driving them out of the state.

As Sinophobia reached its peak in Mexico's northern states and territories, so too did Chinese resistance against systemic oppression. Chinese communities and organizations in the Baja California territory stood their ground despite the waves of *antichinismo* that reached places like Ensenada. Their decisive action kept *antichinistas* at bay but also signaled their sentiments that the Chinese belonged in Mexico. In 1911, the Chinese government had responded to the Torreón massacre with international pressure. In 1934, it intervened again after the anti-Chinese campaign in Ensenada; this time Chinese organizations even brought the United States to persuade the federal government in Mexico to end the local hostilities against the Chinese. Initiatives seeking to limit Chinese immigration to Mexico continued into the 1940s.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the Chinese prevailed. They had proved they were in Mexico to stay.

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⁶⁸ Romero, *Chinese in Mexico*, 189.

Isaiah Colton Thompson

*The Finkenwalde Years (1935-1937):
Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Response to Racism in Nazi Germany*

ABSTRACT: *This article explores Dietrich Bonhoeffer's response to racism during his time as head of the Finkenwalde seminary (1935-1937). The author argues that Bonhoeffer's rejection of hero worship, a form of nationalism promoted by Nazi-supporting Christians, guarded against twisted theology and racist assumptions. Ultimately, the seminary's position against hero worship was grounded in its christological understanding.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Germany; National Socialism; Finkenwalde seminary; German Christians; Dietrich Bonhoeffer; racism; hero worship; Christology; lectures*

Introduction

The rise of National Socialism in 1920s Germany fostered racial prejudices that soon infiltrated the country's Protestant church. Using rhetoric and, since 1933, legislation to revive nationalism on a large scale, the Nazi party encouraged racism in all its forms. Obedience to the government caused many churches to join the Nazis in rejecting certain groups of people, particularly Jews, and the pressure exerted by the state on church leaders led to the promotion of racial discrimination in communities of faith. While various Christian groups supported the Nazis' vision for their country's future, there were pastors who registered their objections, among them the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945) who heavily criticized the church in Germany for its acceptance of Nazi ideology. Bonhoeffer had been aware of the Nazis' racial prejudices long before the 1935 Nuremberg Laws arrived on the scene, and he viewed the state's actions against the Jews as a direct threat to the church's integrity. Not only did Bonhoeffer speak out against the acceptance of Nazi ideology in the church, he taught aspiring pastors and young theologians how to do the same.

In 1930, Bonhoeffer studied abroad at Union Theological Seminary in New York. During this year, his views on race, nationalism, and the person of Christ evolved dramatically. Yet, it was not his academic training at Union that changed his ideological and theological perspectives, but rather his solidarity with the African American community in Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church which he attended regularly. In *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology, and an Ethic of Resistance* (2014), Christian Ethics scholar Reggie L. Williams details the impact of Harlem on Bonhoeffer's Christology: "Bonhoeffer found that black Christians identified black suffering with Jesus's suffering."¹ Williams's work recognizes Harlem as the catalyst that centralized Bonhoeffer's thought and convictions around a theology of Christ standing in the midst of the suffering—a theology of the broken, a theology of the cross. Along with seeing Christ standing

¹ Reggie L. Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology, and an Ethic of Resistance* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2014), 25.

among the oppressed, Bonhoeffer's experience in Harlem "gave him unique insight into nationalism as the racialized mixture of God and country embodied in idealized Aryan humanity."² Williams previews Bonhoeffer's rejection of racism in Germany but remains focused on 1930 Harlem and does not follow Bonhoeffer's understanding of Christ and racism into the context of Nazi Germany.

Major works in American scholarship address Bonhoeffer's take on racism³ but do not analyze the specific periods in Bonhoeffer's life when he explicitly confronted issues of racism in Germany. One such time period were the Finkenwalde years. Between 1935 and 1940, Bonhoeffer lived in Finkenwalde, a small town outside of Stettin and near the Baltic coast. He first moved to Finkenwalde to teach at an underground theological seminary, in operation from 1935 until 1937, and he remained there until 1940. Theologian Peter Frick, in his monograph *Understanding Bonhoeffer* (2017),⁴ includes two statements that justify this present article. Frick asserts, firstly, that, "during his time in Berlin, London, and Finkenwalde, Bonhoeffer was able to recognize with utmost clarity that anti-Semitic legislation by the Nazi government had grave theological consequences for the church."⁵ Thus, in the context of his broader discussion on Bonhoeffer and racism, Frick alludes to the idea that Bonhoeffer understood the problem of Nazi racism while he was at Finkenwalde. Frick concedes, though, that "this is not the place to discuss the details of this phase of Bonhoeffer's life and struggles."⁶ Frick claims, secondly, that "Bonhoeffer scholars have largely neglected the 'Finkenwalde Bonhoeffer'."⁷ While many of Bonhoeffer's writings have received increasing attention, his primary writings from the Finkenwalde years, volumes fourteen and fifteen of the Bonhoeffer corpus, have drawn comparatively less interest. Frick states that the "neglect" of these volumes is "colossal,"⁸ especially considering that together they make up twenty-two percent of the primary sources pertaining to Bonhoeffer's life.⁹

This article is a product of my ongoing research project which surveys and analyzes Bonhoeffer's response to racism in the church during his time at the Finkenwalde seminary between 1935 and 1937. It is my aim to shed light on Bonhoeffer's own theological and ethical development in response to racism

² Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 139.

³ Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, and Josiah Ulysses Young III, *No Difference in the Fare: Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Problem of Racism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), are two of the most recognized works on Bonhoeffer and racism in American scholarship.

⁴ Peter Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2018).

⁵ Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer*, 192.

⁶ Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer*, 192.

⁷ Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer*, 47.

⁸ Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer*, 47.

⁹ Frick, *Understanding Bonhoeffer*, 47-48.

during this time period. Practically speaking, identifying the key theological underpinnings in Bonhoeffer's worldview may help the church today adopt similar perspectives that may produce positive social outcomes. Drawing from over five-hundred pages of Bonhoeffer's Finkenwalde lecture materials, it is my objective to explore how Bonhoeffer understood racism and how he taught his students to theologically reject racist assumptions. To show the significance of Bonhoeffer's doctrinal rejection of racism during this time, I place the theology of the Finkenwalde seminary in dialogue with the theology of Nazi-supporting Christians who promoted racist sentiment. I argue that Bonhoeffer's rejection of hero worship, a form of nationalism promoted by Nazi-supporting Christians, guarded against twisted theology and racist assumptions. Ultimately, the seminary's position against hero worship was grounded in its Christology which emphasized the suffering savior as the only one truly worthy of worship.

I. Confronting Hero Worship

Two years after his return home from studying abroad in New York, Bonhoeffer witnessed the establishment of the Nazi state. In 1933, Adolf Hitler became Germany's chancellor, and he envisioned a thousand-year *Reich* (empire) that would restore the glory of the German nation after the conclusion of World War I and the humiliating Treaty of Versailles. National Socialism was Hitler's vehicle to achieve this glorified Germany, with blood/race (*Blut/Rasse*) and soil/living space (*Boden/Lebensraum*) as its central ideals. To achieve this, all of Germany had to be unified under the National Socialist worldview. Hitler aggressively pursued this end through the systematic process of focusing all levels of German society on National Socialism. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's *Reich* Minister of Propaganda, masterminded this process known as *Gleichschaltung*, namely, the switching of German society into the same gear as National Socialism.¹⁰ Newspapers, education, music, art, and all other forms of German culture were brought under the influence of Nazi ideology. This had direct implications for the church.

It is likely that Hitler himself anticipated a national church united under the banners of blood and soil.¹¹ He took active steps to transform the nature of the church by endorsing a group of Nazi-supporting Christians known as the "German Christians" or the German Christian Faith Movement.¹² This minority group gained extensive political influence and quickly began to change the structure of the church. Even though they were supporters of the Nazi state, the German Christians had their own views about racism, Christ, and the church, all of which existed independently from their desire to achieve recognition from Nazi leaders. Holocaust historian Doris L. Bergen suggests that "the notion of race as

¹⁰ Victoria Barnett, *For the Soul of the People: Protestant Protest against Hitler* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992; reprinted 1998), 30.

¹¹ Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 223.

¹² All further mentions of "German Christians" refer to this specific group of Christians who supported the Nazis and do not refer to other Germans who were Christians during this time.

the fundamental truth of human life played a role for German Christians comparable to that of the Bible in traditional Christian teaching.”¹³ National Socialism’s racist sentiments and hatred of the Jews was deeply embedded in the German Christians even before the rise of the Nazi state. Theologian Mary M. Solberg argues that “ideologically, the German Christians outdid the Nazis.”¹⁴ By merging Nazi thought with their distorted theology, they placed the God of the universe in direct opposition to the Jews. By the mid-1930s, their twisted doctrine was infiltrating Germany’s theological training grounds – the university.

For those of Germany’s aspiring pastors who saw Nazi ideology as problematic and the mixing of National Socialism and Christian doctrine as categorically impossible, there were few resources to which they could turn. In response to the Nazi-tainted theology taught in the universities, as well as the need for theological and pastoral training unaffected by Nazi ideology, the “Confessing Church” (*Bekennende Kirche*), a rival group of the German Christians, established five preachers’ seminaries, including Bonhoeffer’s seminary at Finkenwalde. These seminaries allowed aspiring pastors to receive theological education and ministry training that was dissociated from the state-mandated theology taught in the universities. Eberhard Bethge (1909-2000), a student at Finkenwalde who developed a close relationship with Bonhoeffer, recalls that, “protected by their relative obscurity, the new seminaries were able to turn themselves into remarkable power centers of theology.”¹⁵ Although the Finkenwalde seminary was situated in a remote location, far away from the Nazi regime’s constant propaganda, it had no desire to abandon the troubles of the time. Rather, it was to train pastors how to respond to issues in the church and in society.

In its historical context, the Finkenwalde seminary was far more than an alternative theological training ground. It was active resistance against the state’s mission to bring the church under the banners of nation and race. In the words of the former president of the International Bonhoeffer Society, H. Gaylon Barker, “Finkenwalde was envisioned as an alternative community prepared to withstand the temptations of Nazi ideology. It was a deliberate act to preserve the church and its proclamation.”¹⁶ Not only was it a place of preservation, it actively engaged

¹³ Doris L. Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 23.

¹⁴ Mary M. Solberg, in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, ed. and trans. Mary M. Solberg (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), 41.

¹⁵ Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: A Biography: Theologian, Christian, Man for His Times*, trans. Eric Mosbacher, Peter and Betty Ross, Frank Clarke, and William Glen-Doepel, ed. Edwin Robertson, revised and ed. Victoria Barnett (Minnesota: Fortress Press, 2000; first published in German: 1967), 420.

¹⁶ H. Gaylon Barker, “Editor’s Introduction to the English Edition,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935-1937*, trans. from the German ed. (ed. Otto Dudzus and Jürgen Henkys, in collaboration with Sabine Bobert-Stützel, Dirk Schulz, and Ilse Tödt), ed. H. Gaylon Barker and Mark S. Bocker, trans. Douglas W. Stott (Minneapolis: Fortress

against the positions and ideals of the German Christians. As Bethge recalls in his monumental Bonhoeffer biography, “during the 1935 summer term Bonhoeffer began by considering a few of the general problems that were central to the controversy of that time, going on to demonstrate that the decisions against the German Christians and their neutral henchmen were grounded in the confessional writings. Today it is difficult to convey the excitement of those classes.”¹⁷ Bethge’s comment shows that these classes were more than educational. The students questioned the Nazi state and the teachings of the German Christians, and continued their educational pursuits even after the seminaries were declared illegal. The very existence of the Finkenwalde seminary was an act of rebellion. It was a rebellion against the German Christians, the *Gleichschaltung* of the Nazi state, and Hitler’s race and space policies. Not only that, it was a rebellion against the hero worship of the German Christians, the foundation of their religious racism.

To the modern reader, Bonhoeffer’s response to racism at Finkenwalde may not be entirely obvious. However, understanding Bonhoeffer’s view on the relationship between racism and nationalism may facilitate this. In his “Essay on the Confessing Church and the Ecumenical Movement,” Bonhoeffer emphasizes that the church must go beyond the dividing lines of nations and races:

That no distinction was made here between the political and the ecclesiastical spheres merely proves the unprecedented absence of independent thinking on the part of the church. The fact, to which both the New Testament and the confessional writings attest to the fullest, namely, that the church of Christ transcends rather than stops at national and racial boundaries, has been much too easily forgotten and disowned under the onslaught of recent nationalism.¹⁸

In addition to his critique of the church marching in lockstep with state ideals, Bonhoeffer’s comment on racism is directly tied to Nazi nationalism. Bonhoeffer perceived that racism in the church was a direct result of the nationalism propagated by the Nazi state. This suggests that Bonhoeffer’s understanding and rejection of racism was bound to his understanding and rejection of nationalism promoted in Nazi Germany and accepted by the German Christians. Hero worship was central to the German Christians’ nationalist worldview and, by extension, the root cause of their racism. The hero worship of the German Christians was categorically rejected by the Finkenwalde seminary.

Bonhoeffer’s and his students’ response to racism is best understood when we place the Finkenwalde seminary and the German Christians in a dialogue over the issue of hero worship which was the foundation of the German Christian’s racism. The concept of hero worship or hero praise is mentioned several times in the Finkenwalde lectures, but the most explicit discussion occurs in a specific lecture,

Press, 2013; first published in German: Gütersloh: Kaiser Verlag/Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 1-46, here 34.

¹⁷ Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 444.

¹⁸ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Essay on the Confessing Church and the Ecumenical Movement,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935-1937*, ed. Barker and Brouck, trans. Stott, 393-412, here 395.

a consideration of the appropriate themes to be preached on the *Volkstrauertag*, the German Memorial Day (observed in mid-November on the second Sunday before Advent). In this lecture, Bonhoeffer states, “we owe it to Christ not to place human heroism and human sacrifice side by side with Christ. We owe it to those who were killed in action not to turn them into idols, which God would then zealously shatter.”¹⁹ The seminarians understood the problem of placing competing heroes side by side with Christ. This lecture emphasizes the damaging consequences of placing human heroism next to Christ; accordingly, Christians should never place human heroes, or any heroes, on the same level as Christ.

The German Christians, however, were lifting up cultural heroes, placing them on a pedestal, and promoting their worship and praise. This ultimately distorted their view of Christ. The German Christians’ hero worship was directed toward three distinct saviors that were interconnected: hero worship of their land—Germany—which they saw as a salvific land; hero worship of the people of their race—the German *Volk*—which would be used by God to redeem the world; and hero worship of their leader—the *Führer* Adolf Hitler—who, to them, stood as the mediator between Germany and the God of the universe. These three forms of the German Christians’ hero worship helped establish their racist views. Bonhoeffer refuted this racism by teaching his seminarians to theologically reject the German Christians’ underlying forms of hero worship. The implications of this theological struggle are revealed in the first object of hero worship: the land.

The German Christians praised the land of the German nation as a special land, one with a divine purpose and plan. Perhaps this was influenced by the concept of the *Sonderweg*, Germany’s special path in history. Even though this was an influential idea across the German nation, the German Christians ratcheted it up and took it to extremes. Some German Christians saw the place of Germany as divinely imbued with a power to rescue the world. In 1935, Julius Leutheuser, a German Christian pastor, completed a work titled “The German Community of Christ: The Path to the German National Church” (*Die Christusgemeinde der Deutschen: Der Weg zur deutschen Nationalkirche*),²⁰ which states that

we felt that the battle for the rebirth of Germany was a battle for the rebirth of the whole world. We could believe again that Germany is the heart of the world and that the destruction of Germany would mean the destruction of the world, and the salvation of Germany, the salvation of the world.²¹

For the German Christians, Germany, the place, the land, was more than merely a location, it was the central point of God’s salvation for the world. The world would

¹⁹ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “On Memorial Day [Volkstrauertag] on Reminiscere Sunday, and on John 15:13–14 and Romans 5:6–8, 10a,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935–1937*, ed. Barker and Bocker, trans. Stott, 760–766, here 765.

²⁰ Julius Leutheuser, “The German Community of Christ: The Path to the German National Church,” in *Church Undone*, ed. and trans. Solberg, 321–335.

²¹ Leutheuser, “German Community of Christ,” 333.

be redeemed by this place. For the world to succeed, Germany had to succeed. Hope for Germany was hope for the world. The land was more than a location, it was a hero, it was a savior. For anyone to criticize the land was a great ill. Meanwhile, the seminarians at Finkenwalde conceptualized their relationship to the German land differently, and it was grounded in their theology.

To Bonhoeffer and the students at Finkenwalde, the land had little importance. This can be seen in Bonhoeffer's lecture, "The Space of the Pastoral Offices and Gifts and of Christian Life." Bonhoeffer provides a definition of the church community in the world: "the church community is the living space of a colony of foreigners."²² He elaborates that, while "as a colony they do indeed participate in the same earth, in the same earthly laws of life, this earth does not belong to them; they are not as much at home there as are the natives."²³ The church community, according to Bonhoeffer, "can never be bound by the world."²⁴ The Finkenwalde seminary taught the theological assumption that the church was not ultimately made for the world. Although the church participated in the world, the world was not the church's inheritance. The notion that the land of Germany had an inherent heroic ability to "save the world" had no place at the seminary.

Not only did the German Christians elevate the land, they also praised the people of the land, the Aryan Germans, the *Volk*, as those divinely ordained to bring about God's plan and purpose on the earth. The German *Volk* was seen as a special people. The writings of the German Christian pastor Leutheuser contend that "the Lord of the nations has fashioned our people out of soil, blood, and destiny, to mature and become the people of the revelation of the triumph of his kingdom on earth."²⁵ To Leutheuser, the Aryan Germans were God's "salvation-people" who "will carry on his Son's struggle, the struggle of the eternal Christ, the struggle of light, the struggle for the rebirth of the world out of faith in the Heavenly Father and his kingdom, until the end of the world."²⁶ German Christians viewed themselves as members of a "salvation people," a heroic people called by God to bring about his divine plan and further his heavenly decrees. The Finkenwalde seminary countered this argument.

In one of Bonhoeffer's lectures on homiletics (i.e., sermon writing), this notion of the Germans as special people, defined by their race and blood, is refuted. Bonhoeffer argues that "the appropriate form of existence for the church, a form commensurate with the truth of the sermon, is not solidarity with the people [*Volksverbundenheit*], but discipleship, obedience to the commandments of Jesus

²² Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "The Space of the Pastoral Offices and Gifts and of Christian Life," in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935-1937*, ed. Barker and Brocker, trans. Stott, 464-474, here 472.

²³ Bonhoeffer, "Space of the Pastoral Offices," 472.

²⁴ Bonhoeffer, "Space of the Pastoral Offices," 473.

²⁵ Leutheuser, "German Community of Christ," 335.

²⁶ Leutheuser, "German Community of Christ," 335.

Christ.”²⁷ While the German Christians claimed that God had made (them) a special people, the seminary responded that the church was not to concern itself with such claims but rather focus on obedience and discipleship. Bonhoeffer, in the same lecture, emphasized that the church “is not at all expected to find its existence in the ethnonationalistic [*völkisch*] element or any other such entities.”²⁸ According to Bonhoeffer, the church community found its identity, purpose, and mission in obedience and discipleship, not in the cultural, racial, or national context in which it happened to reside. For Bonhoeffer and his students, obedience belonged to the “Word” (i.e., God). People were never to be elevated. As Bonhoeffer put it: “what [the church] must emphasize is not its proximity to the *Volk* but its alien character in this world.”²⁹ It was not for the church to derive its identity, purpose, and mission from the world or the people—the *Volk*—of the world. Rather, the church was a community of foreigners, of aliens, in this world.

In addition to praising their own land and people as elements in God’s plan of salvation, the German Christians elevated the *Führer* to the status of a hero. They praised Hitler as the savior of the German nation and the German people. In his 1935 book “Christ in Germany’s Third Reich: The Nature, the Path, and the Goal of the German Christian Church Movement” (*Christus im Dritten Reich der Deutschen: Wesen, Weg und Ziel der Kirchenbewegung Deutsche Christen*), the German Christian theologian Siegfried Leffler showed his awareness of the accusations that the German Christians were venerating Hitler.³⁰ Leffler admitted, “people have often criticized us, accusing us of idolizing Hitler, saying that for us ‘he has taken the place of Christ.’ That has never crossed our minds.”³¹ Even though Leffler claimed that Hitler had not replaced Christ, Hitler was serving as a second mediator: just like Christ was the mediator between God and humanity, so Hitler was the mediator between Christ and the German nation. Leffler maintained, “through [Hitler] we were able to see the Savior in the history of the Germans. Hitler stood there like a rock in a broad wilderness, like an island in an endless sea.”³² To the German Christians, Hitler was the one who had revealed Christ in the history of the Germans; Hitler was the one who had shown the German nation that National Socialism was God’s tool to fulfill his plan on earth; and Hitler had saved the soul of the German people. Thus, the German Christians had Christ through Hitler, Christ and Hitler, but not Christ without Hitler. But perhaps Hitler

²⁷ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Lecture on Homiletics,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935-1937*, ed. Barker and Brocker, trans. Stott, 487-509, here 491.

²⁸ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture on Homiletics,” 491.

²⁹ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture on Homiletics,” 492.

³⁰ Siegfried Leffler, “Christ in Germany’s Third Reich: The Nature, the Path, and the Goal of the German Christian Church Movement,” in *Church Undone*, ed. and trans. Solberg, 339-364.

³¹ Leffler, “Christ in Germany’s Third Reich,” 346-347.

³² Leffler, “Christ in Germany’s Third Reich,” 347.

without the Bible? According to Leffler, Hitler “calls us from worship of words, from the cult of the Pharisees, and the Levites, to the holy service of the Samaritan.”³³ To the German Christians, the “Word of God” (i.e., the Bible) was limiting: it did not fully display God’s work in Germany’s past, present, and future. Thus, instead of looking to the Bible, Leffler looked to Germany. There he saw “Christ,” standing among the German people, aiding in their holy crusade to purify Germany from the corrupt races and tainted blood. Germany was being rescued by Hitler, not by the Christ found in Scripture but by a Christ who could be placed into Germany’s history and legacy. The German Christians, according to Leffler, were being rescued by their faithful leader, their hero, Adolf Hitler.

This elevation of a human leader to the level of a heroic figure who could rescue the German nation was also refuted by the Confessing Church’s seminary students at Finkenwalde. “Bonhoeffer’s Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction” posed this question: “What is the church-community’s position regarding the worldly authorities?”³⁴ The response: “[I]n worldly matters, the church-community is subject to the worldly authorities in God’s stead, just as a foreigner is subject to the laws of the host country. But the church-community knows only one Lord whom it obeys in and above all things, Jesus Christ.”³⁵ The lecture then asked: “[W]hat is the church-community’s position toward unjust authorities?”³⁶ The response: “[T]he church-community performs without fear the work to which the Lord has commissioned it. It obeys God more than it does human beings. It willingly suffers all punishment and prays for its persecutors.”³⁷ This question-answer confirmation instruction completely set aside the German Christian’s acceptance of Hitler as a salvific figure. Based on biblical precepts, the Finkenwalde seminary taught that allegiance did not belong to any one earthly leader, but exclusively to a divine leader, the person of Christ.

II. Bonhoeffer’s Christology

Racism in the German Christian Faith Movement was partially based on the issue of competing heroes, which shaped their Christology. To the German Christians, Doris Bergen asserts, “Jesus was not a Jew [...], and the essence of the Gospel’s message was hatred toward Jews.”³⁸ This was the “good news” of National Socialism, this was the gospel of the German land, people, and leader. Through this message, through these heroes that they enthusiastically praised and applauded, the German Christians’ teachings about the person of Christ became

³³ Leffler, “Christ in Germany’s Third Reich,” 346.

³⁴ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “Bonhoeffer’s Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935-1937*, ed. Barker and Brocker, trans. Stott, 782-814, here 809.

³⁵ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 809.

³⁶ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 810.

³⁷ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 810.

³⁸ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 154.

distorted: Christ became the Germanized Christ, the Aryanized Christ, the racialized Christ. To the German Christians, Bergen tells us, Jesus “could not have been a Jew because he opposed the Jews. That argument formed the core of their Christology and allowed them to preserve the figure of Jesus in their anti-Jewish Christianity.”³⁹ Through the heroes of their day, they constructed an image of Christ that suited their desires and needs. It was a Christ that helped them justify their cause and explain their mission. If they hated races that differed from theirs then “their” Christ could be fashioned to do the same.

It is here that the Finkenwalde seminary’s strongest argument against the German Christians’ hero worship comes to the fore. Bonhoeffer’s Christology definitively rejects racism as a form of hero worship. He and his seminarians viewed Christ as the only one truly worthy of worship. The seminary’s confirmation instructions ask: “[H]ow does Jesus differ from other great persons and heroes?”⁴⁰ This question appears to frame Christ as a person or hero who is just different from other great persons and heroes. Yet, the Finkenwalde seminarians’ understanding of Christ does not at all coincide with the heroic Christ described by the German Christians. According to Bonhoeffer, “all heroes come from lowliness and want to be great, while Jesus comes from the heights and wants to be humble. All heroes are human beings and want to be like God, while Christ is God and wants to be a human being. All heroes are born of the earth; Christ is born of God.”⁴¹ Thus, while humans fight for glory, honor, and to be in the place of God, Christ, who is one with God, becomes human. He takes on humanity, while humans strive to take on divinity. Christ is not only humble, he is the suffering savior, the God of the oppressed. And yet, he is God.

This is the seminary’s defining point: Christ, the suffering savior. Christ is portrayed in this light throughout the seminary’s documentation. The confirmation instructions ask: “[W]hat does Scripture say about the suffering and death of Jesus Christ?”⁴² The response: “Jesus’s entire life was suffering (hatred, persecution, privation). In this suffering, Jesus bore and suffered God’s curse on our sin.”⁴³ Christ is the suffering savior. He stands among the suffering, and he acts as a representative who can always relate to anyone who is suffering. He suffers alongside the oppressed, but he also calls the church to suffer with the oppressed and the outcasts. In another lecture, “On Hebrews 4:15-16,” Bonhoeffer states about Christ that, “[w]e have a high priest. The cross is his altar; he himself the sacrifice. He himself offers it up; he himself graciously accepts the sacrifice. He is there for your benefit in everything. He is the co-suffering and the help. He is

³⁹ Bergen, *Twisted Cross*, 156.

⁴⁰ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 800.

⁴¹ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 800.

⁴² Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 803.

⁴³ Bonhoeffer, “Lecture Concept for Confirmation Instruction,” 803.

the priest for whom you are searching.”⁴⁴ Bonhoeffer continues: “[F]rom his priesthood learn that you, too, are called to priesthood in the church-community. [Cross], that is true co-suffering. Thus does the cross become help.”⁴⁵ It is the cross, the suffering savior, the sacrificed Christ that brings comfort to the suffering, and it calls all who stand beneath the cross to also act as co-sufferers with those who are persecuted. This is central to addressing the problem of racism in the church. Christ is not like any human hero or person. The Greek word *ἥρως* (*heros*) denotes human heroes and, at best, demigod heroes, but it cannot denote the only one who is both fully human and fully divine: Christ. Christ transcends heroes. His suffering is that of God suffering in the form of a human servant. Christ’s suffering, as Bonhoeffer emphasizes, “brings comfort to the suffering” and calls the church to follow his example by engaging in “true co-suffering.” “True co-suffering” alongside those who are neglected or persecuted is a direct response to any and all forms of racism.

This Christology was central to the Finkenwalde seminary, and it was the grounding theme that allowed their rejection of racism in the context of their time. H. Gaylon Barker has explored Bonhoeffer’s Christology in great detail, and he argues that “in the sermons Bonhoeffer preached during [Finkenwalde], there is a thoroughgoing christocentric orientation to his message.”⁴⁶ But this is not just the case for Bonhoeffer’s sermons at Finkenwalde: according to Barker,

[w]hen Bonhoeffer turns to his lectures, we see the same theology in operation. His focus is not turned to other matters, but remains narrowly defined by the presence of Christ, the theme that had its foundations and origins in *Sanctorum Communio*. Whatever the subject, it is viewed through the lens of Jesus Christ. In both his approach to homiletics and pastoral care, for example, there is a christological focus, providing both the orientation for and content of his remarks.⁴⁷

Bonhoeffer’s Christology as taught at the Finkenwalde seminary reveals the importance of how the person of Christ is interpreted. Not only that, it shows that this Christology was the strongest form of resistance to the Nazis’ ideological and racist views. The Christology of Finkenwalde was the foundation of the seminarians’ rebellion, their rejection of the Nazi state, and their theological response to the German Christians. Their view of the person of Christ resisted the heroes of their day and guarded against a distorted view of Christ.

⁴⁴ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, “On Hebrews 4:15–16,” in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 14: Theological Education at Finkenwalde: 1935–1937*, ed. Barker and Brocker, trans. Stott, 364–366, here 366.

⁴⁵ Bonhoeffer, “On Hebrews 4:15–16,” 366.

⁴⁶ H. Gaylon Barker, “The Cross of Reality: The Role of Luther’s *Theologia Crucis* in the Development of Dietrich Bonhoeffer’s Christology” (PhD diss., Drew University, 2004), 286. Barker’s dissertation has been published as *The Cross of Reality: Luther’s Theologia Crucis and Bonhoeffer’s Christology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015).

⁴⁷ Barker, “Cross of Reality,” 288.

Conclusion

The Finkenwalde seminary's rejection of racism was based on its teaching of Christ as the suffering savior among the suffering, the only one truly worthy of worship. This view of Christ differed greatly from that of the German Christians. In this historical time in the 1930s, "the church had come perilously close to transforming itself into a national church that honored the Teutonic gods of blood, soil, and conquest."⁴⁸ While the German Christians publicly promoted their racist theology, praising their national heroes—*Reich*, *Volk*, and *Führer*—without question, the seminary at Finkenwalde stood up against worshipping these heroes. Bonhoeffer's rejection of racism at the seminary was not complex. As Reggie Williams has put it: "Bonhoeffer did not advocate that disciples perform miracles of healing, but that they recognize Christ hidden in suffering as the concrete nature of the Gospel's good news."⁴⁹ The single most important issue that the modern church must confront in response to racism is not the level of diversity in its congregations, nor its ability to speak out against racial injustice in the community. Though these are vital, the modern church must first assess its christological understanding and decide whether it wants to follow heroes—or Christ.

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⁴⁸ Geoffrey B. Kelly and John D. Godsey, "Editors' Introduction to the English Edition," in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Volume 4: Discipleship*, trans. from the German ed. (ed. Martin Kuske and Ilse Tödt), ed. Geoffrey B. Kelly and John D. Godsey, trans. Barbara Green and Reinhard Krauss (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001; reprinted 2003; first published in German: Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1989), 1-36, here 9.

⁴⁹ Reggie L. Williams, "Developing a *Theologia Crucis*: Dietrich Bonhoeffer in the Harlem Renaissance," *Theology Today* 71, no. 1 (2014): 43-57, here 57.

Cynthia Castaneda

*My Wound Is Deeper, My Pain Is Greater:
The Impact of Holocaust Memory and al-Nakba Memory on
Israeli-Palestinian Tensions*

ABSTRACT: *This article argues that memory of the Holocaust and al-Nakba qualifies as historical trauma, encompassing not just the terror of the original events but all related violence that has continued up until the present day. On the basis of testimonies from private individuals, politicians, and scholars associated with the Israeli and Palestinian communities, the author demonstrates that Holocaust and al-Nakba memories are fueling Israeli-Palestinian tensions. Competing Israeli and Palestinian notions of victimization contribute to “apathetic” (i.e., uninterested, unresponsive, or insensible) attitudes in their respective social and educational environments.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Palestine; Israel; Holocaust; al-Nakba; memory; victimization; Israeli-Palestinian conflict; education; interviews*

Introduction

To say that the relationship between Israel and Palestine is volatile would be an understatement and, unsurprisingly, any discourse regarding these two nations often results in disagreement. One controversial issue involves memory, more specifically the traumatic memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba. The Greek term “Holocaust” translates to “burnt offering” and refers to the killing of approximately six million European Jews by the Nazis and their affiliates between 1941 and 1945—the Hebrew term “Shoah” which translates to “destruction” is also used. The Arabic term “al-Nakba” translates to “catastrophe” and refers to the exodus of over 700,000 Arab Palestinians who fled their homes as a result of the 1948 Palestine War. Even though the value of memory and remembrance cannot be denied—as George Santayana (1863-1952) once wrote, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”¹—is it possible that, when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, memory may be doing more harm than good? This article argues that memory of the Holocaust and al-Nakba has transcended its original role and now qualifies as historical trauma,² encompassing not just the terror of the original events but all related violence up until the present day. These memories are fueling Israeli-Palestinian tensions through the emotional and psychological ramifications of trauma. The competing Israeli and Palestinian notions of victimization contribute to “apathetic” (i.e.,

¹ George Santayana, *The Life of Reason: Reason in Common Sense* (New York: Scribner’s, 1905), 284.

² In this article, historical trauma refers to experiences—including genocide, slavery, forced relocation, and destruction of cultural practices shared by communities—that can result in cumulative emotional and psychological wounds that are carried across generations. Historical trauma can lead to mental and physical illness, loss of familial or community ties, etc. Both the Holocaust, al-Nakba, and the on-going Israeli/Palestinian violence fall into this category.

uninterested, unresponsive, or insensible) attitudes in their respective social and educational environments.

To appreciate how memory plays a role in Israeli-Palestinian relations, one needs to gain a basic understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Prior to 1948 what is today known as Israel was part of Mandatory Palestine, a territory established in 1920 after World War I by the British Mandate for Palestine as part of the effort to divide the Ottoman Empire.³ In Mandatory Palestine, two groups, Jews and Arabs, saw the territory as their respective homeland. In 1947, after the end of World War II, the United Nations adopted a partition plan to facilitate the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states, as well as an international regime for Jerusalem. While the partition plan was approved by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, it was not well received by the Arab population. Thus began a conflict that has comprised the 1948 Palestine War;⁴ the Palestinian exodus known as al-Nakba; the establishment of the state of Israel; a series of disputes and wars over the status of Palestine; Palestinian statehood; and present-day tension. Undeniably, the rift between Israel and Palestine is wide and deep. What exacerbates the conflict is the trauma associated with memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba.

Given the conflict's immense historical, geographical, and political ramifications, individual voices tend to get lost in the cacophonous chaos of disagreement. For that reason, most sources utilized in this article attempt to bring the personal, human narrative to light and include interviews with individuals associated with the Israeli and Palestinian communities;⁵ published testimonies by authors such as the Israeli politician Avraham Burg and Palestinian scholar Seraj Assi;⁶ a *Haaretz* interview with MK⁷ Alex Miller (Yisrael Beiteinu/"Israel Our Home" Party); and a lecture by Al-Quds University professor Mohammed Dajani Daoudi.⁸ Each of these sources offers an individual voice regarding the issues at

³ Benny Morris, *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 19.

⁴ This war consisted of two primary violent conflicts: the civil war of 1947-1948 in Mandatory Palestine and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948.

⁵ At the interviewees' requests, their names have been withheld and substituted by the following sigla: [P1]: elderly Palestinian male who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in the 1960s; [P2]: P1's granddaughter; [P3]: son, in his late twenties, of a Palestinian refugee; [I1]: elderly Israeli female who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in 1967; [I2]: granddaughter, in her mid-twenties, of a Holocaust survivor. The interviews/conversations took place in 2019. Interviews/conversations cited here were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), HSR-19-20-471. [CC]: Cynthia Castaneda (author).

⁶ Avraham Burg, *The Holocaust is Over: We Must Rise from Its Ashes* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) 60; Seraj Assi, "Why My Father Made Me Forget Our Palestinian Catastrophe," *The Atlantic*, May 15, 2018, accessed May 24, 2020.

⁷ Member of the Knesset (i.e., Israel's Parliament).

⁸ Alex Miller interviewed in Merav Michaeli, "Yisrael Beiteinu MK: Teaching the Nakba in Israel's Schools Is Incitement," *Haaretz*, March 24, 2011, accessed May 24, 2020; "Prof. Mohammed

hand. For example, my interviews with individuals associated with the Israeli and Palestinian communities feature these individuals' respective memories and perceptions of the Holocaust and al-Nakba, as well as their opinions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Avraham Burg's testimony details existing Israeli angst toward Arabs, while Seraj Assi recollects his family's decision to forget al-Nakba.

This article also addresses the impact of historical trauma, namely, Holocaust and al-Nakba memory, from scholarly perspectives in order to showcase the results of academic research alongside personal opinions and thereby hopefully balance the content. Texts that fall into this category include *The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Grammar of Trauma and History*,⁹ a 2018 anthology edited by political theorist Bashir Bashir (Open University of Israel) and Holocaust scholar Amos Goldberg (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) that brings both Jewish and Arab scholars together as they discuss the role of memory and how the two events are interlinked. Similarly, the 2017 monograph *Enemies and Neighbors: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017* by Ian Black, a former journalist for the *Guardian* and currently affiliated with the London School of Economics, includes the voices of both Israeli and Palestinian residents while analyzing the conflict's overall history.¹⁰ This article is divided into two segments: emotional and psychological ramifications of traumatic memory; and competing Israeli-Palestinian notions of victimization, including apathetic social and educational attitudes.

I. Traumatic Memory and Its Emotional and Psychological Ramifications

As humans, we are molded by all our experiences and memories. Yet, despite all the joyful memories we may possess, it is often memories filled with trauma and pain that have a stronger impact. They go on to influence everything: our emotional outlook, attitude, likes and, more specifically, dislikes. These can then be passed down from generation to generation, allowing such emotions and dislikes to live on into the future. Emotionally, traumatic memories can be accumulated in such a way that they can become almost weaponized. Psychologically, memories can be construed purely from one's traumatic environment. Emotionally and psychologically, if the trauma of the memory is too severe, forgetting—rather than remembering—may seem like the wiser or healthier option. When a type of memory and or knowledge that is shared by a specific social, cultural, or familial group is passed down through generations it becomes a community's collective memory.¹¹ Even though collective memory can

Dajani Daoudi," video file, 23:06, YouTube, July 19, 2017, Rossing Center for Education and Dialogue, accessed May 24, 2020.

⁹ Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg, eds., *The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Grammar of Trauma and History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 3 (introduction).

¹⁰ Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbors: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2017), 7.

¹¹ See Janet L. Jacobs, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide, and Collective Memory* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), xv.

provide a sense of bonding and togetherness, which can be used as a tool for coping, there are exceptions. Education specialist Jeffrey Wilkinson argues that collective trauma, stemming from collective memory, can be accumulated and used as a catalyst for hate and anger.¹² One would assume that this hate and anger would then be directed against those who had caused the initial trauma suffered by the community—or against their descendants. For example, in the case of trauma stemming from the Holocaust the resulting hate and anger would then be directed against Nazi Germany or against Germany and Germans today. However, in some cases, this assumption is incorrect.

As suggested in Israeli politician Avraham Burg's 2008 work, *The Holocaust is Over: We Must Rise From Its Ashes*, some Israelis hold Germany blameless for their current problems. Burg recollects a heated conversation between himself and a group of Israeli students in which a student went on to exclaim, "The worst thing that happened to the Jews was the Arabs."¹³ In the eyes of this student, the Arabs were the worst—not the Nazis, not Germany, but the Arabs. Burg argues that, as a hurt community, Israel has collected the anger and desire for revenge that stems from collective historical trauma and placed it on Palestine rather than Germany to, "allow [themselves] to live comfortably with the heirs of the German enemy."¹⁴ Burg's assertion is supported by the fact that the angry student's parents both drive German cars (a Volkswagen and an Audi) and when asked whether he forgave the Germans, the student said, "Yes, they did nothing bad to me."¹⁵ At this point, historical trauma comes into play. Even though this student was born long after the Holocaust, he was raised in a violent and angry environment with origins that can be traced back to the destruction brought on by the Holocaust. Based on the emotional and psychological impact of historical trauma, this student now displays a hateful mentality. As Burg notes, this mentality was not singular: prior to the exchange, other students in the hall had echoed similar opinions:

The children, like typical Israeli youngsters, argued heatedly in favor of deportations and transfer of the Palestinians. Revenge was an accepted philosophy for them and the killing of innocents a legitimate means of deterrence. Some of the more extreme speakers garnered the applause of their silent friends. The school principal, shaken, stood in front of them and spoke with a trembling voice: 'But you are not listening to what you are saying. This is how they spoke about us sixty and seventy years ago. This is what they did to us.' He admonished them, and they fell silent in awe, but it was apparent they disagreed with what he said.¹⁶

Granted, collective memory can also have benefits, as it provides people with a sense of community. But if there is hate it, too, will be reflected by the community,

¹² Jeffrey J. Wilkinson, "Israel/Palestine Experience and Engagement: A Multidirectional Study of Collective Memory through an Analysis of Trauma, Identity, and Victim Beliefs" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2017), ii.

¹³ Burg, *Holocaust is Over*, 79.

¹⁴ Burg, *Holocaust is Over*, 79.

¹⁵ Burg, *Holocaust is Over*, 80.

¹⁶ Burg, *Holocaust is Over*, 79.

turning collective memory into collective hate. As members of the community are surrounded by traumatic memories and emerging negative opinions, they begin to store these memories and the related hate as well. As seen in the case of the young students, such memories and hate can span multiple generations.

To illustrate the concept of multi-generational hate through traumatic memory, we may consider a recent attack on a northern West Bank farm. On Wednesday, October 16, 2019, during the annual olive harvest, Palestinian farmers, alongside Israeli and foreign volunteers, were attacked by youth Israeli settlers with rocks and crowbars. Among those injured was eighty-year-old rabbi Moshe Yehudai who suffered a broken arm.¹⁷ The volunteers were assisting Palestinian farmers due to a recent increase in attacks and frequent intimidation efforts brought on by settlers. Similarly, since 2015, Israel has faced a wave of attacks and violent incidents carried out by Palestinian youths.¹⁸ On both sides, violent attacks have been carried out by teenagers and young adults, namely, people who did not suffer the trauma of the Holocaust or al-Nakba. Nevertheless, the memories that surround their communities and the respective hate they have inherited are shaping their attitudes, behavior, and violent actions.

Just as it can be connected to collective memory and multi-generational hate, trauma can also be linked to misconstrued memories and forgetfulness. According to Elizabeth Phelps, a neuroscience professor at Harvard University, our memories are – on average – only fifty percent accurate. Research shows that memories go through a process between the initial event and our brain converting it into a memory, and this process is referred to as consolidation. Similarly, when we try to remember, the memory goes through another process similar to consolidation. As a result, regardless of how certain we may be, our memories are alterable and vulnerable.¹⁹ This fifty-percent accuracy is diminished even further when emotion and trauma enter the picture. Since al-Nakba occurred decades ago and was emotionally traumatic, one cannot be surprised if stories of what took place during the Palestinian exodus are “flawed” – and it should be emphasized here that the adjective “flawed” with regard to memories is used in this article without any value judgment but simply to denote imperfection and a lack of accuracy.

P1 is an elderly Palestinian male who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in the 1960s. During his interview, P1 claimed that, when he was one year old, he and his mother fled during the Palestinian exodus and that he became an orphan after his mother was killed in the chaos. As a result, in his words, al-Nakba

¹⁷ Jacob Magid, “Settlers Accused of Beating Rabbi, 80, Who Was Aiding Palestinian Olive Harvest,” *The Times of Israel*, October 16, 2019, accessed May 24, 2020.

¹⁸ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Wave of Terror 2015-2019,” updated February 29, 2020, accessed May 24, 2020.

¹⁹ “My Mind’s Eye: Controlling Our Fears: An Interview with Elizabeth Phelps: Full Episode #4,” video file, 08:22, YouTube, February 9, 2017, Labocine (Labocine Scenes: Science as Cinema), accessed May 24, 2020.

has “forced”²⁰ him to hate the Jews. There are complications with his recollections, including the fact that these hateful emotions are based on the memories of a one-year old child.²¹ Additionally, his granddaughter (P2) qualified his statements. According to her, P1’s mother was indeed forced to flee during al-Nakba but was not killed. His mother was pregnant with him at the time, and P1 was not born until after the initial al-Nakba events. Ultimately, his mother resettled in Israel.²² P1 was not left orphaned at the age of one, nor did he himself flee from a burning village. Nevertheless, that is what he believes and remembers. As a result, his current hatred of Israel is based on a constructed traumatic memory. It would not be fair to discredit P1 as a liar. His granddaughter said that P1’s mother passed about seven years after she had fled Palestine. Therefore, P1 was orphaned at a young age and had to endure a violent environment for most of his childhood.

It is difficult to say how P1 acquired or constructed his flawed narrative. It is possible his memory is related to a traumatic post-al-Nakba childhood experience that he then connected to the better-known event: for example, he may have connected his mother’s untimely death to the fact that she had to flee years earlier. Additionally, given that he was orphaned at a young age, it is possible that he heard the story from peers and that, over time, it became his story. Whatever the case may be, his flawed memories are connected to the trauma he endured as a child. According to Australian legal scholar Juliet Brough Rogers

this, we might say, is precisely what trauma is. The characteristic of scenes of violence which produce trauma is that fantasy becomes reality; reality becomes fantasy. What is believed and believable is confused. Simply put, the boundary between one’s sense of reality and an external reality becomes uncertain.²³

Another example of potentially flawed memories surfaced during my interview with I2, the granddaughter, in her mid-twenties, of a Holocaust survivor. After World War II, I2’s grandmother had first moved to Israel before eventually immigrating to the U.S. According to family stories,²⁴ while living in Israel, her grandmother witnessed violence, including the death of a cousin: “my mom did say that grandma had a cousin who was killed by a bomb while living in Israel. At least I think it was a cousin, or was it a friend?”²⁵ The key phrase in

²⁰ P1, interview with Cynthia Castaneda (full transcription at the end of this article).

²¹ Studies have shown that the brain’s hippocampus is not fully developed until about three and a half years old. Around then is when our earliest childhood memories would develop. See [Bill Briggs and Bill Briggs, “How far back can you remember? When earliest memories occur,”](#) NBC News, August 24, 2012, accessed May 24, 2020.

²² P2, brief conversation with Cynthia Castaneda (full transcription at the end of this article).

²³ Juliet Brough Rogers, “Rethinking Remorse: The Problem of the Banality of Full Disclosure in Testimonies from South Africa,” in *Breaking Intergenerational Cycles of Repetition: A Global Dialogue on Historical Trauma and Memory*, ed. Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela (Toronto: Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2016), 27-48, here 39.

²⁴ I2 never met her grandmother in person since the latter had passed before I2 was born.

²⁵ I2, interview with Cynthia Castaneda (full transcription at the end of this article).

this quote is “I think.” The memories passed on by I2’s grandmother to her family have now reached I2, but there is doubt and confusion associated with them. Unless I2 asks for clarification in future, the narrative she passes on will also contain doubt and confusion. Furthermore, these stories of “explosions and fires” affect I2’s opinion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: when I mentioned the violence that both Israel and Palestine are guilty of, her response was, “Is there proof of that?” This was followed by, “I am sure that both sides are guilty of violence [...] but I feel that Israel’s violence is more of a reaction than action.”²⁶ Interestingly enough, I2 had heard the term al-Nakba and had a fair understanding of the event. Nevertheless, based on the traumatic memories and stories she inherited, when it came to analyzing the current conflict, she took a clear stance, “the stories my grandmother passed down have made up my mind.”²⁷

Can remembering become so painful that someone would purposely choose to let an event remain unmentioned and eventually forgotten? That is the dilemma Palestinian scholar Seraj Assi found himself in when he discovered that his Palestinian father intentionally avoided all references to al-Nakba, leaving Assi entirely in the dark. It was not until he was a twenty-year-old student at the Hebrew University that he heard the term al-Nakba for the first time. When Assi returned home to tell his father what he had learned, “He faltered, then advised me to get this *nakba* out of my system.”²⁸ Upon closer analysis, Assi discovered that his father and many men of his generation intentionally chose to leave the topic unspoken to hide from the truth and to protect their children from the pain:

Between 1948 and 1966, men like my father and grandfather were forced to live under a military regime imposed by Israel on its remaining Arab population. Their freedom of movement was controlled by Israeli permit requirements and curfews. They were restricted from seeing their fellow Palestinians and Arabs in neighboring countries like Jordan and Egypt, in the West Bank and Gaza, and even in other towns and villages inside Israel. Haunted by the fresh memory of loss and displacement, the first generation of Arabs in Israel was born into national limbo. Virtually overnight, they became strangers in their own homeland. To my father, the *nakba* never truly ended. But whether out of fear or brutal realism, he refused to bequeath it to his son. He believed that third-generation Arabs in Israel could survive only through ignorance of what had come before. This was his mantra.²⁹

The reasoning employed by Assi’s father is comprehensible. With an event as catastrophic as al-Nakba, it is logical that parents would wish to protect their children from the harsh reality they had to endure. Research conducted by Anaheed Al-Hardan, a sociologist at the American University of Beirut, for his 2016 monograph *Palestinian’s Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities*, shows that there are distinct variations in how al-Nakba is perceived by first-, second-, and third-generation Palestinians. Since al-Nakba memories are passed

²⁶ I2, interview with Cynthia Castaneda.

²⁷ I2, interview with Cynthia Castaneda.

²⁸ Assi, “Why My Father Made Me Forget.”

²⁹ I2, interview with Cynthia Castaneda.

down generations, how the Palestinian exodus is interpreted is based entirely on the respective parental guardians' preferences.³⁰ In Assi's case, his father felt that no mention of al-Nakba was best; thus, a history without al-Nakba became Assi's reality. Ignorance was not bliss but certainly less painful than the truth. The risk here is that ignorance can become denialism, something of which both Israelis and Palestinians are guilty.

According to political theorist Bashir Bashir and Holocaust scholar Amos Goldberg, many Israelis and Palestinians minimize the devastation suffered by their respective counterparts. In other words, there is a diminished Jewish perspective of al-Nakba and a diminished Palestinian perspective of the Holocaust. Many Israelis significantly downplay the devastation brought on by al-Nakba: some of them say that such an event is normal when new nations emerge, while others claim that al-Nakba is utter nonsense.³¹ Yet, by the end of 1948, fifty percent of Palestinians had either fled or been uprooted; according to Jewish Studies professor Jacob Lassner (Northwestern University) and Israeli scholar S. Ilan Troen (Brandeis University), "[m]ore than 300 villages were abandoned, many plowed under never to be seen again."³² Similarly, there are Palestinians who find it hard to acknowledge the pain suffered by Jews during the Holocaust: "Some prefer to ignore the issue, downplay its importance, or even deny the Holocaust entirely, dismissing it as the invention of a powerful Zionist propaganda machine."³³ Yet Holocaust survivor Miriam Weinfeld's recollection of the events are quite different: "Her mother died before her eyes. When the British soldiers finally arrived [for the liberation of Bergen-Belsen], wearing gas masks against the stench of the tens of thousands of corpses strewn around the barracks, Weinfeld's first thought was, 'Too bad they came so late.'"³⁴ For those who suffered during al-Nakba and the Holocaust to come across a person who negates their trauma and memories, what emotion – other than anger – might prevail?

Emotional and psychological ramifications are only some of the consequences stemming from the trauma of Holocaust and al-Nakba memory. As humans, we recognize the power of memory – a power that goes on to define who we become and what we believe. This power of memory can make a group of high school students passionately declare their hate of Arabs. This power of memory can make a Palestinian orphan construct a memory that may be flawed but that stems from the historical trauma he has endured and that, in his mind, justifies his hate for

³⁰ Anaheed Al-Hardan, *Palestinian's in Syria: Nakba Memories of Shattered Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 156.

³¹ Bashir and Goldberg, *Holocaust and the Nakba*, 2 (introduction).

³² Jacob Lassner and S. Ilan Troen, *Jews and Muslims in the Arab World: Haunted by Pasts Real and Imagined* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2007), 106-107.

³³ Bashir and Goldberg, *Holocaust and the Nakba*, 3 (introduction).

³⁴ Referenced in Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, trans. Haim Watzman (1991; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000), 153.

Israel. None of these phenomena are things of the past. Collective attitudes, hateful opinions, altered memories, and denialism are still prevalent. It is with this in mind that we now turn to the issue of competing notions of victimization.

II. Victimization and Apathetic Social and Educational Attitudes

In a black and white conflict setting, one is the aggressor and the other is the victim. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is anything but black and white. Each nation sees itself as the sole victim and criticizes or disputes the other's claim. Israelis see themselves as victims of the Holocaust and as victims in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Palestinians see themselves as victims of al-Nakba and as victims of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The result is a competition over who is the victim and who is the *real* victim. In addition, attempts are made to denounce the other side's claim to victimhood, and there is a refusal to acknowledge or empathize with the other side's pain—both socially and educationally. What remains is a volatile and apathetic environment.

I1 is an elderly Israeli female who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in 1967. During our interview, she revealed that her grandmother had perished during the Holocaust. When asked whether family and personal memories affected her views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I assumed she would mention her grandmother and her family as direct victims of the Holocaust. However, she replied that, since she had been born in 1949, she did not live during the Holocaust. Instead, she remembered the day her childhood friend was injured in a bomb attack along the Gaza strip: "I remember being very mad and sad. She was a good friend and didn't deserve to get hurt, but she did because of those Gaza bombs. Our people suffered enough during the Holocaust, and years later children still get hurt or killed."³⁵ While she had mentioned her grandmother as a Holocaust victim earlier in the interview and here, too, made a reference to the Holocaust, her childhood friend's injury appeared as her primary claim to victimhood, possibly because it was the only case of violence to which she was personally connected. When asked whether in the current conflict both Israel and Palestine were to blame for violence, she replied, "Yes, Israel has been aggressive, but we have been aggressive in defense of Arab attacks. We are just the victims."³⁶ Her response, although on the opposite side of the spectrum, is nearly identical to P1's: "Palestine is aggressive because Israel is aggressive. They began it. We need to protect her."³⁷ In their eyes, only the opposing side is to blame: both Israel's and Palestine's attacks are based entirely on defense, not aggression.

This brings us to the question of victim versus *real* victim. According to psychologists Andrew Pilecki and Phillip L. Hammack, the argument of "victim" versus "righteous victim" causes "competition over victimhood, which has

³⁵ I1, interview with Cynthia Castaneda (full transcription at the end of this article).

³⁶ I1, interview with Cynthia Castaneda.

³⁷ P1, interview with Cynthia Castaneda.

deleterious effects on intergroup relations, particularly with respect to intergroup reconciliation in postconflict settings.”³⁸ Efforts to remedy the situation in Israel and Palestine border on the miraculous, given that they are a long way from being a post-conflict setting. As the interviews with I1 and P1 show, their respective memories of impactful events and the overall concept of historical trauma have left them in a state of denial.

Knowing that you or your people have suffered is painful. The pain intensifies when people do not acknowledge this because they are simply unaware of or uneducated about your pain. That is certainly the dilemma many Palestinians find themselves in with regard to al-Nakba. P3, the son, in his late twenties, of a Palestinian refugee, expressed frustration that al-Nakba is not a well-known event. He classified those involved as being “victims of an unknown truth,”³⁹ which could be translated into being victims of nothing. To test his claim, albeit in an informal fashion (i.e., the results have to be considered anecdotal evidence), an online survey was designed with five questions regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: of the 108 responses received, 81.5 percent said they were not familiar with al-Nakba, while 100 percent were familiar with the Holocaust.⁴⁰ Even though this underscores P3’s claim, the lack of familiarity with al-Nakba may be explained by the fact that al-Nakba is not regularly taught in U.S. schools. According to California’s “History-Social Science Content Standards,” the Holocaust must be taught as part of sections 10.8 and 10.9, but the standards make no mention of al-Nakba.⁴¹ Furthermore, P3 may see al-Nakba, formally commemorated every May, as a day of victimhood but many Israelis see the same day in a much more positive manner. While Palestinians mourn this day as al-Nakba or “catastrophe,” Israelis celebrate it as Independence Day. The question then becomes, how should the day be taught? As a day of celebration or day of mourning?

Apathy also makes an appearance in Israeli and Palestinian education standards. Both nations follow skewed education standards that teach incomplete narratives regarding the respective other nation’s history. The primary victims in this case are Israeli and Palestinian students. Israeli scholar Ilan Gur-Ze’ev (University of Haifa) maintains that educational systems in Israel universally teach about Independence Day but disregard the Palestinian narrative: “Israeli education controlled the Holocaust memory to create an emotional and conceptual

³⁸ Andrew Pilecki and Phillip L. Hammack, “‘Victims’ versus ‘Righteous Victims’: The Rhetorical Construction of Social Categories in Historical Dialogue among Israeli and Palestinian Youth,” *Political Psychology* 35, no. 6 (December 2014): 813-830, here 815.

³⁹ P3, interview with Cynthia Castaneda (full transcription at the end of this article).

⁴⁰ Online Survey Results (published at the end of this article). The survey was conducted in 2019. The survey and its results were reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), HSR-19-20-471.

⁴¹ California Department of Education, “History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve,” May 18, 2000, accessed May 24, 2020.

inability to acknowledge Palestinian suffering as part of a collective identity, or the very existence of the Nakbah.”⁴² Even Palestinian scholar Seraj Assi (whose father would not talk about al-Nakba), when he was young, believed Israel to be a divine land: “Indeed, I believed that Israel had existed in Palestine from time immemorial. I remember asking my history teacher, ‘From whom did Israel gain independence in 1948?’ He hummed, gazed out into the distance, and said nothing. I gathered from his silence that Israel was a biblical miracle.”⁴³

The Palestinians’ approach is equally flawed and apathetic: they flip the argument by stating that they are the real victims of the Holocaust. According to Ilan Gur-Ze’ev, “in the Palestinian system [...] the new trend insists on the universal implications of the Holocaust within a narrative where the ultimate victims of the Holocaust are the Palestinians who were victimized by the victims of the Holocaust, who made possible the Nakbah, and actually made the Nakbah the inevitable outcome of the Holocaust.”⁴⁴ Ergo, based on trauma from al-Nakba, which was brought on by Holocaust survivors, Palestinians consider themselves the real victims of the Holocaust. It would be one thing for Palestinians to refer to themselves as indirect victims of the Holocaust but to see themselves as the ultimate or sole victims of the Holocaust sets aside or even denies the pain, suffering, and loss of the Holocaust’s Jewish victims. The Palestinian notion of ultimate victimhood can be traced back to the question of Israel’s legitimacy. There is fear that if Palestinians acknowledge the Holocaust in its entirety they are diminishing their own suffering (by comparison) and naming Israel the rightful heir of the land.⁴⁵ However, there have been attempts by Palestinians to correct their fellow Palestinians’ flawed views of the Holocaust.

In 2014, Mohammed Dajani Daoudi, the member of a prominent Palestinian family and, at the time, a professor at Jerusalem’s Al-Quds University, made international headlines when he took his students to visit Auschwitz in hopes of bringing awareness to the matter.⁴⁶ This echoed his previous peace efforts, including advocating for pluralism, non-violence, and reconciliation. However, the reactions from the Palestinian community were swift, angry, and violent. Dajani was declared a traitor by members of the Palestinian community, received

⁴² Ilan Gur-Ze’ev, “The Production of Self and the Destruction of Other’s Memory and Identity in Israeli/Palestinian Education on the Holocaust/Nakbah,” *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 20, no. 3 (2001): 255-266, here 262.

⁴³ Assi, “Why My Father Made Me Forget.” Admittedly, Assi’s lack of al-Nakba knowledge is primarily attributed to not having been taught by his own family. It cannot be blamed solely on the education system, but the fact that the teacher did not reply to Assi’s question — “From whom did Israel gain independence in 1948?” — displays an anti-al-Nakba academic in Israel’s schools.

⁴⁴ Gur-Ze’ev, “Production of Self and the Destruction of Other’s Memory and Identity,” 260.

⁴⁵ Yoram Meital and Paula M. Rayman, *Recognition as Key for Reconciliation: Israel, Palestine, and Beyond* (2017; Boston: Brill, 2018), 66.

⁴⁶ Tiffanie Wen, “Mohammed Dajani Daoudi: Journey to the Other,” Guernica, last modified April 15, 2015, accessed May 24, 2020.

death threats, and suffered extensive property damage.⁴⁷ Two months later, Dajani submitted his letter of resignation and, rather than reject it, Al-Quds University accepted it. This harsh and apathetic reaction directly correlates with the traumatizing memories of al-Nakba and the corresponding emotions. Dajani being denounced a “traitor,” with protests erupting on the Al-Quds University campus, demonstrates how close-minded members of the public can be. Rather than respect what European Jews had endured during the Holocaust, they angled the story so that it skipped over the death of six million Jews, focusing on how it affected them instead.

Dajani’s case was one of “education rejected” but there have also been cases of “education denied” (or at least “education compromised”). In 2011, Amendment No. 40 to the Budgets Foundations Law 5771-1985 passed the Knesset and became Israeli law. Nicknamed the “Nakba Law,” the English translation of the amendment states the following:

If the Minister of Finance sees that an entity has made an expenditure that, in essence, constitutes one of those specified below [...], he is entitled, with the authorization of the minister responsible for the budget item under which this entity is budgeted or supported, after hearing the entity, to reduce the sums earmarked to be transferred from the state budget to this entity under any law: (1) Rejecting the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state; (2) Incitement to racism, violence or terrorism; (3) Support for an armed struggle or act of terror by an enemy state or a terrorist organization against the State of Israel; (4) Commemorating Independence Day or the day of the establishment of the state as a day of mourning; (5) An act of vandalism or physical desecration that dishonors the state’s flag or symbol.⁴⁸

When MK Alex Miller, a sponsor of the bill, was asked why he supported it, he claimed that it was meant to prevent the funding of incitement: “I view Independence Day as a state symbol, but from an early age, some citizens of Israel are taught to view this day as a day of mourning! So, either we want education for coexistence and peace, or we want pupils to be brainwashed and incited against [other] citizens of their state from an early age.”⁴⁹ What Miller and other supporters of the bill fail to comprehend is that this amendment jeopardizes Arab-Israeli culture and that, like Seraj Assi in his youth, future generations may be kept unaware of a significant part of Israeli and Palestinian history—to avoid incitement. Yet, for Palestinians, the amendment itself is incitement and cause for

⁴⁷ “Prof. Mohammed Dajani Daoudi,” video file, 23:06, YouTube, July 19, 2017.

⁴⁸ Although the above quote is from a site dedicated to Arab minority rights in Israel, it contains the full English translation of the amendment: Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, “Budget Foundations Law (Amendment No. 40) 5771-2011,” May 4, 2011, accessed May 24, 2020.

⁴⁹ Alex Miller interviewed in Michaeli, “Yisrael Beiteinu MK: Teaching the Nakba in Israel’s Schools Is Incitement.”

anger as it, in effect, declares their memories and trauma irrelevant.⁵⁰ Like the closed-minded critics of Dajani and their attitude toward teaching Palestinians about the Holocaust, the Knesset here took an equally apathetic approach toward teaching Israelis about al-Nakba, thereby fueling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The concern regarding Israel's and Palestine's flawed educational approaches to their respective historical trauma is shared by David G. Kibble, Samira Alayan and Daniel Bar-Tal. According to Kibble, a former British naval officer and teacher, Palestinian Authority primary school children are taught that "Israel was founded in 1948, 'when the Zionist gangs stole Palestine and expelled its people from their cities, their villages, their lands and their houses and established the state of Israel.'"⁵¹ In reality, the establishment of Israel was the outcome of a United Nations partitions plan.⁵² According to Samira Alayan, a researcher at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Palestinian high school textbooks give the Holocaust a wide berth: "Palestinian textbooks," Alayan claims, "do not [...] describe the Holocaust and the Nazi crimes against humanity before and during World War II. They only provide information on other events of the war and their implications, both for the Palestinian people and for the establishment of the State of Israel."⁵³ Conversely, Israeli academic Daniel Bar-Tal (Tel Aviv University) argues that, up until the 1990s, Israeli textbooks contained some positive imagery of the Arab culture but the majority of them used negative stereotypes: "The stories describing early Arab-Jewish relations during the pre-state period and after the establishment of the State of Israel are frequently of a violent nature. In all, the Arabs are portrayed as aggressors, leading to their delegitimization as a 'mob,' 'bloodthirsty,' 'murderers,' 'inhuman enemy,' or 'rioters'."⁵⁴ These skewed educational perspectives are unfortunate and, what is worse, dangerous. Their victims – if we want to continue the victimization discourse – are the students and thus, the next generations of Israelis and Palestinians who are taught contents that will fuel the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but denied contents that might facilitate constructive social interaction and, ultimately, reconciliation.

⁵⁰ There are parallels on the other side of the globe: U.S. westward expansion and the expulsion of Native Americans from their homelands is a subject that is still not taught as much as it should be and that, until the 1960s, was hardly taught at all in American schools, but it has become part of the required educational curriculum in the U.S., unlike al-Nakba in Israel.

⁵¹ David G. Kibble, "A Plea for Improved Education about 'the Other' in Israel and Palestine," *The Curriculum Journal* 23, no. 4 (2012): 553-566, here 554.

⁵² November 30, 1947, is regarded as the start of the Palestinian War and al-Nakba not only because it is the day the United Nations voted to partition Palestine, but it is also the day that armed Arabs ambushed a Jewish bus headed to Jerusalem, leading to Israeli retaliation and ultimately violence that has continued to this day. See Black, *Enemies and Neighbors*, 105.

⁵³ Samira Alayan, "The Holocaust in Palestinian Textbooks: Differences and Similarities in Israel and Palestine," *Comparative Education Review* 60, no. 1 (February 2016): 80-104, here 90.

⁵⁴ Daniel Bar-Tal, "The Arab Image in Hebrew School Textbooks," *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture* 8, no. 2 (2001): 1-11, here 5.

It is not for anyone to determine whether the contradicting memories of the past – like those of May 1948 – should be those of joy or sorrow. Unless the desired outcome is a controlled chain of ignorance and hate, dual narratives must be taught as both contain truth. It is also not for anyone to say whether Israel or Palestine is the *rightful* victim. There is no denying the existence of traumatic memories that prove that *both* are victims in their own right. Rather than compete for *rightful* victimhood, sympathy and respect toward the other side's trauma should be the order of the day. Finally, it is not for anyone to engage in the business of quantifying pain, suffering, destruction, and death. Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians, all have their respective memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba, which qualify as historical trauma that encompasses not just the terror of the original events but all related violence that has continued up until the present day.

Conclusion

When a conflict between nations is as volatile as that between Israel and Palestine, there is rarely just one trigger. Nevertheless, emotion is a powerful instigator of human action or reaction. If one is happy, the reaction may be laughter or smiles. If one is angry, hatred and negative thoughts take over, often leading to even worse reactions. Since memories of the Holocaust, of al-Nakba, and of current violence are traumatic, is it surprising that individual resentment lingers? Decades after P1 left Israel, his memories retain anger for the devastation he associates with Jews pushing him “out of our home.” Memories, both constructed and real, have been fueling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Apathetic attitudes that disregard the victimhood of others in favor of one's own status as the “righteous victim” fuel the Israeli-Palestinian conflict today. Flawed education standards in Israel and Palestine, by presenting skewed narratives of the past and by being taught to children in order to bring them to dislike either Israel or Palestine, may well continue to fuel the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for generations to come.

For a television special, comedian Conan O'Brien traveled to Israel where he visited both Jerusalem and Palestinian refugee camps. His conversations with Israeli and Palestinian residents were contradictory, comparable to the contradictory nature of P1's and I1's recollections. O'Brien ended the episode with the following statement: “Negotiations at a government level are great but until people of different backgrounds can barbeque next to each other in the same park and their kids can kick the same soccer ball, you will not have peace at a molecular level.”⁵⁵ O'Brien's statement proves the power of individual perspectives. Even if the Israeli and Palestinian governments miraculously come to an agreement tomorrow, individual resentment between their cultures will remain. Hate lingers in both Palestinian and Israeli memory and historical trauma. As acknowledged by the individuals interviewed for this article, traumatic memories are stronger than happy ones. It will therefore be up to each individual to decide when it is

⁵⁵ Conan O'Brien, “Conan Without Borders: Israel,” TBS, originally aired September 19, 2017.

time to acknowledge the others' trauma and begin attempts to heal together. This much is clear, though – and it echoes George Santayana's statement quoted at the beginning of this article: there will not be reconciliation without education and constructive social interaction.

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Appendix: Online Survey Results

Have you heard of the Holocaust?

108 responses: Yes (100%); No (0%)

Have you heard of al-Nakba?

108 responses: Yes (18.5%); No (81.5%)

Are you familiar with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?

108 responses: Yes (71.3%); Somewhat (24.1%); No (4.6%)

Do you believe the media vilify one perspective of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict more than the other?

108 responses: Yes (57.4%); Maybe (22.2%); Not sufficiently familiar (12%); No (8.4%)

If so, who? Not required to answer.

93 responses: Palestine (40.9%); Israel (34.4%); Unsure (24.7%)

Interview with P1:

Elderly Palestinian male who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in the 1960s

CC: Are you familiar with the Holocaust? Are you familiar with al-Nakba?

P1: Yes, I know both, but I lived al-Nakba. My mother died.

CC: I'm very sorry to hear that. We can discuss it in a few moments. What value do you see in memory and remembering, or what does it mean to you?

P1: Memory reminds me of my past, it shows me good things and mistakes. I learn from my mistakes. If memory is happy or good, I use it to remind myself how to be happy. Not everything is bad.

CC: I agree, we all have memories, good and bad. Which do you think are stronger, painful memories or happy memories?

P1: Pain is stronger. It changes people. When I think of al-Nakba, I get angry and it's harder to forget pain over happiness. Painful memories made me stronger and determined.

CC: The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has many factors to take into consideration, but do you think personal or family memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba play a role?

P1: I think of al-Nakba, and I remember. I fled with my mother when I was one, from burning villages. She was killed, and I was left an orphan. The Jews

- pushed us out of our home, killed my mother. They forced me to hate. Now they launch airstrikes and Palestinians die! We have to defend ourselves. It's not their fault.
- CC: One last question. There is proof of violence at the hands of both Israel and Palestine. Do you feel that, at one point, both nations are to blame for the conflict?
- P1: Palestine is aggressive because Israel is aggressive. They began it. We need to protect her.

Brief Conversation with P2:

P1's granddaughter

- CC: Question, he mentioned that he was orphaned at one, and his mom died, and he was alone? I don't mean to offend, but is that true? It is a lot to remember for a one-year-old.
- P2: Yeah, he has been saying that story since my mom was little but we're pretty sure it's not true. He wasn't born until after my great-grandma had fled and went to Tel-Aviv. Honestly, we don't know much but my great-grandma didn't die during the exodus. She died like seven years later or something. He was little, but not one. To be honest, what we know is based off of what my grandma said and what he has said but it's not much, and who knows if it's true.
- CC: Have you ever considered an Ancestry.com search?
- P2: Not really, doubt we will. It doesn't matter that much to me.

Interview with P3:

Son, in his late twenties, of a Palestinian refugee

- CC: Are you familiar with the Holocaust? Are you familiar with al-Nakba?
- P3: Yeah, I know about both.
- CC: What value do you see in memory and remembering, or what does it mean to you?
- P3: Wow, yeah, um. The sarcastic in me wants to say memory is our brain's way of torturing us with our mistakes and faults. But on a more positive side, if our life has been good, and mine has been, memory allows us to relive the good times. If I am upset over some ridiculous thing I'll think back to happier times, and hopefully I cheer up.
- CC: Well said. We all have memories, good and bad. In your opinion which can be stronger, painful memories or happy ones?
- P3: Honestly, Hell yeah! Painful memories are the worst, and if I think back to when my grandpa passed away it will take more than a few happy times to draw me back. Does that make sense?
- CC: No, yeah, definitely. Sadness in general tends to have a lot of power over us, whether it is in the moment or when we remember later. OK, so, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has many factors to take into consideration, but

- do you think personal or family memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba play a role?
- P3: My dad is from Israel, but our family is Palestinian, my grandparents were pushed out during Nakba and he was born in a refugee camp outside of Jerusalem. Shu'fat.
- CC: I'm sorry can you spell that real quick?
- P3: Yeah, it's S-H-U-F-A-T.
- CC: Awesome, thanks. OK, so your family is Palestinian, and your grandparents fled during al-Nakba? Any memories?
- P3: Yeah, I've been told a few but honestly my family doesn't talk about it. My dad lived in the camp until he was ten, and then they all moved here but, yeah, my grandparents lost their home, jobs. My grandfather's brother, I think, was killed in the mess, but no one talks about it, you know. Even my own family won't talk about it. You know, we are victims of an unknown truth, and it is annoying as hell, honestly. Everyone knows about the Holocaust, but no one seems to know that it led to problems for other people, you know.
- CC: One last question. There is proof of violence at the hands of both Israel and Palestine. Do you feel that, at one point, both nations are to blame for the conflict?
- P3: Yeah, I may be Palestinian but definitely both countries are to blame for all the fighting. No one is innocent at this point.

Interview with I1:

Elderly Israeli female who emigrated from Israel and came to the U.S. in 1967

- CC: Are you familiar with the Holocaust? Are you familiar with al-Nakba?
- I1: Yes, I know both. My grandmother died in the Holocaust, and I was born in Israel in 1949.
- CC: What value do you see in memory and remembering, or what does it mean to you?
- I1: Memory helps me keep my past alive and makes us strong and [memories] teach. What I saw and remember from my grandparents I now do as a grandmother. They keep us comfortable and safe, and we learn.
- CC: What about painful memories?
- I1: Pain is harder, we do not want to be angry or sad, but the memories are still there, and sometimes we need them.
- CC: We all have memories, good and bad. Do you think that painful memories are stronger than happy memories?
- I1: I always felt that it was easier to get angry than happy. I could be happy, and one thing happens, and now I'm angry. Then it would take more than one happy thing to make me not angry. Maybe, yes, painful memories are stronger than happy memories but sometimes the pain helps us grow and teach us. We learn from it. But we should try to find the happy too.

CC: The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has many factors to take into consideration, but do you think personal or family memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba play a role?

I1: My grandmother was killed but I don't remember the Holocaust, I was born in 1949, but I grew up in Israel and remember fighting and smoke. When I was little, my friend Lea got hurt in a bomb attack a long time ago. I remember being very mad and sad. She was a good friend and didn't deserve to get hurt, but she did because of those Gaza bombs. Our people suffered enough during the Holocaust, and years later children still get hurt or killed. The suffering never ends.

CC: OK, one last question. There is proof of violence at the hands of both Israel and Palestine. Do you feel that, at one point, both nations are to blame for the conflict?

I1: Yes, Israel has been aggressive, but we have been aggressive in defense of Palestinian attacks. We are just the victims.

Interview with I2:

Granddaughter, in her mid-twenties, of a Holocaust survivor

CC: Are you familiar with the Holocaust? Are you familiar with al-Nakba?

I2: Well, yeah, the Holocaust, obviously. I am Jewish, and my grandma was a Holocaust survivor who moved to Israel after the war. I didn't know her, though. She died before I was born, 1986, I think. But, wait, I'm sorry, what was the other thing?

CC: al-Nakba.

I2: Isn't that when all the people were kicked out of Palestine or what was Palestine or something? Like decades ago.

CC: Yes, the 1948 Palestinian exodus.

I2: Yeah, that. I don't know more than that to be honest. Sorry.

CC: No, no, it's fine. I just asked to gauge others' knowledge of the two events. OK, moving on, what value do you see in memory and remembering, or what does it mean to you?

I2: I have a terrible memory, which sucks, but I think memories or stories that trigger memories help us grow as people. It helps us avoid the same mistakes, and hypothetically memories can help us mature, while valuing our past.

CC: In your opinion, which are stronger, painful memories or happy ones?

I2: It's not healthy but people tend to focus on the sad memories. We all have happy memories of course, but I feel that they are not fully appreciated or taken advantage of.

CC: Yes, it can feel easier to be sad or upset, rather than try to be cheerful. OK, so the main reason for this conversation, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The on-going tension has many factors to take into consideration, but do you

- think personal or familial memories of the Holocaust and al-Nakba play a role?
- I2: What do you mean?
- CC: Do you believe that personal memories or stories of the Holocaust or al-Nakba, passed on to later generations, impact their perspective? For example, the great-granddaughter of an al-Nakba survivor heard of the [Palestinian] exodus from a family narrative. Do you think it could affect her current opinion regarding Israel?
- I2: Well, I mean, yeah, if it is what she has heard and it caused problems for her family, I am pretty sure she wouldn't be happy.
- CC: Does your family have any stories of the Holocaust or your grandmother's time in Israel?
- I2: My grandmother rarely discussed the Holocaust, I mean, can you blame her? She lost her sister and mother. Although she died of a heart attack, my mom said she suffered from depression. Israel wasn't much better though. Apparently, grandma had a cousin who was killed by a bomb while living there. At least I think it was a cousin, or was it a friend?
- CC: Oh, so your grandmother moved to Israel with family members?
- I2: Honestly, I have no idea. It is the story I have heard. My grandmother used to talk about explosions and fires, and I wouldn't be surprised if that was one of the reasons she chose to move to the States. Doesn't exactly make for a happy home.
- CC: OK, last question. There is proof of violence at the hands of both Israel and Palestine. Do you feel, that at one point, both nations are to blame for the conflict?
- I2: Is there proof of that? That they are both being violent?
- CC: Yes, often when one side attacks, the other will retaliate and vice versa. Ultimately, there can be civilian casualties on both ends; both injuries and deaths, as you grandmother clearly witnessed during her time in Israel.
- I2: I am sure that both sides are guilty of violence but, if I'm being honest, I doubt Israel has instigated. I'm pretty sure if they are violent it is because they have to respond to Palestinian attacks and defend themselves. So, yes, they are both guilty of violence, but I feel that Israel's violence is more of a reaction than action. Does that make sense?
- CC: Yes, it does.
- I2: Don't get me wrong, I know Israel is being aggressive too. I don't look at the news often but once in a while I hear about Palestinian civilians killed by Israeli soldiers, and it is sad to think about but that's the way it is.
- CC: OK, well repeating an earlier question do you feel that memory plays a role in any of that?
- I2: Probably, but at this point it's just pure dislike and hate. I mean, from my perspective, I never lived in Israel, nor did my mom, but the stories my grandmother passed down have made up my mind.

Robert DeLeon

An Athletic Show of Political Force: Cold War Influence on the Olympic Games (1952-1984)

ABSTRACT: *Athletic comradery and peaceful competition are core tenets of the Olympic Games. This article examines how the USA, the Soviet Union (USSR), Great Britain, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) between 1952 and 1984 utilized political strategies in the context of the Olympics to influence the performance of athletes and the opinion of citizens. This caused the Olympics to be overshadowed by Cold War politics. The article focuses on political decision-making around the 1952 Helsinki Games, the 1980 Moscow Games (which included the U.S. men's hockey team's victory over the Soviet team during the Winter Games), and the 1984 Los Angeles Games. The author argues that Cold War politics originally caused Olympic athletes to perform at a higher level to express a greater degree of national pride but gradually resulted in a significant divide between athletes and policymakers.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Cold War; Olympics; USA; Soviet Union (USSR); Great Britain; People's Republic of China (PRC); International Olympic Committee (IOC); National Olympic Committee (NOC); propaganda*

Introduction

When the International Olympic Committee was founded in 1894, French educator Pierre de Coubertin proposed the motto “faster, higher, stronger” to characterize the Olympic Games and to emphasize athletic comradery and peaceful competition.¹ Coubertin could not have predicted that between 1952 and 1984 his Olympic dream would be battered by Cold War politics.² After World War II, political ideologies increasingly motivated countries to participate in the Games to exert and increase their global influence. This included the strategy of expressing ideological pride through athletic performance and proving a nation's ability to be a world power through the number of gold medals its athletes would achieve.³ Thus, the United States of America (USA), the Soviet Union (USSR),

¹ See Jeffrey O. Segrave, “Citius, Altius, Fortius: Pierre de Coubertin and the Emergence of the Serialized Modern Olympic Games in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 42, no. 1 (2020): 33-50.

² Christopher R. Hill, *Olympic Politics: Athens to Atlanta, 1896-1996*, 2nd ed. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), provides an extensive look at how the Olympic Games were politicized by Cold War ideologies throughout the twentieth century. See also Toby C. Rider, *Cold War Games: Propaganda, the Olympics, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016). For Soviet and Chinese perspectives on the Olympics, see James Riordan, *Sport under Communism: The U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R., China, Cuba* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978). See also Donald Macintosh and Michael Hawes, with Donna Greenhorn and David Black, *Sport and Canadian Diplomacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 90-107 (“The Moscow Olympics Boycott”); Michael Mandelbaum, “Ending the Cold War,” *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (1989): 16-36.

³ During the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Hitler viewed the Games as an opportunity to “show the world what the new Germany could do culturally,” thus proving that even before the Cold War the Olympics were being utilized as a global stage for an expression of politics. See Rider, *Cold War Games*, 32-33.

Great Britain, and the People's Republic of China (PRC) all participated in a separate contest which overshadowed the Olympic Games' athletic competition.⁴ This separate contest began with the USSR's and PRC's participation in the 1952 Helsinki Games. It then developed into a competition to show off each nation's international influence and ideological power through the use of athletic performance. Each country developed a system of politics pertaining to the Olympic Games to affect the performance and achievements of its Olympic athletes. To influence the "hearts and minds" of citizens, media were also utilized, including posters, magazines, newspapers, radio broadcasts, and especially television broadcasts.⁵ Eventually Cold War politics dominated the Games as each achievement on the field or in the arena was analyzed through a political lens.

This article examines the ways in which Cold War politics influenced the performance of Olympic athletes. Countering the argument that the Cold War held little sway over the Games, this article focuses on the political strategies around the 1952 Helsinki Games, the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Games, the 1980 Moscow Summer Games, and the 1984 Los Angeles Games. To obtain a better understanding how the Cold War impacted athletic performance during the Olympic Games and how the Games were repurposed for global influence, this article uses a variety of primary sources, such as contemporary texts, magazine articles, propaganda posters, federal documents, and newspaper articles.⁶ As current scholarship indicates, this article's topic is timely as international political tensions have reemerged in the twenty-first century, causing athletes to once again feel politically pressured during their competitions.⁷

It appears that, right after World War II, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was apprehensive about the Soviet Union's participation in the Games.⁸ Consisting mostly of European aristocrats from capitalist governments, the committee feared that the USSR would take over the Olympics and bring politics into an international sports festival which, for the most part, had tried to remain outside the political fray (the Nazis' 1936 Berlin Games being a notable exception). With the USSR's and PRC's participation in the 1952 Helsinki Games, the Olympics became increasingly politicized. The IOC itself promoted a competitive

⁴ Dennis C. Coates, "Weaponization of Sports: The Battle for World Influence through Sporting Success," *The Independent Review* 22, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 215-221; Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (2010; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁵ Rider, *Cold War Games*, 2.

⁶ Viktor Koretskiy, "If You Want to Be Like Me: Just Train!" [poster] 1951, website (Tyler Benson, "The Role of Sports in the Soviet Union"), image file (toward the bottom of the page), accessed May 24, 2020.

⁷ George Wright, "The Olympic Ruling Class," *Socialist Register* 51 (Transforming Classes) (2015): 230-245.

⁸ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 120.

medal score between the Soviet Union and the United States.⁹ British and American athletes viewed the Soviets especially as enemies that were not to be underestimated. While post-World War II tensions and economic rivalries played a part in the politics around the Olympics, they were not the only factors. This article argues that Cold War politics originally caused Olympic athletes to perform at a higher level to express a greater degree of national pride but gradually resulted in a significant divide between athletes and policymakers.

I. Helsinki (1952): An Early Interaction between the Olympics and the Cold War

The intense post-World War II rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union impacted both the 1952 Helsinki Games as well as the evolution of the modern Olympics Games. With the participation of the Soviet Union and the PRC in Helsinki, countries on both sides of the Cold War adopted tactics to produce a favorable national presence, politicizing the Games in the process. For the Soviet Union, sports could not exist outside the realm of politics. The highest government body that dealt directly with Soviet athletic policy was the All Union Committee of Physical Culture. From Moscow, its chairman maintained direct supervision over fifteen institutes of physical education and several institutes for scientific research in physical culture.¹⁰ What concerned American and British Olympic officials was the Soviet Union's direct state subsidization of athletes of championship caliber. Potential Soviet champions were relocated from farms and factories to become politicized in the field of physical culture.¹¹ During the 1952 Helsinki Games, Soviet athletes succeeded in making the effectiveness of their state-sponsored sports organizations known to the world. Other nations soon placed greater emphasis on their sports programs in response to the Soviet's athletic achievements. Ironically, both the U.S. and Great Britain began to imitate the state-sponsored sports systems that had been developed in Moscow. As each superpower put a heavy emphasis on medal counts, the competition intensified, and additional pressure was put on every athlete to win.

To combat the rise of Soviet athletic dominance, the U.S. increased funding in its own athletic programs and heightened national attention around the Games.¹² Thus, the 1952 Helsinki Games were understood as a platform to demonstrate a nation's political position in the world.¹³ In a letter to Avery Brundage, President

⁹ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 121.

¹⁰ John N. Washburn, "Sport as a Soviet Tool," *Foreign Affairs* 34, no. 3 (1956): 490-499, here 494.

¹¹ Washburn, "Sport as a Soviet Tool," 497.

¹² Bud Wilkinson, "United States Participation in the Olympic Games," Memorandum for the President (May 15, 1973), typescript, Yorba Linda, California, Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum (National Archives), The Nixon Presidential Materials Project, White House Special Files, Staff Secretary, Memoranda Files, Olympics [1], One Liners [1], Box 124. See Figure 1 and Figure 2 below.

¹³ Erin Elizabeth Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sport as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2017), 101.

of the IOC, President Truman referred to the development of new American athletic organizations as “democracy at work.”¹⁴ American athletes arrived in Helsinki to present the U.S. in the best possible light and as a nation that could be both victorious in competition and embody the peaceful Olympic spirit. To fund new sports organizations and gain more public support, the U.S. launched the 1952 Olympic Telethon with national celebrities like singer Bing Crosby, comedian Bob Hope, and actress Dorothy Lamour as its hosts. The telethon helped raise one million dollars in pledges for the U.S. Olympic teams. Congress then got involved by utilizing the 1947 Public Law 159 which allowed for the funding of members of the Armed Forces who were training for the Olympics.¹⁵ This meant that training, attendance, and participation of personnel from the U.S. Army and Naval services would be paid for by the Secretary of War.

On the other side of the globe, the People’s Republic of China responded in a similar way by providing increased support for physical culture. The PRC, just like the Soviet Union and the U.S., emphasized the responsibility of its Olympic athletes to effectively show the strength of its nation. However, unlike the two global superpowers, the PRC also sought to legitimize its national government as the one true representative of China by doing everything in its power to block Taiwan from membership in the Olympic movement.¹⁶ The two had fought for decades over who truly represented China. Prior to the 1952 Helsinki Games, the PRC had been preoccupied with consolidating its power and fighting the U.S. in the Korean War.¹⁷ The country’s participation in the Games only came about after the Soviet Union had intervened.¹⁸ In response, the PRC quickly sent a delegation of forty athletes who arrived in Finland just in time for the Olympic opening ceremony. Wu Chuanyu was the PRC’s only competitor, participating in the 100 meter backstroke and finishing fifth in his race with the twenty-eighth fastest time. The other members of the PRC’s delegation participated in friendly matches ranging from boxing to basketball. After Helsinki, the PRC established a national sports federation by utilizing its Chinese Communist Youth League. The new association was headed directly by the state, creating a ministry-level sports commission. However, despite its athletes’ wishes to participate in the Olympic Games, the PRC would not return to the Olympic movement until 1979, after the IOC had prohibited Taiwan from using its national flag, anthem, or emblem during any Olympic ceremonies. Throughout the Cold War, the tactic of

¹⁴ Quoted in Redihan, *Olympics and the Cold War*, 102.

¹⁵ Redihan, *Olympics and the Cold War*, 103.

¹⁶ Xu Guoqi, “China’s National Representation and the Two-China Question in the Olympic Movement: The Significance of the 1952 Helsinki Games,” *China Perspectives* 2008, no. 1 (Special Feature: Sports and Politics) (2008): 19-28, here 20.

¹⁷ Michael Warner, *The Rise and Fall of Intelligence: An International Security History* (Washington: Georgetown University Press 2014), (“Cold War: Technology”), 131-172, here 147.

¹⁸ Xu, “China’s National Representation,” 21.

preventing one's athletes from participating in the Games was not the only strategy used to develop and maintain global influence.

In order to gain attention and support for their athletes, nations produced international propaganda to influence the "hearts and minds" of citizens all over the world. A war of persuasion developed around the 1952 Helsinki Games as multiple nations sought to influence the opinions of both locals and tourists alike.¹⁹ Convinced that the Soviet Union would accelerate its propaganda for the Olympics, the U.S. planned to promote the aims of its government throughout the Helsinki Games. The Office of Private Enterprise and Cooperation contacted charities, organizations, and businesses in the U.S. to contribute to the information program and provide items for government exhibitions.²⁰ These exhibitions ranged from public radio broadcasts to information publications. The Soviet Union responded with their Agitprop, or Department of Agitation and Propaganda, developing magazine articles, political films, and posters to emphasize the merits of the country's socialist government.²¹ An example of this is Viktor Koretskiy's 1951 poster, "If You Want to Be Like Me: Just train," which depicts a Soviet athlete flexing the biceps of his right arm while holding a young boy (who is sitting on the athlete's left leg) with his left arm.²² Soviet medal winners, such as Aleksandra Chudina (with silver medals in javelin throw and long jump, and a bronze medal in high jump) and Vladimir Kazantsev (with a silver medal in the men's 3000 meter steeplechase), were hailed as symbols of the new socialist woman and man.²³ Similarly, the PRC utilized their own systems of propaganda to not only develop legitimacy for their government but also to produce support for their athletes. The People's Sports Publishing House served as a main center for the preparation and distribution of printed materials in China to promote Chinese physical culture and political ideology.²⁴ In the 1952 Helsinki Games, Soviet participation caused the Olympics to be viewed as a political weapon to be used against rivals in the Cold War battle for global influence.²⁵ Almost every nation utilized propaganda tactics internationally to not just produce support for their athletes but also to express the merits of their respective political ideologies.

¹⁹ Allen Guttman, "The Cold War and the Olympics," *International Journal* 43, no. 4 (Autumn 1988): 554-568, here 554.

²⁰ Rider, *Cold War Games*, 55.

²¹ Tony Shaw and Denise J. Youngblood, *Cinematic Cold War: The American and Soviet Struggle for Heart and Minds* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 37-60 ("Soviet Cinema and the Cold War"), here 40.

²² Koretskiy, "If You Want to Be Like Me: Just Train!" [poster] 1951.

²³ Guttman, "Cold War and the Olympics," 558.

²⁴ Riordan, *Sport under Communism*, 113.

²⁵ Coates, "Weaponization of Sports," 221.

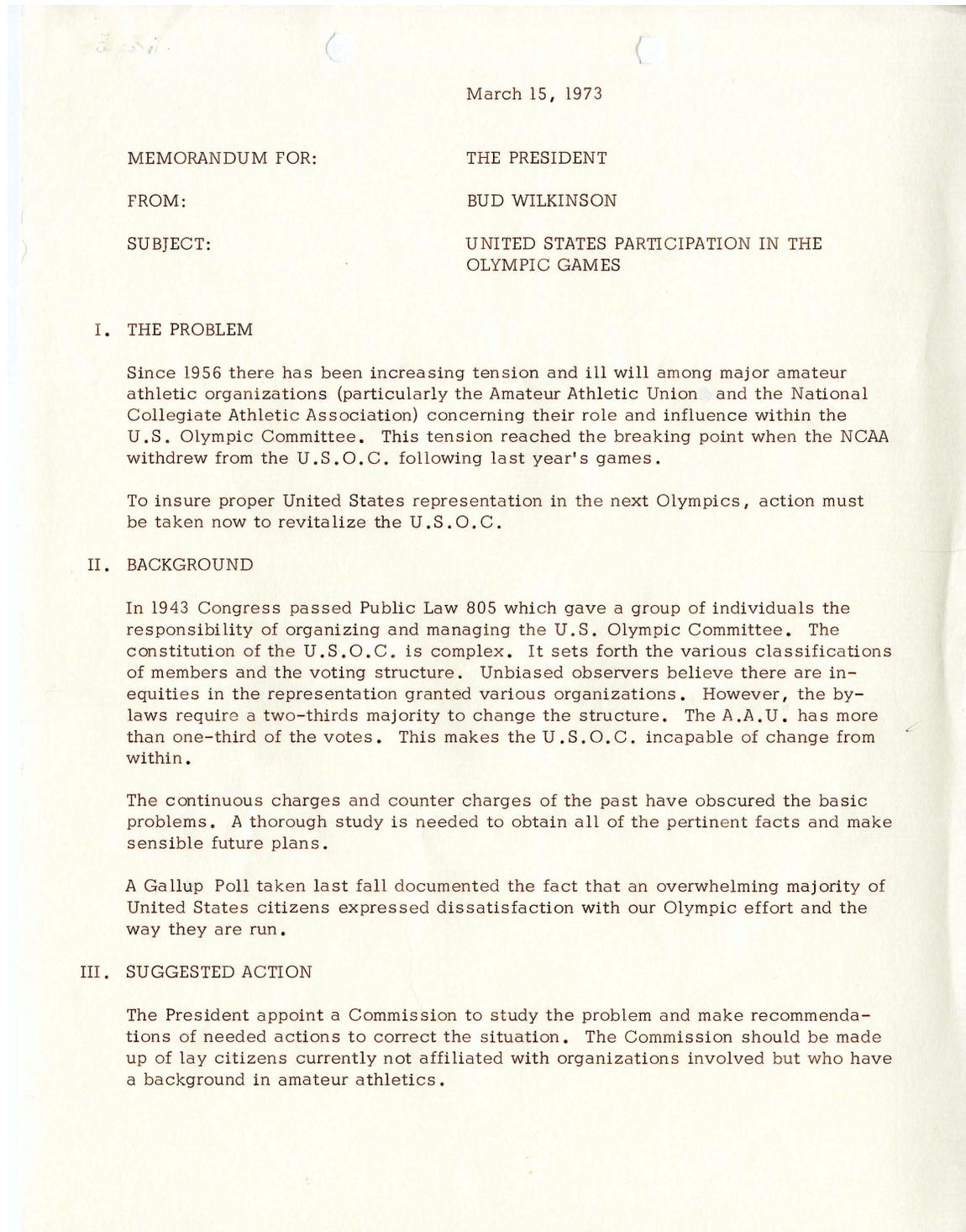


Figure 1: Bud Wilkinson, "United States Participation in the Olympic Games," Memorandum for the President (May 15, 1973), page 1, typescript, Yorba Linda, California, Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum (National Archives), The Nixon Presidential Materials Project, White House Special Files, Staff Secretary, Memoranda Files, Olympics [1], One Liners [1], Box 124. Public domain.

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The mission of the Commission would be to get the facts through public hearings which as they progressed would educate the public. The final report to the President would include a concrete proposal for solving the problem. The findings of the Commission could be directed to the Congress rather than the President if this would be more politically advisable.

IV. POSITIVE RESULTS

The public would welcome the President's initiative. This action by the President would be consistent with his well-documented interest in athletics.

V. POSSIBLE NEGATIVE RESULTS

Athletic organizations whose influence might be reduced by the proposals of the Commission would be critical of the President

The International Olympic Committee which is a self-perpetuating closed organization might refuse to recognize a new U.S.O.C.

Neither of these negatives, in my opinion, are credible.

VI. SUMMARY

The American people recognize the need to reorganize our Olympic effort. The current make-up of the U.S.O.C. prevents reform from within. The intervention of the President through the appointment of a Presidential Commission is the most effective means of breaking the existing stalemate and restructuring the nation's Olympic effort.

Figure 2: Bud Wilkinson, "United States Participation in the Olympic Games," Memorandum for the President (May 15, 1973), page 2, typescript, Yorba Linda, California, Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum (National Archives), The Nixon Presidential Materials Project, White House Special Files, Staff Secretary, Memoranda Files, Olympics [1], One Liners [1], Box 124. Public domain.

The 1952 Helsinki Games foreshadowed future Soviet athletic dominance and the influence of international affairs over the Games. State-sponsored sports programs and the use of propaganda showcased the beginning of a new era for the Olympics. During this transition, the IOC struggled to understand the extent to which the Olympics were being influenced by Cold War politics.²⁶ Additionally, the PRC's continued fight with Taiwan over who truly represented China revealed the considerable impact of Cold War politics on the Games.²⁷ The athletes themselves became living symbols of their nations' political ideologies. Because of the remarkable Soviet athletic outcome (second only to the U.S.) which included 71 medals, 22 of them gold medals, capitalist nations understood the international sports competition to be a new proving ground for political legitimacy and global power.²⁸ U.S. medalists Bob Richards (with a gold medal in pole vaulting) and Mal Whitfield (with a gold medal in the men's 800 meter race), as well as English medalist Kenneth Richmond (with a bronze medal in the men's freestyle heavyweight wrestling), now found themselves caught in the political transition of the Games. Every one of their athletic victories became an example of the effectiveness and success of their respective nation's political beliefs.

II. Moscow (1980): A Competition between Global Influence and Athletic Performance

As the influence of Cold War politics over the Olympics continued to intensify, the 1980 Moscow Games became a platform for expressing a political stance, while also revealing disunity between athletes and policymakers. With the U.S. decision to boycott the Games due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, American athletes as well as athletes from other capitalist nations were encouraged to show solidarity with their political leaders. As the U.S. boycott gained momentum, the Soviets responded by establishing a counter-protest campaign. The Soviet Press argued that the invasion of Afghanistan was not the sole reason for the boycott but that, in reality, it was due to the Olympics taking place in a socialist country.²⁹ For the U.S. Olympic Committee (USOC), the boycott was problematic. U.S. President Carter informed the USOC that he expected it to quickly withdraw the U.S. teams. After an eight hour meeting in Colorado Springs in February 1980, USOC President Robert J. Kane announced that a resolution to support the boycott had been "hammered out and passed with the full support of the executive board."³⁰ In his closing statements to the press, Kane also added, "the question is whether the Olympic movement is to be made into a weapon to

²⁶ Guttman, "Cold War and the Olympics," 562.

²⁷ Xu, "China's National Representation," 28.

²⁸ Riordan, *Sport under Communism*, 32.

²⁹ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 128.

³⁰ Quoted in Ron Fimrite, "Facing Bear Facts: In Tense Meetings at Colorado Springs the U.S. Athletic Community Reluctantly Lined up to Pass up the Olympic Games in the Soviet Union," *Sports Illustrated*, February 4, 1980, 18-22, accessed May 24, 2020.

get the Big Bear, [but remember] the weapon is made of flesh and blood.”³¹ President Carter’s decision to boycott the 1980 Moscow Games caused the Olympics to be used not just as a political weapon but also as a means to identify with allies and ideologies.

As the boycott took shape, the effort to preserve a favorable national image while taking a political stance was on the agenda of a majority of nations.³² Great Britain’s Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher almost immediately supported President Carter’s boycott, ignoring the views of English athletes. The British Parliament voted to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and believed that Great Britain should not take part in the Olympic Games. However, the Commons and the British Olympic Committee agreed that it was the right of individual citizens to make their own decisions.³³ Still, that did not stop an enthusiastic Thatcher from putting pressure on English athletes to not compete in the Moscow Games. British track and field athlete Sebastian Coe defied Thatcher’s wishes, participated in the 1980 Olympics alongside a group of British athletes, and took a gold medal in the men’s 1,500 meters and a silver medal in the men’s 800 meters. He stated that, “my gut instinct was that there was an intellectual dishonesty about what we were trying to achieve. History proved us right of course, because four years later when we went to LA [Los Angeles] for the 1984 Olympics the Russians were still in Afghanistan, and the boycott had no impact.”³⁴ The whole debate signaled a turning point in the British government’s approach to the relationship between sports and politics. The line between the two continued to blur as the PRC sided with the U.S. in 1980 and decided not to attend the Moscow Games.³⁵ Among the reasons for this unusual agreement were the PRC’s improved relations with the U.S. following the Sino-Soviet split (1956-1966).³⁶ The PRC’s decision expressed a turning point for Soviet foreign influence as the Asian nation wanted to improve its relationship with the U.S. over the USSR. Still, the Moscow Games continued as planned, even with no American athletes. Sixty-six countries who had been invited did not participate, while eighty-one countries (including the hosting USSR) did participate (or saw their athletes participating under the Olympic flag). In the end, the only thing that the boycott accomplished was bringing to light the growing rift between athletes and government officials.

The reaction of the U.S. Olympic teams toward the boycott, coupled with the U.S. men’s hockey team’s earlier victory over the Soviet team during the 1980

³¹ Quoted in Fimrite, “Facing Bear Facts,” 22.

³² Baruch Hazan, *Olympic Sports and Propaganda Games: Moscow 1980* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1982), 52.

³³ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 133.

³⁴ Quoted in Rob Evans and Paul Kelso, “How Thatcher Tried to Stop Olympic Hero Coe from Winning Gold in Moscow,” *The Guardian*, February 24, 2006, accessed May 24, 2020.

³⁵ Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 207.

³⁶ Riordan, *Sport under Communism*, 137.

Winter Games at Lake Placid (New York), highlighted the differences in opinion when it came to the main purpose of the Games. In February 1980, after an intense preliminary game, the U.S. men's hockey team had defeated the formidable Soviet team to progress to the Olympic championship and eventually beat Finland for the gold. This "Miracle on Ice" worked against the efforts of the Carter administration to develop support for a boycott of the Moscow Summer Games in July of the same year. After the U.S. men's hockey team had won gold, the American public fell in love with the game as it "represented to them an athletic event that was far greater than a hockey game."³⁷ As the combined determination of team captain Mike Eruzione, winger Buzz Schneider, and winger Dave Silk led to a hard-fought victory, U.S. fans attending the game could not help but chant down the seconds and celebrate their teams' victory by shouting, "U-S-A, U-S-A," over and over again.³⁸ The victory also interrupted the Soviet's dominance over the game which had lasted since 1956. However, even if the U.S. team's victory was easy bait for propaganda, this did not diminish the true feelings of the athletes who played the game. Despite the differences in ideologies, Soviet athletes often viewed American athletes in friendly terms, and American athletes often reciprocated these feelings.³⁹ An example of this is Nikolai Sologubov, a Soviet hockey player and member of the 1956 and 1960 Soviet Olympic hockey team, who famously tried to give advice to the U.S. men's hockey team at the 1960 Olympics and often fraternized with the American team—to the point that the Americans nicknamed him "Solly" and invited him to matches.⁴⁰ Anatoly Tarasov, the former coach of the USSR's Olympic hockey team, developed an enduring friendship with two U.S. Olympic hockey coaches, Murray Williamson and Herb Brooks.⁴¹ Ironically, the game of hockey produced a durable avenue for friendship between American and Russian athletes and coaches. The brother of American hockey player Bill Cleary perhaps put it best when he stated that the Soviet players were, "real friends [...] they don't talk about communism. Like us, they talk about hockey, and girls."⁴² This difference between athletic understanding and political narrative became even more apparent as the Carter administration continued to push forward with its plan to boycott the 1980 Moscow Summer Games.

Even though some American athletes and coaches agreed with the decision of the Carter administration to boycott the Moscow Olympics, others voiced their concern regarding the political interference in the Games. In the words of the U.S.

³⁷ Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 11.

³⁸ Gerald Eskenazi, "U.S. Defeats Soviet Squad in Olympic Hockey by 4-3," *The New York Times*, February 23, 1980, front page.

³⁹ John Soares, "The Cold War on Ice," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 14, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2008): 77-87, here 80.

⁴⁰ Soares, "Cold War on Ice," 79.

⁴¹ Soares, "Cold War on Ice," 83.

⁴² Quoted in Soares, "Cold War on Ice", 79.

boxing coach Dwaine Simpson, “my personal feeling is—and it’s shared by my colleagues in the U.S. Boxing Association—that politics and sports shouldn’t be mixed.”⁴³ Simpson’s response to the boycott of the Moscow Games echoed the opinions of many other American athletes and sports officials who felt that the decision was disastrous to their Olympic dreams. “Just what right does Carter have to keep us from going, anyway [...] those are *our* Games. The athlete’s Games,” said Edwin Moses, a world record holder in the 400 meter hurdles (and Olympic gold medalist in both 1976 and 1984).⁴⁴ What the Carter administration failed to understand was that the American athletes needed their Olympic goals to keep them motivated to train. By missing the Moscow Games, the U.S. athletes would have to wait another four years to compete. U.S. runner Evelyn Ashford underscored this need to compete when she stated, “all the talk of the boycott has really taken a lot out of me [...] it has affected me. I don’t have a goal anymore. I don’t know what to do now. I’ve tried to set new goals, but the Olympic Games were going to be everything.”⁴⁵ Most U.S. athletes resented the thought of sacrificing their dreams for their government’s political stance. U.S. pentathlete Jane Frederick commented, “whichever way it goes this time, I must accept the inescapable conclusion: I am a pawn.”⁴⁶ The fear of losing their physical edge, coupled with the amount of time they had spent training, caused numerous athletes to be depressed at President Carter’s decision to boycott the Moscow Games. These athletes had simply viewed the 1980 Moscow Games as any other Olympic competition. For them, the politics around the Games dissipated during the heat of the competition as in that moment it devolved from nation versus nation to athlete versus athlete.

III. Los Angeles (1984): A Reaction to the Politics and the Transition of Influence

Determined to show the full extent of its resolve, the Soviet Union announced its intention to “not participate” in the 1984 Los Angeles Games. However, what they could not understand was the ineffectiveness of this move to alter any foreign policies.⁴⁷ The act itself had similar, if not worse, results as the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games. The Soviet Union’s decision came as retaliation to the 1980 U.S. boycott and to the rise of the “Ban the Soviets” Coalition in California.⁴⁸ Similar to the reactions of U.S. athletes toward the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics, Soviet athletes responded with shock and dismay toward their

⁴³ Quoted in Felix Rosenthal, “Warm Days in Moscow,” *Sports Illustrated*, February 4, 1980, 28, accessed May 24, 2020.

⁴⁴ Quoted in Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 230.

⁴⁵ Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 230.

⁴⁶ Guttman, “Cold War and the Olympics,” 561.

⁴⁷ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 148.

⁴⁸ Chris Elzey, “The Match of the Century: The U.S.-USSR Rivalry in Sports,” in *Rivals: Legendary Matchups That Made Sports History*, ed. David K. Wiggins and R. Pierre Rodgers (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010), 327-357, here 355.

country's boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Games. Vladimir Salnikov, a Soviet swimmer and four-time Olympic champion (three gold medals at the 1980 Moscow Games and one gold medal at the 1988 Seoul Games), commented, "the storm clouds had been gathering, but still, it was abrupt and sudden ... The goal that I had worked toward over several years suddenly disappeared ... It was not clear what would happen next."⁴⁹ What made the decision even more difficult to follow were the additional changes to the Soviet's National Olympic Committee (NOC). By April 1984, the President of the Soviet NOC changed from the experienced Sergei Pavlov to a veteran Soviet propagandist from the Ministry of Information, Marat Gramov.⁵⁰ The Soviets' Los Angeles Games boycott, like the U.S. Americans' Moscow Games boycott, failed in effecting any significant political change. Instead, it signaled the end of dominant Cold War politics over the Olympics.⁵¹ On the other hand, the 1984 Los Angeles Games showcased the determination of athletes to perform their best no matter the political circumstances around them.

Throughout the 1984 Games, the U.S.-USSR political rivalries had to take a back seat, allowing the true nature of the Olympics to reemerge. The Los Angeles Games helped to revitalize the Olympic spirit and establish new interest among the general public through the efforts of its participating athletes. Even the participation of the PRC, which was certainly politically significant, seemed to validate the attitude of renewed athletic sportsmanship. The highlights of the Games included Great Britain's decathlete Daley Thompson winning gold (he had also taken the gold four years earlier at Moscow), the Romanian women's gymnastics team winning the team title, and the U.S. field and track Olympian Carl Lewis winning four gold medals. After the PRC's Olympic weightlifter Chen Wei-Qiang had won the gold medal in the 132 pound weightlifting class, he raised up the hand of bronze medalist Tsai Wen-Yee of Taiwan during the medal ceremony—another major moment of the Los Angeles Games.⁵² The most dramatic moment of the Games was perhaps an incident during the women's 3000 meter final. It involved U.S. runner Mary Decker and British runner Zola Budd accidentally colliding:⁵³ Decker inadvertently stepped on Budd's left foot and bumped against the British runner, which caused Decker to lose balance and fall to the curb. This allowed Maricica Puică of Romania to take the lead and win gold. Despite the media outcry after the incident, the Los Angeles Games continued to

⁴⁹ Quoted in Alexey Timofeychev, "Out of the Game: Why Russian Athletes Missed the 1984 Olympics," *Russia Beyond*, December 7, 2017, website, accessed May 24, 2020.

⁵⁰ Hill, *Olympic Politics*, 149.

⁵¹ Mathew P. Llewellyn, Toby C. Rider, and John Gleaves, "The Golden Games: The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics," in *LA Sports: Play, Games, and Community in the City of Angels*, ed. Wayne Wilson and David K. Wiggins (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2018), 201-218.

⁵² Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 258.

⁵³ Simon Burton, "50 Stunning Olympic Moments No30: Zola Budd's Rise and Fall in 1984," *The Guardian*, May 15, 2012, accessed May 24, 2020.

express a sense of comradery between the Olympic athletes. Bob Ctvrtlik, a member of the U.S. Olympic volleyball team put it best when he stated that, “people think of the Olympics as a corporate struggle [...] it really is not. It relies on relationships. [...] it relies on people who can cut through cultural differences and find common ground.”⁵⁴ Still, politics did manage to maintain some influence as the Los Angeles Games were celebrated as a success of President Reagan’s conservative values, and the participation of Romania and Yugoslavia, two communist nations who defied the Soviet boycott, received standing ovations during the opening ceremonies.⁵⁵ In the end, the Games were a major success with only fourteen nations joining the Soviet Union’s boycott and 140 nations choosing to participate. The achievements of the 1984 Los Angeles Games helped to return the Olympics to the athletes.

Conclusion

As the Cold War reached its end, nations began to reevaluate how they viewed the Olympic Games and international affairs. Scholarship in the last decade has reaffirmed that the Cold War was more than a diplomatic confrontation and nuclear competition: it was a cultural event that influenced all aspects of life.⁵⁶ This is especially true with regard to the effects it had on the Olympic Games. But what is also true is that the Olympics, especially through the actions of its athletes, had an effect on the Cold War. The shift from a political and nationalistic take on sports to an aesthetic approach based on the entertainment of athletic achievement occurred simultaneously in the East and the West.⁵⁷ Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union began to gravitate toward new political strategies to maintain a positive national image without inciting direct conflict, such as improving foreign relations through acts of diplomacy. Transitions within the Olympic movement eventually aided citizens of socialist nations in Europe as they were able to adapt smoothly to the practices of Western media societies after the demise of state socialism.⁵⁸ Still, even after the Cold War, international affairs and political ideologies continued to have an influence on the Olympics.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Lynn Zinser, “Phone Call From China Transformed ‘84 Games,” *The New York Times*, July 14, 2008.

⁵⁵ Bradley J. Congelio, “In Defense of a Neoliberal America: Ronald Reagan, Domestic Policy, and the Soviet Boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games,” in *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*, ed. Toby C. Rider and Kevin B. Witherspoon (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2018), 205-218, here 216; Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch*, 254.

⁵⁶ Michael F. Hopkins, “Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History,” *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 4 (December 2007): 913-934, here 934.

⁵⁷ Annette Vowinckel, “Cold War Television: Olga Korbut and the Munich Olympics of 1972,” in *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies*, ed. Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Payk, and Thomas Lindenbeger (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012), 112-128, here 122.

⁵⁸ Vowinckel, “Cold War Television,” 123.

The Cold War's impact on the Olympics went far beyond establishing the differences between Eastern and Western politics; it established a new venue to dissect international affairs and a new way to witness the competition over foreign influence. It was only through the efforts of the Olympic athletes and the general public who defied the political narratives that the Games were able to return to what Pierre de Coubertin had originally envisioned: an inclusive international competition that elevated athletic comradery and peaceful relations over political ideologies.⁵⁹ Still, in the background of every Olympic competition, there is a legacy of establishing political dominance through athleticism, and Coubertin's ideals will forever be tainted by the legacy of Cold War politics. While the Olympic Games of the twenty-first century may not receive the same amount of attention they did during the Cold War, Olympic athletes will continue to push for a focus on their athletic performance over any nationalist praise.

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⁵⁹ Basil A. Ince, "Nationalism and Cold War Politics at the Pan American Games: Cuba, the United State [sic], and Puerto Rico," *Caribbean Studies* 27, no. 1/2 (January-June 1994): 65-84, here 66.

Alison Jean Helget

*Playing Bachelor:
"Playboy" Magazine and Its Remasculinization Campaign (1950s-1960s)*

ABSTRACT: *Hugh Hefner's "Playboy" magazine revitalized the domestic activities of the American man. This essay reflects on the roots and creation of the magazine, which developed an exclusive lifestyle aimed at the pioneering bachelor and created a new ecosystem of advertising and commerce. Examining the approach Hefner and "Playboy" took to restore and revitalize American masculinity reveals the norm-defying and rule-breaking nature of the new male gender identity that the magazine helped to create.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; Hugh Hefner; "Playboy" magazine; masculinity*

Introduction

Robert L. Green's 1960 *Playboy* article, "The Contemporary Look in Campus Classics," paints the particular image of a new breed of man—the "swinging bachelor"—and the *Bildungsroman*-style journey which said bachelor must take in order to transition to a professional yet jet-setting life.¹ A college student's passage from the fraternal environment of higher education to the new and strange world of business, so Green, *Playboy's* fashion director, tells his readers, demands a total attitude and clothing makeover. *Playboy* therefore presents the ideal man, a man both employers and women would be eager to have—in other words: wish fulfillment. The magazine's tone of prideful yet optimistic bravado, however, conceals an underlying assumption: to become this ideal man is impossible without *Playboy's* help and supervision. As part of their new manliness, American men exhibited—or were now supposed to exhibit—a wider range of talents and sensitivities toward topics previously considered feminine, helping transform the American ideal of masculinity into a multi-dimensional perspective. Espousing a stylish, post-schoolboy decadence, the *Playboy* of the 1950s and 1960s questioned gender norms, especially the hostile restrictions placed on the average man.

To understand the impact *Playboy* had, we need to consider the state of American gender norms—especially for men—in the period when the magazine first emerged. Answering the call of World War II, American men had rushed to the service of their country in the name of nationalism. Their homecoming from the theaters of war, however, forced them into an uncomfortable transition, namely, from aggressiveness to domestic tranquility, which contradicted the machismo of American military training. In his 2005 monograph *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s*, University of Maryland historian James B. Gilbert explores the stereotypes imposed upon middle-class men as they evolved during the Baby Boom (1946-1964), as well as the corresponding changes to expectations of masculinity and manliness. The Cold War threatened the existing order of patriarchal hierarchy just as it was at its most precarious in American

¹ *Playboy*, August 1960, 63-65, [online](#), accessed April 7, 2020.

society.² In *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988), Elaine Tyler May, a professor of History and American Studies at the University of Minnesota, notes the emphasis of Cold War rhetoric on family security during this period of heightened skepticism and questioning of family roles and gender norms.³ Ideas of masculinity struggled with the intervention of feminism and the socio-economic restructuring that strayed from the ideal of the single-income family, which had long been a pillar of the American ideas of masculinity.⁴ Devising a new theory of manhood further agitated the social imbalance spawned by the war and the rise of communism's perceived ideological peril.⁵

Traditional Western culture had viewed manliness as the ability to exert or resist influence over a subject; meanwhile, motherhood signified the fulfillment of females' obligations to society.⁶ With both genders isolated by cultural expectations, the major labor shift caused by the United States' entry into World War II destabilized gender assignments for the second time in less than two decades. After returning home, soldiers entered a radically changed landscape in which the traditional parameters of masculinity had been scrambled, in part by necessity, while they had been away. Women had entered spaces traditionally reserved for men, such as manufacturing or being the heads of households. Losing the certainty of their identity during an already fragile time—the years between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Cold War—was demanding for an entire generation of men. This gender anxiety turned the public's attention to new sources of reassurance, including the opinions proclaimed in Hugh Hefner's eccentric new magazine, *Playboy*. This famous "bachelor pad" magazine offered a safe haven for the private examination of interests, a place which could rebelliously disregard the strictures of military, political, and suburban life.⁷

This essay first looks at Hugh Hefner's personal story to see how it typifies masculine fears of domination and ideological subjugation. It then studies *Playboy's* framework and clarifies the motives and structures necessary to reach the magazine's aim of propagating a new masculinity exemplified by distinct attire, behavior, and hobbies. Finally, *Playboy's* responses to public criticism concerning the degradation of women allow us to examine the discourse involved in the magazine's endless, inwardly focused re-evaluation.

² James B. Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

³ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988; New York: Basic Books, 1999).

⁴ See Natasha Zaretsky, *No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

⁵ Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*; May, *Homeward Bound*.

⁶ For the history of gender roles in American society, see Mary P. Ryan, *Mysteries of Sex: Tracing Women and Men through American History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁷ May, *Homeward Bound*, 124.

I. Hugh Hefner and His Empire

Hugh Hefner (April 9, 1926-September 27, 2017) defied his conservative upbringing.⁸ After serving in the army for two years (1944-1946), he later pursued a more liberal—or, famously, libertine—path. Hefner studied Psychology in college, which equipped him for his future reconditioning of the American mindset. Working for the famous magazine *Esquire* directed him to his niche: advertising. Trial and error during his time at *Esquire* led Hefner to become a maven of exploitation, characterized by subtle manipulation rather than brute force. His unique approach and deft touch brought about many innovations in advertising, ultimately earning him a prominent role in the magazine industry.

Playboy emerged during a time when markets were shifting from industrial demand to mass culture. Within a matter of months after the end of World War II, America changed from a war economy back to a mix of domestic investment, entertainment, and a brand new high-tech industrial complex.⁹ Stakeholders in new industries like aerospace engineering and chemical manufacturing were richly rewarded, and when the Korean and Vietnam Wars erupted, the security of these profits discouraged a shift back to the kind of state control and war manufacturing that the federal government had instituted during the previous global conflict. J. Paul Getty (1892-1976), an eminent industrialist, believed that the mentality produced by wealth formed a brighter, more optimistic man.¹⁰ Hefner therefore advocated for, and attempted to reach out to, these young bachelors and entrepreneurs. According to Communications scholar Natalie Coulter, Hefner's magazine targeted "a particular guy: sophisticated, intelligent, urban—a young man-about-town, who enjoys good, gracious living."¹¹

In a 1999 interview with NPR's Terry Gross, Hefner described his muse in plain terms: "I had a romantic notion of a time that I had missed in the Roaring 20s because I grew up during the Depression in the 1930s."¹² *Playboy* symbolized his chase for a past era. Drastic changes had occurred in American demographics and in the economy since then, and Hefner—along with many others—yearned for the indulgences of the high life. The war had suspended the American dream and reinstated the call to duty. Society had concerned itself with preservation rather

⁸ For a comprehensive study on Hugh Hefner's life and work, see Steven Watts, *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008).

⁹ For this historical context, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ See J. Paul Getty, *How to Be Rich* (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1965).

¹¹ Natalie Coulter, "Selling the Male Consumer the *Playboy* Way," *Popular Communication* 12, no. 3 (July 2014): 139-152; *Playboy*, January 1963, 109; *Playboy*, September 1955, 35.

¹² Hugh Hefner, interview by Terry Gross, "Hugh Hefner on Early 'Playboy' and Changing America's Values," National Public Radio, 1999, audio transcript, [online](#), accessed April 7, 2020.

than pleasure. Lost in transition, men struggled to restore the positions they had acquired during the previous Age of Intolerance.¹³

High culture (or *haute couture*) often idealizes esteem, status, and money. Popular culture, however, has access to different avenues of appeal, which can draw in suburbanites with their as-of-yet untapped wealth. This was certainly true as the suburban middle class of America ballooned in the two decades after World War II. Since *Esquire* dictated the realm of high culture, Hefner targeted the opposite side of the spectrum, and his diverse background aided him in his conquest of popular culture. Experiments in trendy, mass-media culture either succeeded within a short period of time or failed quickly and miserably. Thus, a certain tenacity was needed for a magazine like *Playboy* to find a winning formula. To ensure its success, *Playboy* needed to avoid the pitfall of catering exclusively to the rich and thus alienating the bulk of American consumers, but if it stuck to a narrow, nostalgic representation it would become irrelevant almost as soon as it was printed. With many factors to weigh, the creator of *Playboy* strategized to avoid social rejection and annihilation.¹⁴ In December 1953, Hefner published the first issue of *Playboy*, and from its first printing the company's fortune soared.¹⁵

To spark wide public interest, *Playboy* capitalized on the seductive allure of supermodels like Marilyn Monroe who was included in the magazine's debut issue. Unlike other publishers at the time, Hefner often skirted the norms of decency in the publishing industry by engaging celebrities for naked photoshoots, both to showcase their vulnerability and to allow his audience, by proxy, to become voyeurs. In more subtle ways, though, Monroe became attached to the bachelor lifestyle. She exemplified the ideal spouse—decadent but sensitive, intelligent but submissive—and women like her were accessible only via the *Playboy* lifestyle. On the other hand, Monroe was unquestionably famous, and by “riding her coat-tails” *Playboy* was able to collect on second-hand marketability. Nevertheless, *Playboy* clearly rejected women from its original audience, despite featuring them between the pages. The magazine's subtitle read “Entertainment for Men” (with “Men” in bold letters). In the words of the first issue: “If you're somebody's sister, wife, or mother-in-law and picked us up by mistake, please pass us along to the man in your life and get back to your *Ladies' Home Companion*.”¹⁶

¹³ The “Age of Intolerance” is a label for the 1920s, rhetorically used as a counterpoint to the simultaneous temperance movement. See Elizabeth Fraterrigo, “The Answer to Suburbia: *Playboy*'s Urban Lifestyle,” *Journal of Urban History* 34, no. 5 (July 2008): 747-774, here 749-750.

¹⁴ Thomas Weyer, *Reaching for Paradise: The Playboy Vision of America* (New York: Times Books, 1978), 195; Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America* (New York: Berg, 2001), 149; Herbert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), 22-23.

¹⁵ Weyer, *Reaching for Paradise*, 15-21; Carrie Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 80-81.

¹⁶ *Playboy*, December 1953, 3.

The ideal *Playboy* bachelor had to match clear criteria. Non-negotiables included gender (male) and race (white), but there was some flexibility when it came to status. The magazine rejected African American consumers by bolstering the “swinging bachelor” as racially unattainable for them. However, there had already been a black vision and guide for style since 1945: *Ebony*.¹⁷ Meanwhile, *Playboy* existed as a dream and a sale for America’s postwar white males.¹⁸

II. The Frame

The folds of *Playboy* utilized a variety of tactics to captivate its readers. Interview articles created a platform for cultural elites to provide an air of sophistication, as well as a venue for advertising. Political coverage flooded the pages as well. *Playboy* contributors based their columns on the tastes of the modern man—as defined by *Playboy*: testosterone-fueled sports, politics, war, and the economy. To facilitate conversations along these thematic lines, *Playboy* issued a call for knowledgeable, creative writers.¹⁹ New hires brought in colleagues who, in turn, spread the brand’s name and expanded the potential audience. Hefner commissioned renowned, authors and editors, such as A. C. Spector, to elevate the *Playboy* brand. Spector frequently outsourced to Norman Mailer who compared himself to Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961). Mailer shaped an iconic section for *Playboy*: stimulating literature. The world remembered Hemingway as a fictional genius, so Mailer incorporated his literary devices into even more masculine and sexual prose. Eventually, Mailer embraced nonfiction, which faced somewhat tougher scrutiny by *Playboy*’s readership.²⁰ Never losing sight of the magazine’s masculinization aim, Mailer’s installments focused on contemporary entertainment and current events. Articles were transformed, like magic, into literature. This strongly affected how *Playboy* was perceived by its readers. Men believed these articles made them more sophisticated or raised their intelligence. Sophistication, in turn, pushed the folds beyond primitive erotica which had always existed. In *Playboy*, men believed, sex and brains coincided.²¹

Hefner also selected business researcher Shepherd Mead to fill some of *Playboy*’s columns. Mead’s attitude toward *Playboy* and its impact on masculinity overlapped with Spector’s and Mailer’s. “Simply feed the facts to your subconscious and then relax. The more you relax, the better. Forget the problem. The answer will come to you. Sometimes it will come while you are shaving, or while you are sinking a putt. But it will come,” affirmed the ardent capitalist.²²

¹⁷ For more on black power’s male movement, see the 1970 publication *The Black Revolution: An Ebony Special Issue*. This addresses myths and objectives regarding black masculinity.

¹⁸ Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 173-174; Coulter, “Selling the Male Consumer the *Playboy* Way,” 139-152.

¹⁹ Sauer and Starck, *A Man’s World?*, 181; Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 95.

²⁰ Mitchell, “Norman Mailer,” 199-218.

²¹ Mitchell, “Norman Mailer,” 199-218.

²² *Playboy*, November 1954, 28.

Mead's feel-good voice rarely caused more harm than good. With masculinity on the decline in the public sphere, boosting self-esteem served as a major source for self-improvement. *Playboy* became a champion of narcissism, with commensurate gains in the magazine's revenue.²³ Gradually, *Playboy* invaded the minds of men, which proved to be the most time consuming and difficult part of masculine revitalization. Yet, another aspect remained: the physical makeover.²⁴

In the May 1954 issue, a map labeled "*Playboy's* Progress" illustrated the invasion of male culture in a step-to-step process, beginning with the town home. Reluctance to embrace this new, suave bachelorhood mentality persisted in many rural areas, which explains the regionally specific opportunities bachelors pursued. Advertised products and events popped up in urban centers but not in America's heartland. As the modern man chased his dream, his journey and achievements had to reestablish his control in the city.²⁵ Although masculinity began to flourish in its customary sectors of society, *Playboy* intended to expand manhood into unknown territories. The 1956 "Dress Right" Campaign marked the first move toward a new male connoisseurship, and a 1959 installment titled "*Playboy* Penthouse" strengthened this move. Since fashion and home décor traditionally resided in the feminine sphere, Hefner prepared for an invasion of this sphere to expand the potential revenue of his magazine and its advertisers.²⁶

From shoes to belts, the "gentleman's wardrobe" gave the bachelor lifestyle a distinct look. Men in the pages of *Playboy* radiated poise not seen since before the war. Their carefully selected wardrobe and accessories equipped them to enter American society with a new frame of mind. Employers, *Playboy* told its audience, found these men quite attractive in all categories. "How to Apply for a Job" hit the stands in the May 1954 issue. Shepherd Mead wrote that the labor market disliked specialization; thus, a valuable, hireable man should focus on personal skills and determination. The middle class exemplified these qualifications, giving it an air of social mobility that had been inconceivable in a previous age but, because of the peculiar state of the American economy, now became a reality for a short while. Average jobs paid the bills and allowed for occasional splurges.²⁷

With a picture-perfect appearance and job secured, spending money on leisure and entertainment was *Playboy's* nirvana. For the former servicemen, weapons became their collector's items of choice. The magazine advised readers on the best antique guns to add to their cabinets. Referring to the Second Amendment, *Playboy* spoke to heart of every countryman. The battlefield had always been a man's world. Now, men could admire weapons in a typically non-lethal environment.²⁸

²³ Joan Acocella, "The Girls Next Door: Life in the Centerfold," *The New Yorker*, March 13, 2006.

²⁴ Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 163.

²⁵ *Playboy*, May 1954, 22-23; Fraterrigo, "Answer to Suburbia," 751.

²⁶ Coulter, "Selling the Male Consumer the *Playboy* Way," 139-152.

²⁷ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 88-89; *Playboy*, May 1954, 11.

²⁸ *Playboy*, October 1962, 79-81.

Another one of *Playboy's* pleasurable forms of conspicuous consumption involved very literally consumption. As food played a variety of roles with regard to culture, gender, race, and sexuality, *Playboy* connoisseurship delighted itself with the culinary arts. With the right recipe, men could impress their women and show refinement and sophistication in a realm that was traditionally their women's domain. In a sense, *Playboy* coopted the masculine role of the chef and made it accessible to the average—well, *Playboy*—man. After the meal, conversation was another battle men had to fight. A 1955 feature, “*Playboy* at the Punch Bowl,” covered the model conditions for dating and parties.²⁹ A perfect bachelor would host, serve, entertain, and rush to fix any complications. By *Playboy's* reckoning, women treasured attentive men. One reader attributed his success with women to *Playboy's* differentiation between sex and reality. The magazine's remasculinization campaign was changing behavior.³⁰

A true connoisseur occasionally purchased extravagant items, a nod to the ecosystem of advertisers behind the magazine. Home décor aligned very strongly with a sense of class, and *Playboy's* vision resonated in households across the nation. Used as simple conversation starters, paintings and sculptures implied finer living. Masculinity drifted from bravado to sensitivity.³¹ Sports, however—as they had since time immemorial—offered an outlet for aggression. Instead of causing chaos, newly masculinized athletes harnessed anger into energetic passion. In January 1954, *Playboy* published instructions on how to score boxing matches, regardless of the apparent victor. The magazine recognized the social power of sporting events. During primetime games, shops closed their doors and chose entertainment over money. American nationalism claimed sports just as much as the flag. Men deserved a viewing in complete relaxation, and Hefner provided lists of critiques and products to increase “his” viewers' enjoyment.³²

An all-encompassing segment called “The *Playboy's* Bazaar” recurred in almost every issue. It advertised (and presumably helped sell) shoes, grills, coasters, portraits, and various other items. Essentially, the advertisements listed any items within reason and social demand. Hefner dedicated articles to a variety of markets but operated the “Bazaar” as all-inclusive. *Playboy* termed itself “a pleasure-primer for the adult male.”³³ With such a comprehensive volume in hand, men had no reason to seek other sources, alternate perspectives, or, most importantly, other subscriptions. Attaining total authority over his readers allowed Hefner to dictate the terms of his new masculinity. Men re-instated themselves as kings of leisure,

²⁹ *Playboy*, January 1955, 16-17.

³⁰ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 84-85; *Playboy*, January 1955, 16; James K. Beggan and Scott T. Allison, “‘What Sort of Man Reads *Playboy*?’ The Self-Reported Influence of *Playboy* on the Construction of Masculinity,” *The Journal of Men's Studies* 11, no. 2 (January 2003): 189-206.

³¹ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 86; *Playboy*, April 1955, 48.

³² *Playboy*, January 1954, 16-17.

³³ *Playboy*, July 1955, 50; *Playboy*, April 1954, 50.

governing society and the economy. From movies to songs, the “swinging bachelor” took physical form, and his masculinity soon outgrew its original state.³⁴

III. “Stag Party” Revolts

Playboy’s intrinsic aim—to take a cynical view—was to rescue masculinity from the perceived terror of ambiguity and completely repudiate the concept of gender neutrality.³⁵ Masculinity would be “masculine” again. *Playboy’s* very first issue proposed ideals of sophistication and spice linked to pure machismo, and yet it was not as rigid or uncompromising as war-time gendered nationalism. Sophisticated sexuality became a new facet of the modern man, and under the watchful gaze of *Playboy*, a restoration of manhood could occur.³⁶ One aspect of the fragility exhibited by American masculinity can be seen in the antagonistic way *Playboy* approached femininity. During World War II, women had routinely joined the workforce and become heads of households while their husbands and fathers were away. According to Syd Mead, *Playboy’s* pioneer designer, postwar males appeared as the weaker of the two sexes and were prone to manipulation. Cartoons in *Playboy’s* February 1954 edition allude to men succumbing to the influence of feminism.³⁷ The message was clear: the American male had fashioned himself according to women who had somehow infiltrated the system.

Hence, some voices became more outspoken in their criticism of the (then) current state of maleness. The renowned American journalist Norman Mailer called for “remasculinization:” since women had overstretched their previous boundaries, Mailer viewed masculinity as a goal that had to be achieved. The key to this remasculinization, according to *Playboy*, was to provide an alternative path. Escaping the claustrophobic nature of breadwinning allowed men to be potentially successful again, if only by redefining what “success” really was. *Playboy* offered a clean slate and a chance to try again, instead of humiliation and constant reminders of perceived impotence.³⁸

To reach paradise, connoisseurs of this new masculinity had to be judicious. The magazine outlined a plan of action relative to the times and responded to changes in male culture. Monitoring these variables ensured, ironically, that reality aligned with *Playboy’s* futuristic aims. “I tried to create [...] a magazine for the indoor guy but would focus specifically on the single life—in other words, the

³⁴ *Playboy*, July 1961, 78-79; Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 155.

³⁵ This section’s title (“Stag Party” Revolts) is a reference to Hugh Hefner’s original idea for the title of his magazine—before he landed on *Playboy*, namely, *Stag Party* which, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is “an all-male celebration held for a man about to be married.”

³⁶ *Playboy*, December 1953, 17-18.

³⁷ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 72; *Playboy*, November 1955, 45; *Playboy*, February 1954, 14-15.

³⁸ Taylor Joy Mitchell, “Norman Mailer: *Playboy* Magazine Heavyweight,” *The Mailer Review* 5, no. 1 (September 2011): 199-218; Brigit Sauer and Kathleen Starck, *A Man’s World? Political Masculinities in Literature and Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2014), 182.

period of bachelorhood before you settle down,” proclaimed Hefner.³⁹ Bowing to stolid tradition meant death in the eyes of the bachelor. By prolonging decadence, *Playboy* set aside tradition.⁴⁰ *Playboy* targeted the morality crusade, the lifestyle transformation, and the revolution in entertainment that was already well underway by the time the magazine was first published. In retrospect, Hefner reflected that *Playboy* was intended to be part of “a revitalization process.”⁴¹ Since the wartime military had demanded standardization, men had concealed their individuality in exchange for solidarity. Following the wartime’s blurring of the gender divide, Hefner’s *Playboy* offered men a platform to explore their reclaimed masculinity, sexuality, lifestyle, and hobbies, with women receiving the majority of the backlash.⁴²

Urbanity normalized *Playboy*. It symbolized an aspiration of manhood and defined the pursuit of manliness as occurring on one of two tracks: either the *Playboy* way or through self-exploration. Paradise, as constructed by *Playboy*, either meant anxiety or simplicity – up to a man’s discretion.⁴³ America could not contain Hefner’s far-reaching ideologies. The folds appeared in international headlines and encouraged revitalization in other postwar nations, especially liberal Finland. Masculinity might have disappeared momentarily, but it was not dead. The world was awaiting the resurgence of testosterone.⁴⁴ The bachelor lifestyle communicated new messages. One, aimed at capitalism, elevated wants over needs. *Playboy* proved the applicability of masculinity on paper: heterosexuality boosted capitalism.⁴⁵ Once men opened the folds, they questioned their appearances and status relative to the ideals of the pages before them. *Playboy* capitalized on men’s insecurities. Competitors like *Esquire* and *Ebony* chased after the same success by revamping their magazines to fill any voids Hefner might have ignored or missed, but their varied quality destroyed their slim chances. Only *Playboy* understood its self-made industry.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The objectification of men and the exploitation of their wallets provoked fear in traditionalists. “The enemy [...] was clearly the right wing and [...] [the] Moral

³⁹ Hugh Hefner, interview by Terry Gross, NPR, 1999.

⁴⁰ Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 78-79.

⁴¹ Hugh Hefner, interview by Terry Gross, NPR, 1999.

⁴² Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 150.

⁴³ Amber Batura, “How Hugh Hefner Invented the Modern Man” [Opinion], *The New York Times*, September 28, 2017, reprinted in *Sex and Sexuality: Changing Perspectives*, ed. The New York Times Editorial Staff (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2018), 190-193, here 191; Beggan and Allison, “What Sort of Man Reads *Playboy*?,” 189-206.

⁴⁴ Sauer and Starck, *A Man’s World?*, 184.

⁴⁵ Beggan and Allison, “What Sort of Man Reads *Playboy*?,” 189-206; Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 175-176.

⁴⁶ Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 152.

Majority and the Puritan part of society,” declared *Playboy’s* creator.⁴⁷ Hefner lumped feminists into this category as well. This battle lingers to the present day, yet Hefner’s responses never varied: “I consider myself [...] a very moral man [...] and morality has always been very, very important to me.”⁴⁸ Hefner figured, however, that young men hated the constraints of tradition. Therefore, for him to mold himself into an archetype seemed like a small price to pay for liberation. Bachelors praised *Playboy* for the recovery of their gendered identity. The “swinging bachelor” served as a contradiction to conservatism. The magazine helped reset the gender hierarchy, but the gender divide was still blurred as masculinity relished the perks of femininity.⁴⁹

Female critics argued that the rise of this new masculinity undermined their sexual revolution. However, men often employed the rise of feminism as a motivator, and their reactions to feminism were complex. *Playboy* advisors routinely encouraged a respectful tone and dissuaded blatant sexism. The magazine aimed to decrease the polarization between the genders by loosening standards and broadening the male mind. Arguably, *Playboy’s* remasculinization campaign also advocated for the women’s sexual revolution.⁵⁰

Despite its articles on color palettes and food cravings, *Playboy* failed to eliminate the sexual stigma long attached to it. Conservative voices hurled accusations at the magazine, namely, that popular culture emotionally destroyed people by promoting satisfaction through violence and sex; that its altering and abandoning of traditional realities distorted one’s mental state; and lastly, that it inhibited the development of true high culture. Hefner responded to these accusations by stating that “the magazine never, ever has been anything even remotely related to pornography.”⁵¹ According to Hefner, cultural norms were not overturned if sex was not portrayed as the primary objective. Hefner reiterated the purpose of his creation: revitalization. Articles rarely focused on eroticism; rather, *Playboy* incorporated pictures as bait but not as catch. Men selected the magazine for masculine gain. *Playboy’s* larger goals dictated its provocative nature.⁵²

As the magazine established its legitimate agency, the “Dear *Playboy*” column emerged to note positive feedback and respond to negative reviews. From his home in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Arthur Jeffries wrote, “*Playboy* is a hypocritical magazine [...] you allow [authors] to satirically slash the phoniness of

⁴⁷ Hugh Hefner, interview by Terry Gross, NPR, 1999.

⁴⁸ Hugh Hefner, interview by TIME, “Ten Questions,” 2009, audio transcript, [online](#), accessed April 7, 2020.

⁴⁹ For more on playmates, see Sofia Rios, “Joey Potter: A Final Girl Next Door,” *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 43, no. 3 (2015): 136-147, which defines a bunny and her role; Pitzulo, *Bachelors and Bunnies*, 93-94; Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise*, 151; Coulter, “Selling the Male Consumer the *Playboy* Way,” 139-152.

⁵⁰ Beggan and Allison, “What Sort of Man Reads *Playboy*?,” 189-206.

⁵¹ Hugh Hefner, interview by TIME, 2009.

⁵² Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture*, 30, 92-93.

our society [...] [yet] you endorse and promote much of that same phoniness.”⁵³ Some men still feared that the “swinging bachelor” was unattainable through conventional means. The *Playboy* lifestyle subverted the bedrock of middle-class contentment. *Playboy* rejected the alleged hypocrisy by replying that “true sophistication [...] recognizes some of the ridiculous aspects of one’s own personality and [...] good-naturedly poke[s] fun at them.”⁵⁴ Although some men deemed the *Playboy* bachelor an imposition on society, the magazine merely presented the luxurious lifestyle as a viable option.

Over time, Hefner believed people would spend less money on his idealized bachelor lifestyle but this did not mean that he thought the lifestyle was fading. The “swinging bachelor” was an everlasting persona: a free-spirited man who refused to be tamed by outdated gender roles or politics, a newly-reformed man who sought libertine revolts against the errors of conservatism. The 1950s and 1960s marked the beginning of society’s upheaval. To contend against complacency required a substantial amount of promotion. With everything to lose and a target audience that considered itself subjugated, Hefner’s *Playboy* invigorated men to redeem the dignity that had been rewarded during war. To Hefner, nature expected male domination; therefore, the “swinging bachelor” wielded a great deal of potential. The magazine presented masculinity attractively by personifying hedonism. With leisure and pleasure as acceptable provisions of living, the male culture broadened its taste and reduced judgment. Men had left to fight in World War II with a rigid form of ethics but returned home to battle for a new lifestyle, memorializing the freedom they had defended.

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⁵³ *Playboy*, June 1960, 5.

⁵⁴ *Playboy*, June 1960, 5.

Zachary Robert Fuhr

“Un travail policier”?

Revolutionary War Theory and the French Army in Algeria (1954-1962)

ABSTRACT: This article examines the French theory of revolutionary war in the context of the Algerian War (1954-1962). Scholarship has focused primarily on the origins of the theory or on its merits as a military strategy but largely ignored anything not written by senior officers. This article explores revolutionary war from the perspective of the soldiers tasked with carrying out the theorists' plans. By comparing what some of its designers wrote about to the realities on the ground a more complete picture of revolutionary war emerges. The author argues that the French Army did try and put in place some aspects of revolutionary war but soldiers executed these ideas poorly, undermining its effectiveness.

KEYWORDS: modern history; Algeria; French Army, Algerian War (1954-1962); Battle of Algiers (1956-1957); *guerre révolutionnaire*; military theory; counterinsurgency; torture

Introduction

Reflecting on his role in the Battle of Algiers (1956-1957), Marcel-Maurice Bigeard (1916-2010), a colonel at the time, wrote in his memoirs: “In fact, it was not a battle but simply, and alas, police work.”¹ For professional soldiers in the French Army like Bigeard, the idea that warfare could be anything other than conventional battles was not only absurd but revolting. In the minds of these officers, waging a battle to win the support of the local population was not as romantic or heroic as killing the enemy. Yet, there was also another group of soldiers who thought the exact opposite. Professionals like Colonel Lacheroy, Colonel Nemo, Colonel Trinquier, and Colonel de Rocquigny believed the nature of warfare had evolved from traditional battles and developed a theory known as *guerre révolutionnaire* (“revolutionary war” or “counter-revolutionary war”) to adapt to these changes.² This article explores the use and effectiveness of revolutionary war in the context of the Algerian War (1954-1962) by focusing on how its ideas were implemented at the ground level by lower-ranking soldiers. While examining the origins of a military theory and exploring an army’s theoretical approaches to war is important for understanding its actions, at the end of the day wars are still fought primarily by junior officers and enlisted men. If scholars wish to learn more about how wars are conducted, they must turn to these men.

French military theorists credited the Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong (1893-1976) for pioneering revolutionary war. Mao’s influential work, *On Guerilla Warfare* (1937), recognized the important role the civilian population played in warfare, marking a shift from the traditional thinking of different spheres for

¹ Marcel-Maurice Bigeard, *Pour une parcelle de gloire* (Paris: Plon, 1975), 276. “En fait: il ne s’agit pas d’une bataille, mais tout simplement, et hélas, d’un travail policier.” The English translation above is mine.

² This article uses the term “revolutionary war” when referring to “*guerre révolutionnaire*,” even though it was the purpose of the respective theory to help defeat revolutionary movements.

civilians and soldiers.³ During the French-Indochina War (1946-1954), French soldiers experienced Mao's theories firsthand, as well as those of the Viet Minh leader Vo Nguyen Giap (1911-2013) who also wrote a treatise on his ideas.⁴ From this experience, French officers wrote their own theories on revolutionary war, outlining what they believed were its key characteristics and how it could best be defeated.⁵ The first chance the army got to put these theories into practice was the Algerian War which erupted almost immediately after the end of the Indochina War (1946-1954). Both professional soldiers and conscripts who served in Algeria wrote memoirs about their experiences, and by analyzing these works a more accurate picture of how the French Army fought the Algerian War emerges.⁶

The scholarship on revolutionary war theory began shortly after the failed Generals' Putsch of Algiers (1961) and the signing of the Évian Accords (1962), the treaty that effectively ended the war. The theory originally caught the attention of political scientists who focused on revolutionary war's influence on civil-military relations and the two army mutinies during the war.⁷ While some military historians began studying revolutionary war and the Algerian War in the 1970s and 1980s, scholars did not show much interest until the terror attacks on

³ Mao Zedong, *On Guerilla Warfare* (1937; San Bernardino, CA: CreateSpace, 2017).

⁴ Vo Nguyen Giap, *People's War, People's Army: The Viet Cong Insurrection Manual for Underdeveloped Countries* (New York: Praeger, 1962).

⁵ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," *Military Review* 37, no. 5 (August 1957): 103-108, trans. and digested from an article in the *Revue militaire d'information* (February-March 1951); Jean M. Nemo, "The Place of Guerilla Action in War," *Military Review* 37, no. 8 (November 1957): 99-107; Colonel de Rocquigny, "Urban Terrorism," *Military Review* 38, no. 11 (February 1959): 93-99; Roger Trinquier, *Modern Warfare: A French View of Counterinsurgency*, trans. Daniel Lee (1961; London: Praeger Security International, 2006; first published 1961 in French as *La guerre moderne*); David Galula, *Pacification in Algeria, 1956-1958* (1963; Santa Monica: RAND Corporation 2002); Marie-Catherine Villatoux and Paul Villatoux, "Aux origines de la 'guerre révolutionnaire': Le colonel Lacheroy parle" ["The Origins of 'Revolutionary War': Colonel Lacheroy Speaks"], *Revue historique des armées* 268 (September 2012): 45-53.

⁶ Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, trans. Ronald Matthews (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Pierre Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon: Memoirs of a Paratrooper*, trans. Max Lerner (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964); Jacques Massu, *La vraie bataille d'Alger* (Paris: Plon, 1971); Bigeard, *Pour une parcelle de gloire*; Simon Murray, *Legionnaire: An Englishman in the French Foreign Legion* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1978); Paul Aussaresses, *The Battle of the Casbah: Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Algeria, 1955-1957*, trans. Robert Miller (2001; New York: Enigma Books, 2002; first published 2001 in French as *Services spéciaux : Algérie 1955-1957*); Ted Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers: A Memoir* (New York: Smithsonian Books/HarperCollins Publishing, 2005).

⁷ Raoul Girardet, "Civil and Military Power in the Fourth Republic," trans. Martha Finkelstein, in *Changing Patterns of Military Politics*, ed. Samuel P. Huntington (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe Inc., 1962), 121-149; Orville Duane Menard, "The Army and the Fifth Republic: The Role of the Army in French Politics" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1964); George Armstrong Kelly, *Lost Soldiers: The French Army and Empire in Crisis, 1947-1962* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. University Press, 1965); John Steward Ambler, *The French Army in Politics, 1945-1962* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966); Philip Maynard Williams, *Wars, Plots and Scandals in Post-War France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

September 11, 2001, and the subsequent launching of the "Global War on Terror." The military campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq brought counterinsurgency theories to the forefront of military scholarship, as soldiers and scholars looked to the past for ideas on how to wage this type of war. Research led to the French experience in Algeria, as historians and soldiers hoped to find new ideas and understand the success and limitations of their style of counterinsurgency warfare.⁸ Some scholars analyzed revolutionary war from a more theoretical perspective and tried to ascertain where it fits into the different styles of war.⁹ Others explored the relationship between revolutionary war and torture.¹⁰ The Algerian War itself has been covered by scholars from a variety of perspectives, though revolutionary war is not the main emphasis in many of their works.¹¹

While all these works have contributed to the understanding of revolutionary war, they have relied too heavily on the works of senior officers or army reports found in the archives to support their arguments. As the Haitian historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot reminds us, however, archives are selectively created to preserve

⁸ Alf Andrew Heggoy, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); Michael L. Martin, *Warriors to Managers: The French Military Establishment since 1945* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1980); Frédéric Guelton, "The French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation in Counter-Guerilla Warfare' (CIPCG) at Arzew," trans. Martin S. Alexander, *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 35-53; Alexander J. Zervoudakis, "From Indochina to Algeria: Counter-Insurgency Lessons" in *The Algerian War and the French Army, 1954-1962: Experiences, Images, Testimonies*, ed. Martin S. Alexander, Martin Evans, and John F. V. Keiger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 43-60; Christopher Craddock and Michael L. R. Smith, "'No Fixed Values': A Reinterpretation of the Influence of the Theory of *Guerre Révolutionnaire* and the Battle of Algiers, 1956-1957," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 68-105; Etienne de Durand, "France," in *Understanding Counterinsurgency: Doctrine, Operations, and Challenges*, ed. Thomas Rid and Thomas Keaney (New York: Routledge, 2010), 11-27; Zachary E. Rish, "Failure, Success, and Lessons Learned: The Legacy of the Algerian War and Its Influence on Counterinsurgency Doctrine" (M.A. thesis, Clemson University, 2010); Jacques Frémeaux, "The French Experience in Algeria: Doctrine, Violence, and Lessons Learnt," *Civil Wars* 14, no. 1 (2012): 49-62.

⁹ Peter Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare from Indochina to Algeria: The Analysis of a Political and Military Doctrine* (New York: Praeger, 1964); Michael P. M. Finch, "A Total War of the Mind: The French Theory of *la guerre révolutionnaire*, 1954-1958," *War in History* 25, no. 3 (July 2018): 410-434.

¹⁰ Rita Maran, *Torture: The Role of Ideology in the French-Algerian War* (New York: Praeger, 1989); William B. Cohen, "The Sudden Memory of Torture: The Algerian War in French Discourse, 2000-2001," *French Politics, Culture and Society* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 82-94; Jo McCormack, "Torture during the Algerian War," *Modern and Contemporary France* 10, no. 3 (August 2002): 392-396; Louis A. DiMarco, "Losing the Moral Compass: Torture and *Guerre Révolutionnaire* in the Algerian War," *Parameters: United States Army War College Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2006): 63-76.

¹¹ See, for example, Paul Henissart, *Wolves in the City: The Death of French Algeria* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970); John E. Talbott, *The War without a Name: France in Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Random House, 1980); Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962* (1977; New York: New York Review of Books, 2006); Martin Evans, *Algeria: France's Undeclared War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Matthew James Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

a certain narrative and should not be fully trusted to relate the whole historical truth.¹² Therefore, this article approaches revolutionary war from the lower ranks to understand to what extent the theory was implemented and whether or not it was successful. The French Army did try to implement some core ideas of revolutionary war, but the soldiers tasked with carrying out these ideas did so in an ineffective manner, which ultimately undermined it. Since revolutionary war was executed so poorly and appears to have never been fully understood by French soldiers, it was a failure. In war, success on the battlefield is the only thing that matters, and while a theory or strategy may look promising on paper, if it does not succeed, it should be considered a failure. The article begins with a brief examination of the roots of revolutionary war, then compares some of its key components, as espoused by some of its main theorists, before examining a handful of memoirs written by junior officers and enlisted soldiers to compare the realities on the ground with the theory. This "history from the bottom" approach has been missing in the scholarship on revolutionary war, and it is hoped that a more accurate picture of its effectiveness will emerge from this study.

I. The Origins of "Guerre Révolutionnaire"

When a senior officer was asked why the Algerian War needed to be won, he replied: "We want to halt the decadence of the West and the march of Communism. That is our duty, the real duty of the army. That is why we must win the war in Algeria. Indo-China taught us to see the truth."¹³ His answer sheds light on the origins of revolutionary war. The theorists of revolutionary war were influenced by three main things: the theories of Mao Zedong, the experience of the Indochina War, and their perception that every colonial conflict was tied to the Cold War.¹⁴ Mao's work, *On Guerilla Warfare*, not only provided a successful blueprint for revolutionary armies to follow, it also stressed the importance of politicizing both the army and civilians for victory to be achieved. In the Indochina War, France's professional soldiers fought against and were defeated by a highly motivated and politicized army that enjoyed the support of the local population and had essentially been formed from scratch. In the early years of the Cold War, France's wars of decolonization led her to see a worldwide communist conspiracy behind everything. While some of this was due to the inflammatory rhetoric coming out of Moscow and Beijing, by playing the communist card French soldiers were able to craft a narrative that they were the ones on the frontlines holding back the communist "hordes" from overrunning Western civilization.

¹² Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995; Boston: Beacon Press, 2015), 48-58.

¹³ Antoine Argoud, quoted in Horne, *Savage War of Peace*, 165.

¹⁴ For a dissenting opinion, see Finch, "Total War of the Mind," 411-413, 428-431. Finch argues pre-World War II ideas about total war and population control had the most influence in shaping revolutionary war.

Mao's successful employment of guerilla forces in World War II and the Chinese Civil War offered proof that a well-disciplined and highly motivated revolutionary army could defeat larger conventional ones. Mao "combined an excellent comprehension of the age-old rules of guerilla warfare with an intelligent communist's organizational talent and ideological zeal."¹⁵ Not only did Mao's under-equipped forces wage a successful guerilla war against highly trained Imperial Japanese troops, they also managed to defeat the American-backed Kuomintang forces of Chiang Kai-Shek. Mao placed an emphasis on politicizing soldiers, writing, "all guerilla units must have political and military leadership," believing this would motivate them more than enemy soldiers who might have no idea what they were fighting for.¹⁶ By elevating the political aspect of guerilla warfare to the same status as the military component, Mao recognized the importance of politics in war. Of course he was not the first person to appreciate this interconnectedness, as the Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) famously wrote: "War is merely a continuation of policy by other means [...] The political object is the goal, war is the means of reaching it."¹⁷ However, Mao expanded this to mean everyone in a revolutionary military organization had to understand the political goal of their cause. Simply being a soldier and following orders was no longer enough and would result in defeat if rank-and-file soldiers did not understand why they were fighting and dying.

Mao also took the political aspect one step further. Not only did soldiers need to understand what they were fighting for, but civilians also had to be politicized to support the war effort. The "relationship of guerilla warfare to the people," Mao wrote, must "coincide with the aspirations of the people and their sympathy."¹⁸ No guerilla or revolutionary movement could survive without the support of civilians, as they became an essential part of the battlefield. The support of civilians gave guerillas areas in which to store their weapons and supplies while also conducting training and political activities. Without civilian support, guerillas would not be able to operate freely as civilians would simply disclose their activities to government forces. Mao's maxim that guerillas must be as reliant on the support of the population as a fish is dependent on water for survival reflects this belief.¹⁹ In war, it was no longer enough to have a well-trained army of soldiers and superior technology to win. Soldiers and civilians now had to believe in and understand what they were fighting for. Without the support of the civilian population, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movements could not succeed, as rebels would have nowhere to hide and train. While French soldiers

¹⁵ Ambler, *French Army in Politics*, 151.

¹⁶ Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare*, 6.

¹⁷ Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831), *On War*, trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; first published posthumously in German in 1832), 87.

¹⁸ Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare*, 5.

¹⁹ Mao, *On Guerilla Warfare*, 53.

largely ignored Mao's writings for years, they would unfortunately soon learn their "Mao Tse-tung the hard way," namely, in the Indochina War when Chinese military advisors helped the Viet Minh put many of these ideas into practice.²⁰

The French-Indochina War, perhaps more than anything else, had a profound influence on the French military and revolutionary war theory. The nature of the war, where the Viet Minh appeared to be "everywhere and nowhere," gave French military theorists a firsthand look at Mao's theories, causing them to re-evaluate their understanding of how wars were fought.²¹ The war also challenged French soldiers to question what they were fighting for and strained the already tense civil-military relations in the Fourth Republic (1846-1954). When the war ended in a humiliating defeat at Dien Bien Phu (1954), "one of the truly decisive battles of the twentieth century" where over 49,000 Viet Minh troops defeated the nearly 13,000 strong garrison of the French Far East Expeditionary Corps, many troops returned home with *mal jaune* and full of contempt for their government.²²

One of the founders of revolutionary war, Colonel Charles Lacheroy (1906-2005), was deeply influenced by his tour in Indochina. Colonel Lacheroy arrived in Indochina in 1951, some four years after the war had broken out, at the behest of General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny. He was given command of an area in Cochinchina where guerilla activity was rampant. Having no experience in Indochina, Colonel Lacheroy set out to determine why France had not yet won. He soon realized, "that the whole [Vietnamese] population was engaged in the fight," and this was why the French were not winning.²³ Believing he was seeing the, "communist system in its pure state," Colonel Lacheroy saw Mao's theories on guerillas blending with the civilian population in practice.²⁴ Recognizing that in this type of conflict brute force was the "solution of laziness," Colonel Lacheroy realized the importance of psychological warfare in undermining civilian support for guerillas.²⁵ Unlike conventional warfare, where the goal is to kill or capture the enemy, psychological warfare aims to not only demoralize the enemy but tries to

²⁰ Bernard B. Fall, introduction to Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, xi.

²¹ For works on the French experience in the Indochina War see Bernard B. Fall, *Street Without Joy: The French Debacle in Indochina* (1961; Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 2005); Bernard B. Fall, *Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu* (1966; Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002); Lucien Bodard, *The Quicksand War: Prelude to Vietnam* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967); Martin Windrow, *The Last Valley: Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2004); Fredrik Logevall, *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2012).

²² Fall, *Hell in a Very Small Place*, vii. *Mal jaune* literally translated means "bad yellow," but was army slang to describe veterans of the Indochina War who detested the Fourth Republic.

²³ Quoted in Villatoux and Villatoux, "" Aux origines de la 'guerre révolutionnaire'," 48: "C'est là que j'ai compris que toute la population était engagée dans la lutte."

²⁴ Quoted in Villatoux and Villatoux, "" Aux origines de la 'guerre révolutionnaire'," 48: "C'est le système communiste à l'état pur."

²⁵ Quoted in Villatoux and Villatoux, "" Aux origines de la 'guerre révolutionnaire'," 52: "ce qui est une solution de paresse."

win over enemies and civilians, hostile or neutral, largely through the use of propaganda. By the time he left Indochina in 1953, the seeds of French revolutionary war theory had been planted in Colonel Lacheroy's mind, and he returned to France looking for disciples for his new gospel.

The impact the Indochina War had on French soldiers is something scholars have long recognized.²⁶ Even officers who had not yet come to embrace revolutionary war tried to wrap their heads around how they could have lost to an enemy they considered inferior. Besides re-evaluating the changing nature of war, French troops felt a bitterness to the Fourth Republic which they blamed for losing the conflict. As Laurent Cesari, a historian at the Université d'Artois has demonstrated, the war was a tremendous financial burden for France.²⁷ Had it not been for American financial and military aid in 1949, France most likely would have evacuated Indochina before the fortress at Dien Bien Phu fell. Even then, French troops were chronically underfunded, especially the Far Eastern Air Force.²⁸ As the war dragged on, anti-war voices grew louder in France's National Assembly, and the press became more critical of the war.²⁹ The lack of funds and political support led French troops in Indochina to believe politicians were weak, and that their sacrifices were made in vain. As one French officer wrote, "I had lost too many comrades at Dien Bien Phu and didn't want to see that happen again."³⁰ From now on it would be up to the army to ensure there were no more defeats.

Lastly, it is important to recognize the role the Cold War played in shaping the ideas of revolutionary war. Some officers believed "the world has been in an uninterrupted war since 1917" with communism.³¹ However, they did not believe this would necessarily turn into a "hot war" between the West and the Soviet Union. Wars of decolonization in the Third World would be the preferred method of communists attacking the West. According to this worldview, every revolutionary movement in the Third World was backed by an international communist conspiracy. Every battle against any communist group was therefore linked to the wider struggle between the West and communism. In a 1950 article for the American journal *Foreign Affairs*, titled "Indo-China and Korea: One Front," Jacques Soustelle, an anthropologist and former minister of the colonies, argued, "the entire strategy of the West in Asia must be conceived as a whole and [...] it

²⁶ See Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 6-7; Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 76-90; Williams, *Wars, Plots and Scandals*, 192-193; Horne, *Savage War of Peace*, 165-167; Cradock and Smith, "No Fixed Values," 72.

²⁷ Laurent Cesari, "The Declining Value of Indochina: France and the Economics of Empire 1950-1955," in *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*, ed. Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 175-195.

²⁸ Fall, *Hell in a Very Small Place*, 457-458.

²⁹ Logevall, *Embers of War*, 348-352.

³⁰ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 8.

³¹ Jacques Hogard, "Cette guerre de notre temps," *Revue de la Défense nationale* 161 (August-September 1958): 1304-1319, here 1318: "Le monde est en guerre ininterrompue depuis 1917."

would be foolish to consider Korea and Indo-China separately."³² One year later (1951), on a goodwill tour of the United States, the commander of the French forces in Indochina, General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, argued, "Korea, Indo-China and Malaya [...] are only different battles of the same war; they should be fought with an overall plan."³³ With their top commander espousing such views, it is little wonder other officers soon picked up on the idea that all communist groups were an equal threat against which the West had to unite.

Six years later, Colonel Lacheroy, a disciple of General de Lattre, expanded this line of thinking in an address to a group of reserve officers. In an imaginary conversation between Soviet leaders Nikolai Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev, Bulganin tells Khrushchev they will never have to resort to an all-out war on the West, because they simply have to get others to do the fighting for them and "hit the targets that seem most promising: to begin with, the links in the chain of the French and British colonial empires."³⁴ The proponents of revolutionary war saw a worldwide communist conspiracy behind all anti-colonial wars and believed they were the only ones who could stop this "disease."³⁵ The experience in Indochina against an avowed communist group, combined with the strong anti-communism of the army, explains why some soldiers suspected a communist conspiracy behind everything. When the war in Algeria began in November 1954, less than four months after the ending of the Indochina War, French troops saw the specter of communism behind it. This time however, they believed they carried the winning formula.

II. Transforming Algeria into a "Military Province"

One of the most difficult things for military planners to accomplish is turning their theories and plans into reality. What works on paper or in a training environment may not work on the battlefield. French military theorists believed all revolutionary movements followed a similar pattern. An author using the pseudonym "Ximenes" has described these steps as "intimidation," "demoralization," "elimination," and "constructive techniques."³⁶ During "intimidation," the purpose is to, "alienate the population from the government"

³² Jacques Soustelle, "Indo-China and Korea: One Front," *Foreign Affairs* 29, no. 1 (October 1950): 56-66, here 65.

³³ "The French MacArthur," *Time*, September 24, 1951, 32-35, here 35. See also Marilyn B. Young, "'The Same Struggle for Liberty': Korea and Vietnam," in *The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*, ed. Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 196-214.

³⁴ Charles Lacheroy, "La guerre révolutionnaire," talk on July 2, 1957, quoted in Paret *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 3-4. French officers also believed the Cold War changed international relations, as no major power would risk war, but guerilla warfare would be the preferred option. See Nemo, "Place of Guerilla Action in War," 106.

³⁵ Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 4-5; Kelly, *Lost Soldiers*, 9; Cradock and Smith, "No Fixed Values," 75-78.

³⁶ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," 103.

by using "systematic terrorism, sabotage, and guerilla actions."³⁷ During "demoralization," efforts are made to undermine the morale of the forces of order, as well as the population's support for the government, in "an attempt to influence neutrals."³⁸ "Elimination" targets individuals and groups who oppose the revolutionaries, forcing "the neutrals [...] to name their choice."³⁹ Lastly, "constructive techniques" includes the forming of a shadow government and ensuring the population is "changed into an organized and animate group" supporting the revolutionaries.⁴⁰ Absent from this list is anything pertaining to fighting a traditional battle. All these phases have the ultimate goal of undermining the government and shifting popular support to the rebel cause. French officers believed they had a solution to ensure this would not happen.

Taking Mao's teachings to heart, the theorists of revolutionary war maintained that population control was the most important counter to the rebels. As Colonel Roger Trinquier (1908-1986) wrote: "We know that the *sine qua non* of victory in *modern warfare* is the unconditional support of the population."⁴¹ In revolutionary war, the two opposing forces fight not just on the battlefield but also, in American military parlance, for the "hearts and minds" of civilians. Revolutionary war theorists believed the army played an essential role in this task, as only they understood how to properly defeat insurrections.⁴² To properly control the population, there were three steps that needed to be followed. Firstly, all civilian organizations, including the police, had to be subordinated to the needs of the army,⁴³ essentially resulting in the army assuming government powers and the creation of a parallel state. Secondly, soldiers had to be out and about, mingling with the population, not only to keep them safe but also to build trust and form relationships. Lastly, a robust psychological and propaganda campaign needed to be launched to counter anything a revolutionary movement might put out. These three steps were mutually supportive and dependent on each other, and only the army had the knowledge and will to carry them out.

Unlike in Indochina, where the French government recognized early on they were involved in a war, the situation in Algeria was different. Algeria was not a colony but—as a *département* of the nation—a legal part of France. A state of war was never officially recognized or declared. Using the army, therefore, was a complicated issue. All suspected rebels had the same legal rights that had to be afforded to all other criminal suspects. For an army trying to combat a growing insurgency this was a huge impediment, since soldiers, in essence, had to do police

³⁷ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," 103.

³⁸ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," 104.

³⁹ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," 104.

⁴⁰ Ximenes [pseud.], "Revolutionary War," 104.

⁴¹ Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, 6; italics original.

⁴² Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, 37.

⁴³ Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, 37.

work – in the words of Marcel-Maurice Bigeard: "un travail policier."⁴⁴ The French Army needed an opportunity to assume full government powers to remove what it considered the legal obstacles to winning the war. The Algerian *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN, "National Liberation Front") would soon provide such an opportunity.

The best example of the army assuming government powers during the Algerian War is the Battle of Algiers. While this has been well covered by historians Christopher Cradock and Michael L. R. Smith, some important points are worth revisiting.⁴⁵ After a series of terror attacks across Algiers, Resident Minister Robert Lacoste called in General Jacques Massu's elite *10e Division Parachutiste* (10 DP, "10th Parachute Division") to take command of Algiers and restore order.⁴⁶ Massu was given *carte blanche* to do whatever he saw fit in this task, and Algiers essentially fell under martial law, especially the Muslim neighborhood of the Casbah. Massu and his staff immediately went to work and set up a parallel government to the one of Lacoste. Colonel Trinquier created the *Dispositif de Protection Urbaine* (DPU, "Urban Protection Operation"), an organization consisting of "policemen, gendarmes, CRS, and even soldiers."⁴⁷ One of the first tasks of the DPU was to take a census and label each building in the Casbah.⁴⁸ In addition to establishing a census of the Muslim population, the army subjected the police to their command. Police detectives were assigned to assist each intelligence officer of the 10 DP with tracking down suspected members of the FLN.⁴⁹ Throughout the Battle of Algiers, the army, not the civilian government, ran the city, resulting in the temporary defeat of the FLN.

When assuming government powers, taking a census and controlling the police is not enough. According to revolutionary war theorist Colonel Trinquier, "extensive and generous social assistance will be of prime importance in bringing to our cause many people who are unhappy and often disoriented by the military operations and who will not have always understood the underlying reasons for them."⁵⁰ This policy was also known as "Destruction and Construction" and called not just for the enemy to be destroyed but also for the protection and establishment of "a new order" among the population.⁵¹ Again, it was assumed the army would play a leading role in such operations, and indeed it did. In some cases, conventional troops performed this task admirably, as demonstrated by

⁴⁴ Bigeard, *Pour une parcelle de gloire*, 276.

⁴⁵ Cradock and Smith, "No Fixed Values," 83-97.

⁴⁶ Massu, *Vraie bataille d'Alger*, 15.

⁴⁷ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 87. CRS (*Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité*) are units of the French National Police specializing in riot and crowd control.

⁴⁸ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 87-88.

⁴⁹ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 89.

⁵⁰ Trinquier, *Modern Warfare*, 42.

⁵¹ General Allard, quoted in Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 30-32.

Alexander Zervoudakis in his analysis of the *584e Bataillon du Train* (584th Transportation Battalion).⁵² The battalion, made up almost entirely of conscripts, established a great relationship with the local population by opening up animal care facilities, medical clinics, movie theaters, and a school. The local population came to support the French and voluntarily provided intelligence on the FLN.⁵³ However, this was more the exception than the rule.

The senior officers who devised the ideas of controlling the population, assuming police powers, and operating like a civilian government rarely had to carry out the day-to-day work of making their theories a reality. This is not to suggest that the theorists were all passive throughout the Algerian War. Colonel Trinquier was very active with the creation of the DPU, but he had a massive staff to assist him. Senior officers could not implement their ideas alone and relied on rank-and-file soldiers to do the heavy lifting. Scholarship on revolutionary war has largely ignored the works of junior officers and enlisted soldiers. Only by comparing their experiences to the principles of revolutionary war can a more accurate understanding emerge of how the Algerian War was waged.

III. The Army as "Policemen" among the Population

Conventional armies are ill-suited for dealing with a civilian population. Unlike the police whose job it is to ensure people follow the rules of the state and who thereby engage in some form of population control daily, soldiers are trained to kill their enemies, ideally far away from any civilians. In the Algerian War, soldiers were routinely called in to do the job of policemen to ensure people remained loyal to France. Making this matter more complicated was the fact that Algeria essentially had two populations. The *pieds noirs*, settlers of European descent who numbered around one million people, and a Muslim population of nearly nine million, who had lived under colonialism for over one hundred years.⁵⁴ The *pieds noirs* could generally be relied on to support the army, and a majority of them wished to remain part of France, so the real battle was with the FLN for the support of the Muslim population. French soldiers were often out among the people, just as revolutionary war theorists had advocated. An examination of several soldiers' memoirs reveals efforts were made to win the people over, but the army struggled in this task. Some of this was due to the FLN's propaganda and terror campaigns, but other times the behavior of French troops alienated the Muslim population and drove them into the arms of the FLN.

In his memoirs, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber (1924-2006), a reserve lieutenant recalled to active duty in Algeria, described how two Indochina veterans in his

⁵² Alexander Zervoudakis, "A Case of Successful Pacification: The 584th Bataillon du Train at Bordj de l'Agha (1956-57)," in *France and the Algerian War, 1954-1962: Strategy, Operations and Diplomacy*, ed. Martin S. Alexander and John F. V. Keiger (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002), 54-64.

⁵³ Zervoudakis, "Case of Successful Pacification," 60-61.

⁵⁴ Horne, *Savage War of Peace*, 64.

unit wrote a memorandum to the Army High Command advocating for more "contact with the Moslem population," otherwise "the Algerian rebellion may not need nearly as much military strength as the Vietminh army to put the French Army in a difficult position."⁵⁵ This resulted in the creation of the "Black Commandos" in Servan-Schreiber's unit's area of operations. To become a Black Commando, a soldier had to volunteer and take a pledge to "regard every Moslem as a friend and not as a suspect, unless [...] [he had] proof to the contrary."⁵⁶ The commandos sent out small squads of five to six soldiers with an interpreter to reestablish contact with the Muslims in the rural areas and ensure their loyalty to France. Similar types of units were the *Sections Administratives Spécialisées* (SAS, "Special Administrative Sections") which performed comparable tasks throughout Algeria. Like the Black Commandos, the SAS were small detachments led by junior officers tasked with reestablishing contact and building trust with the Muslims population.⁵⁷ This type of work was incredibly dangerous, as the FLN was fully aware what these groups were trying to accomplish and targeted them. Since these units regularly served far from any support and frequently slept in the villages they visited, they were easy targets. However, units such as these were necessary in revolutionary war. The creators of both the SAS and the Black Commandos recognized the real battle with the FLN was not on the battlefield, but in the villages for the support of the people. However, any good will these units managed to gain with Algerians was frequently negated by other soldiers who refused to "regard every Moslem as a friend."

While specific units were created to win the hearts and minds of the Muslim population, they were not the only soldiers who interacted with civilians. The nature of the Algerian War meant nearly all French troops came into contact with non-combatants as they searched for the FLN in the villages and towns across Algeria. Since there were never enough Black Commandos or SAS troops to cover the whole country, interaction between regular French troops and civilians played a prominent role in deciding who the people would support.

Pierre Leulliette, a volunteer who reached the rank of corporal in the *2e Régiment de Parachutistes Coloniale* (2 RPC, "2nd Colonial Parachute Regiment," one of the regiments of the 10 DP), recalled the attitude of his comrades toward the Muslim population: "We are beginning to say to one another that all these good people we see cultivating their stony little fields or driving their mules along the quiet roads are probably rebels out of uniform. 'They're all rebels, all! We're silly! We should talk to these people with submachine guns! And flamethrowers!'"⁵⁸ In many cases they did. After a platoon leader was killed in a small town, Leulliette's company commander decided to call in artillery to level the town. As they

⁵⁵ Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, 97-98.

⁵⁶ Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, 100-101.

⁵⁷ Horne, *Savage War of Peace*, 108-109.

⁵⁸ Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, 106.

watched the carnage unfold, some soldiers commented: "That's what we should have done long ago, everywhere, to all the villages [...] We're too soft on these people."⁵⁹ Even when they went on operations to distribute food to remote villages up in the mountains, this worked against the army, as people who took the food became suspected French sympathizers in the eyes of the FLN.⁶⁰ Since Leulliette's unit rarely stayed in one area for an extended period of time, villagers could not trust the army would protect them and would side with the FLN.

When the 2 RPC and the rest of the 10 DP was redeployed to secure Algiers, it was decided the army would send small patrols out to restore a sense of security. These patrols, however, often had the opposite effect. Instead of reassuring civilians, they frequently visited bars, demanding free drinks, and broke into bathhouses to see naked women.⁶¹ Many of the bathhouses were in Muslim neighborhoods, further straining any relationship that might have been forged with the population they needed to win over.

In addition, the systematic use of torture, and summary executions during the Battle of Algiers further burned bridges.⁶² According to General Paul Aussaresses (1918-2013), summary executions and torture were "an inseparable part of the tasks associated with keeping law and order" and, "tolerated if not actually recommended."⁶³ The 2 RPC, like all army and police units, engaged in torture during the Battle of Algiers. The 2 RPC set up their "interrogation" center in an empty candy shop where suspects were stripped and tortured from "morning to night."⁶⁴ While not personally engaged in torture, Leulliette was fully aware it was taking place and later remembered: "All day, through the floor-boards, we heard their horse cries."⁶⁵ The preferred method of torture was the use of the *gégène*, "an army signals magneto from which electrodes could be fastened to various parts of the human body," but beatings were common as well.⁶⁶ Highly valued prisoners, such as the leader of the FLN cell in Algiers, Larbi Ben M'Hidi (1923-1957), were executed without a trial, since the army did not trust turning them over to the courts.⁶⁷ While many bodies were secretly buried, when family members failed to return home after several days, few had any doubt to what their fate had been.

⁵⁹ Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, 118.

⁶⁰ Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, 64-65.

⁶¹ Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, 282-283.

⁶² For a personal account of someone who committed torture and summary executions, see Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*. For a personal account of someone who was tortured, see Henri Alleg, *The Question* (New York: G. Braziller, 1958).

⁶³ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 120.

⁶⁴ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 286.

⁶⁵ Leulliette, *St. Michael and the Dragon*, 286-289.

⁶⁶ Horne, *Savage War of Peace*, 199.

⁶⁷ Aussaresses, *Battle of the Casbah*, 125-134.

The targeting and mistreatment of the population was not unique to the 2 RPC. In contrast to the members of the Black Commandos, a fellow officer and Indochina veteran in Servan-Schreiber's unit suggested treating any "Arab as a suspect, a possible *fellagha*, a potential terrorist – because that, my dear sir, is the truth."⁶⁸ Shortly after this conversation, Servan-Schreiber's battalion did just that. While on patrol, one of the companies took fire from a single house in a small village. In response to this, artillery was called in, leveling most of the village as punishment for harboring rebels.⁶⁹ Simon Murray, a British volunteer in the Foreign Legion's *2e Régiment Étranger de Parachutistes* (2 REP, "2n Foreign Parachute Regiment"), recalled that it was standard operating procedure in his unit to go into the villages and start burning people's homes.⁷⁰ On one of the rare occasions when some men were captured in one of the villages, they refused to talk to the intelligence officer. According to Murray, "[t]his all changed when they were put inside one of the huts and it was set ablaze. They started to scream blue murder and when we let them out we couldn't stop them [from] talking."⁷¹

French atrocities in Algeria have been well documented by scholars, with some going as far as to suggest them a natural component of revolutionary war.⁷² Yet, the wanton use of violence against civilians goes against the principle of revolutionary war to win the population over to your cause. To be fair, there were French troops who recognized this. After watching a village being shelled into oblivion, one sergeant complained: "We might as well be living in a Communist caricature [...] we're turning all the inhabitants into *fellagha*. For one rebel we kill, we're making twenty [who are] ready to replace him."⁷³ Indeed, the offenses committed by French soldiers aided the FLN in their "intimidation" and "demoralization" steps. While it is debatable whether the Battle of Algiers could have been won without the use of torture, its widespread use turned the French victory into a Pyrrhic one. According to American historian Matthew Connelly, torture and "disappearances" of nearly ten percent of the Muslim population of Algiers could not be hidden from the public and caused outrage in both France and around the world.⁷⁴ Like destroying villages, it also played right into the hands of the FLN.

While groups like the Black Commandos and the SAS were attempting to counter the FLN, other army units were jeopardizing any progress that was being

⁶⁸ Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, 31-33.

⁶⁹ Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, 40-46.

⁷⁰ Murray, *Legionnaire*, 158.

⁷¹ Murray, *Legionnaire*, 158-159.

⁷² See Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, *Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978); Maran, *Torture*; Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution*, 130-132; DiMarco, "Losing the Moral Compass," 63-76.

⁷³ Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant in Algeria*, 40-46.

⁷⁴ Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution*, 130-133.

made. The soldiers' lack of effort to connect with civilians showed their fundamental failure to understand revolutionary war theory. The fact that the army was given precedence in the fight against the FLN, while the Black Commandos and the SAS were out among the population, demonstrates that some revolutionary war practices were being followed. However, it is clear French troops did not understand or appreciate the tasks they were charged with, thereby undermining the effectiveness of revolutionary war's ideas of the army being out among the population.

IV. Psychological Operations

While population control may be "the *sine qua non* of victory," assuming government powers and sending the army out to be among civilians will not get the job done. Without psychological warfare there can be no revolutionary war. "All wars," according to General Jacques Hogard (1918-1999), "are ultimately wars 'of persuasion'."⁷⁵ Killing one's enemy on the battlefield was no longer enough if their ideas remained alive. To counter the propaganda and ideology of revolutionary movements, the army had to wage an aggressive psychological campaign of its own. Psychological operations, however, were not something draftees and even most professional soldiers would have been instructed in at this time. Historian Frédéric Guelton's examination of the counterinsurgency school in Arzew (Oran Province, Algeria) provides the best example of how the French tried to rectify this problem.⁷⁶ Founded in 1956 with the intent of introducing officers and senior non-commissioned officers to the peculiarities of the Algerian War, the school originally placed emphasis on tactics. In 1957, however, control of the center was transferred from the *3e Bureau* (Operations and Planning) to the *5e Bureau* (Psychological Operations) and placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel André Bruge.

An Indochina veteran who had spent nearly five years in Viet Minh internment and re-education camps, Lieutenant Colonel Bruge was deeply interested in psychological warfare.⁷⁷ After taking command of the school, he dramatically changed the curriculum away from an emphasis on tactics to one that taught revolutionary war.⁷⁸ For men like Lieutenant Colonel Bruge, fighting was of

⁷⁵ Hogard, "Cette guerre de notre temps," 1306: "Toutes les guerres sont donc finalement des guerres 'de persuasion'."

⁷⁶ Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation,'" 37. See also Paret, *French Revolutionary Warfare*, 129-140 ("Use of the Psychological Arm in the Armed Forces"); Nacéra Aggoun, "Psychological Propaganda during the Algerian War: Based on a Study of French Army Pamphlets," in *The Algerian War and the French Army, 1954-1962: Experiences, Images, Testimonies*, ed. Martin S. Alexander, Martin Evans, and John F. V. Keiger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 193-199.

⁷⁷ Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation,'" 41.

⁷⁸ "Training Syllabus on Revolutionary Warfare," in Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation,'" 50.

secondary importance in these types of wars. Soldiers now took courses in "Psychological Action," "Psychological Warfare," "Laws of the Psychology of Crowds," "Propaganda Techniques," "The Psychology of the Muslim," "The Soldier as Psychological Agent," "Psychological Action over the Populations," and "Psychological Warfare against the Rebels," among others.⁷⁹ As one attendant wrote of his time at Arzew, "[t]his course is stamped by the deep desire to give us Faith. This is undoubtedly its chief quality and the outcome is certain."⁸⁰ Under the guidance of Lieutenant Colonel Bruge, over seven thousand officers received instructions in revolutionary and psychological war, and they brought this faith back with them to their units.⁸¹

Much like in the case of population control, however, officers who were instructed at Arzew could not conduct psychological warfare by themselves. Soldiers who lacked any formal training in psychological operations were frequently tasked with creating and distributing propaganda among the population. Considering there were nearly half a million French troops in Algeria for most of the war, this meant the overwhelming majority likely had no experience in these types of operations.⁸² One such soldier was Sanche Charles Armand Gabriel de Gramont, today known as Ted Morgan (b. 1930), a conscripted lieutenant who, before being drafted, had studied journalism at Yale University. Originally assigned to a colonial infantry regiment made up primarily of Senegalese, while on leave in Algiers, Morgan attended a dinner party where he was introduced to General Massu. General Massu, it should be remembered, had recently been brought into Algiers to restore order and crush the FLN. Upon learning Morgan had experience as a journalist, General Massu had him transferred to an army-run newspaper, titled *Réalités Algériennes* ("Algerian Realities").⁸³ The paper was funded and published by Colonel Trinquier's DPU but had the appearance of a regular, civilian newspaper. The staff was small, and Morgan and his comrades wore suits instead of uniforms to work in order to keep up the appearance of *Réalités Algériennes* being a legitimate paper.⁸⁴ Of the three men working on the paper, only the "commander" was a professional soldier with some kind of experience in psychological operations.

Throughout the Battle of Algiers, *Réalités Algériennes* published fake and misleading stories to combat the propaganda of the FLN. Some articles appeared benign, such as the one advocating Muslim children should continue to attend

⁷⁹ "Training Syllabus on Revolutionary Warfare," in Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation'," 50-51.

⁸⁰ "Some Student Opinions About the CIPCG," in Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation'," 51.

⁸¹ Guelton, "French Army 'Centre for Training and Preparation'," 47.

⁸² Connelly, *Diplomatic Revolution*, 3.

⁸³ Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers*, 124-127.

⁸⁴ Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers*, 127-129.

school, something the FLN did not want, while others condemned the FLN and encouraged people to "[h]ave faith in the forces."⁸⁵ On at least one occasion, however, an article using misinformation was used to flush out a wanted bombmaker from hiding, eventually leading to her death.⁸⁶ As scholars acknowledge, "it is almost impossible to gauge how successful the psychological warfare was" during the Battle of Algiers, but it was one of many tools used by the French to win the battle.⁸⁷ While Morgan never mentions revolutionary war in his memoirs, he was nonetheless very much engaged in it, showing efforts were made to follow its principles. Morgan, however, was against the war, and he and a fellow reporter would also write articles revealing French atrocities for other papers under pseudonyms.⁸⁸ Torture during the Battle of Algiers was the worst-kept secret in Algeria, but leaking information potentially undermined any progress *Réalités Algériennes* might have made with the Muslim population. This shows a lack of understanding and acceptance of the ideas of revolutionary war by the soldiers tasked with making the theory a reality. The fact that the French Army was unable to convince its own soldiers of the righteousness of its cause demonstrates another weakness in its implementation of revolutionary war theory.

Conclusion

This article has shown that while many of the theories of revolutionary war were put into place during the Algerian War, French soldiers were largely ineffective in executing the theorists' plans. The destruction of villages, murdering of civilians, and widespread use of torture negated any progress made by groups like the Black Commandos and the SAS to win over the population. While psychological operations were put in place, the fact that members of the army-run newspaper actively undermined the war effort shows that soldiers were not convinced of the war they were fighting. Across Algeria, rank-and-file troops showed little appreciation for and understanding of revolutionary war. This is not to suggest that, had the theories been perfectly executed, it would have resulted in a French victory. To paraphrase the Prussian Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891), "no plan survives the first contact with the enemy."⁸⁹ This article serves as a reminder of the truth of that statement. It is important for historians to appreciate that there will always be a gap between theory and practice. If one really wants to properly understand a theory's success, it is important to move away from the senior officers and look at the people tasked to carry out their plans.

⁸⁵ Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers*, 145-146.

⁸⁶ Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers*, 164.

⁸⁷ Cradock and Smith, "No Fixed Values," 98.

⁸⁸ Morgan, *My Battle of Algiers*, 149.

⁸⁹ "Kein Plan überlebt die erste Feindberührung." Referenced in Correlli Barnett, *The Swordbearers: Studies in Supreme Command in the First World War* (1963; London: Cassell Military, 2003), 35.

Revolutionary war theory fell out of favor after the Algerian War. This was largely due to the fact that several of its most ardent supporters, including the theory's founder Charles Lacheroy, became leaders of the ill-fated 1961 coup against Charles de Gaulle and members of the *Organisation Armée Secrète* (OAS, "Secret Army Organization").⁹⁰ Some of its ideas, however, continue to live on in modern counterinsurgency warfare. While the U.S. Army's Field Manual is highly critical of the French Army in the Algerian War, writing, "failure to comply with moral and legal restrictions against torture severely undermined French efforts and contributed to their loss despite several significant military victories,"⁹¹ the U.S. Armed Forces have since adopted some of their ideas, either directly or indirectly. Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations units are tasked with making contact with civilian populations and creating propaganda to win local support. Additionally, the so-called "surge" in Iraq in 2007 called for the deployment of more U.S. soldiers to be among the population.⁹² Like their French counterparts, though, it is unlikely that many American rank-and-file soldiers were aware of what their senior officers' plans were.

Much of the potential for research on revolutionary war remains untapped. While this article has relied on only a handful of published memoirs written by French soldiers, there likely exist numerous journals and diaries that have never seen the light of the day. Unlike in Indochina, where only colonial and professional troops were used, conscripts made up the backbone of French forces throughout the Algerian War. This means nearly an entire generation, albeit an aging one, served in some capacity during the war. If more veterans come forward, this could shine more light on how the theories of revolutionary war were implemented on the ground, and reveal more about how the Algerian War was waged. Yet, veterans may be hesitant to come forward, especially after General Paul Aussaresses was put on trial for the crime of justifying war crimes after the 2001 publication of his memoir.⁹³ France continues to remain bitterly divided over the war, as President Emmanuel Macron found out in 2018 when he publicly apologized for French atrocities, perhaps making more veterans hesitant to speak out.⁹⁴ The theory of revolutionary war and assigning the army police work all

⁹⁰ The O.A.S. (*Organisation Armée Secrète*) was a right-wing terror organization that fought against both the French government and Algerian rebels to keep Algeria French. The organization attempted to assassinate Charles de Gaulle in 1962. See Alexander Harrison, *Challenging De Gaulle: The O.A.S. and Counterrevolution in Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: Praeger, 1989).

⁹¹ United States Department of the Army, *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual: U.S. Army Field Manual No. 3-24* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 252.

⁹² George W. Bush, "Address to the Nation," Washington, DC, January 10, 2007, accessed May 25, 2020.

⁹³ Suzanne Daly, "France is Seeking a Fine in Trial of Algerian War General," *The New York Times*, November 29, 2001.

⁹⁴ Henry Samuel, "France May Have Apologized for Atrocities in Algeria, but the War Still Casts a Long Shadow," *The Telegraph*, September 15, 2018.

makes sense on paper, but wars are not won because of ideas and theories alone. While French officers may have found a way to defeat revolutionary movements theoretically, rank-and-file soldiers were either unaware or did not care about revolutionary war. In the end, it is always the common soldier who makes military theories either a success or a failure.

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Andrea Herrera

Peace and Love? Brilliant!

Capturing the British Essence of the 1960s Counterculture Movement

ABSTRACT: *This article analyzes the actions of British citizens during the 1960s transnational counterculture movement. Booming with creativity, young people across the Western world started to venture outside the traditional mindset established by their elders and created new norms for themselves. This article shows the elements that made the 1960s British counterculture movement unique by examining what types of people were involved and their actions, illuminating their complex motives for challenging traditional values. The 1960s British counterculture questioned the status quo, introduced new customs, and featured images that came to be associated with Britishness.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Britain; counterculture movement; youth culture; sexuality; drug culture; Vietnam War; nuclear disarmament; university students; British Pathé*

Introduction

“But among the things that defined the new Left, as against a traditional, rather stuffy old Left, was that one was not upset by and even saw the role for hash or LSD. One would say that it assisted a little bit in knowing oneself, but really it was just having fun. It was an element of hedonism.”¹ Reflecting on his years as editor of the *New Left Review* during the 1960s, British historian Robin Blackburn (b. 1940) insisted that the counterculture movement centered on the idea of self-indulgence and activism. Seen as a tumultuous decade in the history of the Western world, the 1960s were marked by the rise of various social movements that voiced their dissent against hegemonic power. These campaigns included the student movement, free speech movement, anti-Vietnam War movement, anti-nuclear arms movement, and the women’s liberation movement. The 1960s also witnessed a change in fashion, individual expression of sexuality, the growth of drug culture, and the rise in folk and Rock ‘n’ Roll music. Those who participated in these new social groups were collectively given the title of the new counterculture movement. In this article, “counterculture” is defined as a way of life and set of ideas that are opposed to those accepted by most of society. Led mostly by the youths who held ideals and opinions that differed from those of post-war era adults, these movements sought to challenge and change society into one that would allow them to live more freely.² Although predominantly studied in its American context, the 1960s counterculture movement was observed on a global scale where new ideals became transnational. However, the counterculture

¹ Jonathon Green, *Days in the Life: Voices from the English Underground, 1961-1971* (London: Heinemann, 1988), 12.

² For a discussion of youth as the center for rebellion against the status quo over the years, see Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *European Cities: Youth and the Public Sphere in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005). For a comprehensive sociological approach to youth behavior, see Jeremy Roche, Stanley Tucker, Rachel Thomson, and Ronny Flynn, eds., *Youth in Society: Contemporary Theory, Policy, and Practice* (London: Sage Publications, 2004).

movement in Britain was unique in its formation and forms of expression and therefore deserves further analysis. This article concerns itself with the essence of the British 1960s counterculture movement and investigates what types of people were involved, as well as their actions which in turn illuminate their complex motives for participating in challenging the status quo.

An array of primary sources produced between the late 1950s and early 1970s are utilized for this article's attempt to create a comprehensive impression of British counterculture's unique features. Editorials from *The Beaver*, the weekly newspaper of the LSE Students' Union at the London School of Economics, offers great insight into this particular student movement, as well as student perspectives toward protest.³ *Oz 28: School Kids Issue* of *Oz* magazine also provides an awareness to the 1960s drug and sex culture of British youth.⁴ In addition to these examples of print media, official documents from various counterculture organizations provide context for their motives behind mobilization.⁵ Testimonies of counterculture participants conducted by historian Jonathon Green and the autobiographies written by prominent anarchist Christie Stuart and political activist Tariq Ali also offer insight into the rationalization of radical political ideology during the 1960s.⁶ With such an abundance of primary sources at its disposal, this article discusses the images and voices that differentiated British counterculture from the movement as experienced in other countries.

Since the 1980s, historians have commented on the transnational aspect of the global counterculture movement and how Britain has been contextualized within this worldwide phenomenon.⁷ Historian Anthony Messina notes that the protest movement in Britain was the result of the failure of political parties to articulate

³ "Come Demonstrate for Vietnamese Freedom!" *The Beaver*, February 29, 1968, Students' Union Print Collection, *The Beaver*, London, London School of Economics (LSE) Archives and Special Collections; and "Deadly Pot," *The Beaver*, January 16, 1969, Students' Union Print Collection, *The Beaver*, London, LSE Archives and Special Collections.

⁴ Jim Anderson, ed., *Oz 28: School Kids Issue*, *Oz* magazine, May 1970.

⁵ Excerpts from official documents produced by counterculture organizations are found in "Britain," Chapter 9, in *Voices of 1968: Documents from the Global North*, ed. Salar Mohandesi, Bjarke Skærlund Risager, and Laurence Cox (London: Pluto Press, 2018), 227-247.

⁶ Green, *Days in the Life*. For his work, Green interviewed just over one hundred former "60s people" and transcribed and condensed their responses, and those interviewed were characterized as illogical, intellectual, religious, and creative figures of the counterculture movement. Christie Stuart, *Granny Made Me an Anarchist: General Franco, the Angry Brigade, and Me* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2004); Tariq Ali, *Street Fighting Years: An Autobiography of the Sixties* (1987; London: William Collins Sons & Co., 2005).

⁷ For the transnationalism of the counterculture movement, see Russell Duncan, "The Summer of Love and Protest: Transatlantic Counterculture in the 1960s," in *The Transatlantic Sixties: Europe and the United States in the Counterculture Decade*, eds. Grzegorz Kosci, Clara Juncker, Sharon Monteith, and Britta Waldschmidt-Nelson (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 144-173; and Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States* (1998; London: Bloomsbury Reader, 2012).

citizens' concerns on a variety of issues.⁸ Along the same lines, political scientist Nirmala Rao asserts that many felt such disdain for government authority that they saw the need to protest a variety of issues,⁹ while historian Holger Nehring points out that the pacifist perspective against British imperialism in India advocated by Gandhi in fact influenced many protestors.¹⁰ Scholarship pertaining to the distinctiveness of the British counterculture within urban spaces includes works by Elizabeth Nelson, who provides a chronology of events,¹¹ and Simon Rycroft, who focuses on the culture of London during the 1960s and its designation as the "Swinging City."¹² However, more precise scholarship is needed to capture the essence of the 1960s counterculture movement specific to Britain.

Through the use of primary testimonies and media texts that focus on participants, this article seeks to portray the British counterculture movement of the 1960s as distinct from other countries' counterculture movements in both its action and perception. It argues that the British counterculture movement of the 1960s questioned the status quo, introduced new customs, and featured images that came to be associated with Britishness. By examining the motives and actions of participants and their forms of expression, this article adds to the social and cultural history of twentieth-century Britain. Its first part focuses on the activist role of counterculture participants working on key international and domestic issues; its second part discusses new customs practiced by a more self-indulgent youth culture; and its final part examines the physical attributes associated with the Britishness images of counterculture participants. These issues on which youth participants were able to express their dissent and opinion sheds light on the complexities of the various social movements that have had a lasting effect on British citizens and how they conceptualize the world around them.

I. Participants

The counterculture of 1960s Britain was exceptional in that it called for new roles for activists that young people individually and collectively could fulfill by voicing concern about key issues that plagued society. One such issue that called for mass attention and new activists in Britain was the government's stockpile of nuclear warheads. As allies of the United States during the Cold War, British officials felt

⁸ Anthony M. Messina, "Postwar Protest Movements in Britain: A Challenge to Parties," *The Review of the Politics* 49, no. 3 (Summer 1987): 410-428, here 410.

⁹ Nirmala Rao, *Reviving Local Democracy: New Labour, New Politics?* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2000), 67.

¹⁰ Holger Nehring, *Politics of Security: British and West German Protests and the Early Cold War, 1945-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63-86 (Chapter 2, "Identifying the Protests and the Protest-Makers").

¹¹ Elizabeth Nelson, *The British Counter-Culture, 1966-73: A Study of the Underground Press* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989).

¹² Simon Rycroft, *Swinging City: A Cultural Geography of London, 1950-1974* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011).

the need to arm the country with nuclear warheads in the event that the war would turn “hot.” Having knowledge of the devastating effects of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II through the global media, British young adults felt the need to oppose nuclear armament on moral grounds. Thus, in 1958, British citizens formed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). According to his 2004 autobiography, prominent British anarchist Christie Stuart became very active in the CND movement. According to his experience, the CND was a “mass movement of popular protest embracing a broad form of progressive individuals, old pacifists, new anti-militarists, conscientious religious sorts, trade unions, and [other] groups” who were convinced that “if enough pressure could be applied to the government [they] would give way and ban the bomb.”¹³ Although initially oriented toward conventional politics, the CND had to embrace the means of mass movements, such as rallies, demonstrations, and marches, because Labour Defense Minister Aneurin Bevan had retreated from the anti-nuclear clause and blocked traditional channels of influence. Mass demonstrations promised to be an effective vehicle of expression in a political system that was apparently somewhat sensitive to mass “voice.”¹⁴ During an era when Britain was losing its foreign colonies one by one, citizens became concerned with the idea that the government held such destructive weaponry. They now felt they had a duty to press for governmental policy change, change which could only be successful if the government witnessed mass opposition from its citizenry. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Britain observed a surge in anti-nuclear weapons protests. From 1960 to 1970, the University of Manchester alone witnessed ten anti-nuclear weapons protests that each gathered several hundred participants.¹⁵ By demonstrating their frustration at the hegemonic power of the British state, citizens took the energetic role of activists and pushed for changes to policies instituted by an older generation that had been ravaged by war.

British citizens during the 1960s also turned their attention to the issue of the Vietnam War, with organizations such as the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign calling for the war’s immediate end. In his 1987 autobiography, British activist Tariq Ali describes his desire to push for the demilitarization of Vietnam. Based on his attendance at the 1965 Helsinki Peace Conference and speaking with Vietnamese individuals affected by the war, Ali comments: “We had to do everything in our power – if necessary turn the world upside down – to help the Vietnamese drive

¹³ Stuart, *Granny Made Me an Anarchist*, 102.

¹⁴ Messina, “Postwar Protest Movements in Britain,” 422.

¹⁵ Sarah Louise Webster, “Protest Activity in the British Student Movement, 1945-2011” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2015), 148.

the Americans out of their country.”¹⁶ Tariq Ali had also visited the war-torn areas of Vietnam in 1967, noting in a journal entry on January 29, 1967:

There are mangled dead bodies. There is a hospital with Red Cross markings, which has been singled out and destroyed. If the shelters had not been evacuated, the casualties would have been very high. I look for military targets. There are none. Sadness mingles with anger and rage. Would the Americans ever bomb a European city in this fashion today? The Vietnamese are clearly not human beings as far as Washington is concerned.¹⁷

Counterculture historian Holger Nehring notes that the British had “rejected American consumerism as potentially totalitarian and regarded the American intervention in Vietnam as a novel form of colonialism that would pacify powerful capitalist interests in the United States,” with some British protesters even expressing their anger at U.S. policies by burning American flags.¹⁸ British citizens were not necessarily anti-American, but they were strongly against American foreign policy and expressed this concern through large-scale demonstrations and marches filled with anti-Vietnam War rhetoric. One demonstration held in Trafalgar Square in London on March 17, 1968, rallied nearly 10,000 protesters, many of whom had heard of the march via university student newspapers.¹⁹ As they marched to the American embassy, tensions with police grew, resulting in the arrest of nearly 200 protesters and some sustaining minor injuries. These types of protests show that British citizens of the counterculture actively used their voices and bodies to try to produce change in a world that was still struggling with imperialist powers. As citizens of arguably the largest imperialist power, these individuals had seen the devastating effects of their government’s actions and wanted to effect drastic changes.

At the center of counterculture demonstrations was the large British student population who felt the need to fulfill their role as leaders of change. Reports in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign’s weekly bulletin after the October 1968 occupation of the London School of Economics provide insight into the motives behind the movement and the march’s result. Bulletin writer Dave Slaney notes that “the occupation of LSE still stands as a model for political action” where, by taking control of their own institution on a revolutionary basis, the LSE students

¹⁶ Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 61. Ali also mentions that he traveled to the United States and debated Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in a televised event regarding American involvement in the Vietnam War. Ali would comment that he believed he had won the debate.

¹⁷ Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 101.

¹⁸ Holger Nehring, “Great Britain,” in *1968 Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*, ed. Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 125-136, here 129-130.

¹⁹ “Come Demonstrate for Vietnamese Freedom!” *The Beaver*, February 29, 1968. London School of Economics students urged their fellow colleagues to “come together and demonstrate not only their solidarity with the Vietnamese but their solidarity with each other, a solidarity which [was] ultimately going to form the basis of the only real challenge to the kind of society [they] live[d] in.”

paved the way for students and workers in all capitalist institutions.²⁰ From 1960 to 1970, LSE witnessed twenty-four marches, eight pickets, three sit-ins, and four teach-ins where students attempted to function as the main voice for political opposition.²¹ Based on these statistics and documented calls for demonstration, the counterculture needed educated individuals to function as the leaders of their resistance to the status quo. Throughout the 1960s, the university setting provided a fertile breeding ground for political collectivization, allowing a diverse student body to converse frequently and in close proximity, which could only aid the exchange of ideas. Historian Jeremy Suri notes that “educational institutions provided the *infrastructure* for dissent within many societies. The words of prominent iconoclasts—writers as well as musicians and artists—supplied the *language* that allowed men and women to express their anger as they had not before.”²² Student leaders in these universities provided dissatisfied citizens with a new vocabulary for articulating and acting out their frustrations. In this setting, the British counterculture prompted its students to question the status quo, take a role as political activists, and use rhetoric to fire up a dissatisfied citizenry.

During an era marked by the intensity of the Cold War, British citizens in the 1960s started to question domestic and international status-quo policies. They asked why their government continued to hold on to destructive nuclear weapons that were capable of inflicting traumatic harm. They distrusted the American motives in the Vietnam War and called for its immediate end. Those who had taken on these roles as activists were mostly the college-educated, as they developed their leadership and communication skills that were essential to start a mass movement for change. As the British counterculture grew throughout the 1960s, more activists were willing to share their discontent with politics but were also willing to question everyday customs in society.

II. Customs

The British counterculture of the 1960s introduced new customs that challenged the older generations’ traditions and ideals. One of the most significant cultural developments in the 1960s was British Rock ‘n’ Roll and folk culture. Musicians and groups such as *The Beatles*, *The Who*, *The Zombies*, *The Rolling Stones*, and *The Kinks* became hugely popular, with multitudes flocking to see live performances. Testimony from those who experienced the 1960s music culture do reveal its enjoyable aspects, but also its commodification. Counterculture participant Jeff Dexter says music festivals “destroyed the underground” where everyone was trying to make a buck after Woodstock.²³ Counterculture historian Arthur

²⁰ Dave Slaney, “The Occupation of LSE” (1968), in *Voices of 1968*, ed. Mohandesi, Risager, and Cox, 234-235.

²¹ Webster, “Protest Activity in the British Student Movement,” 177.

²² Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 88.

²³ Green, *Days in the Life*, 318.

Marwick notes that this commodification resulted in British citizens' desire for something new and different. For example, *The Rolling Stones* were told by their manager Andrew Oldham to project a wild and anti-social image to distinguish themselves from the popular *Beatles*.²⁴ Because various movements in their country and around the world affected British citizens, they turned to music that mirrored their frustrations and need for change. People wanted to listen to music and mingle at live shows but in doing so created a mass market that allowed for the capitalist strategies of the music industry to infiltrate what had once been a personal and meaningful aspect of 1960s music. Despite this, the music culture of the 1960s provided a discourse from which young counterculture members were able to assess and challenge societal norms.

Young British citizens during the 1960s also expanded the drug culture and gave it greater publicity. Many social activists and counterculture-related journals at the time advocated for the use of drugs, especially marijuana, and pushed for its legalization.²⁵ For example, the LSE Students' Union's weekly paper, *The Beaver*, published several articles about the benefits of the legalization of marijuana. According to its editors, there was a "fascist climate of public opinion in Britain" and the government would

undoubtedly make itself very unpopular if it relaxed the harsh laws against pot at this moment. A minority of people would praise the government for being liberal-minded, but the vast majority of the British public would mark down yet another notch of grievance against it.²⁶

According to historian Elizabeth Nelson, there were two features of drug-taking that related to the heart of the counterculture:

it emphasized the user's separateness from a society which was regarded with contempt, and it reflected the importance attached by the counter-culture to the concept of 'self' as central, the belief that no social or political liberation could take place unless its primary concern was the freedom of each individual.²⁷

By participating in drug culture, whether it was by smoking marijuana or taking LSD, counterculture members sought to create new meaning in a society from which they felt disconnected. Similar to the effect of Rock 'n' Roll and folk music, drugs gave young British counterculture members the opportunity to challenge societal norms, even if it meant harming their bodies. With the increased exposure to drugs in their physical forms and in the press, British youth began to connect counterculture with drug culture, producing anxieties for the older generations.

²⁴ Marwick, *Sixties*, 460.

²⁵ Ali, *Street Fighting Years*, 127. Ali signed a petition to legalize marijuana and said there was some truth to the argument that big capitalist lobbies knew that marijuana was less harmful than tobacco and alcohol and refused to legalize it because "they fear[ed] massive loss in profits on drink and tobacco."

²⁶ "Deadly Pot," *The Beaver*, January 16, 1969.

²⁷ Nelson, *British Counter-Culture*, 93.

With various organizations calling for change, British youth also pushed for new conventions of expressing sexuality. In tune with the self-indulgent aspects of drug culture, and some would say as a result of drug stimulus, British youth became more open to expressing their individuality and sexuality. Edited by Jim Anderson with the help of high school students, the *Oz 28: School Kids Issue* of *Oz* magazine is the epitome of British youth culture wanting to explore perceptions of sexuality. This issue of *Oz* magazine contains multiple images with nude and phallic imagery displaying vulgar sexual situations, such as a comic strip depicting an anthropomorphic bear having intercourse with what seems to be a human named “Granny.”²⁸ One youth contributor, Roger Vartoukian, exclaims on one page: “Animals it seems have got a good thing going; they are protected and left to do what they want. Why can’t this sexual freedom be extended to us, after all, we’re only animals!”²⁹ According to *Oz* editor Jim Anderson: “We were into sexual freedom and sexual liberation and if we wanted to publish a picture with sexual content it would also have a point to make, and we would insist on publishing it.”³⁰ Referring to the content and imagery portrayed in this issue of *Oz*, Gender Studies scholar Melanie Bell points out that when it came to the representation of women’s sexuality, they were “frequently reduced to nothing more than a sex object, paraded across a range of cultural texts for the pleasures of the heterosexual male.”³¹ Counterculture participant Nicola Lane affirms Bell’s observation, stating that the 1960s were still male-dominated with

a lot of girls just [rolling] joints—it was what you did while you sat quietly in the corner, nodding your head. You were not really encouraged to be a thinker. You were there really for fucks and domesticity.³²

Despite this, however, the increase in sexual activity among youth became a key factor of the counterculture movement. British youth felt more comfortable actively expressing their sexuality and acting on their sexual urges, topics that were seen as taboo by their own parents and older generations.

This sense of being able to openly express their sexuality was not confined to heterosexual individuals. The counterculture also experienced a more accepting perspective of homosexuality. Passed in 1967, the Sexual Offense Act decriminalized homosexual acts in private between two men following protests and lobbying from organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front. Commenting on his involvement in group meetings despite being heterosexual, activist Andrew Lumsden observes: “The counterculture was there, drag queens were there, a

²⁸ Anderson, *Oz 28: School Kids Issue*, 14-15.

²⁹ Anderson, *Oz 28: School Kids Issue*, 14.

³⁰ Green, *Days in the Life*, 383. Anderson would later use this philosophy during the 1971 obscenity trial of the *School Kids Issue*.

³¹ Melanie Bell, “Young, Single, Disillusioned: The Screen Heroine in 1960s British Cinema,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 42 (2012): 79-96, here 81.

³² Green, *Days in the Life*, 321.

minority of lesbians, heavy-duty political people. Various people who'd worked on the Campaign for Homosexual Law Reform in the 50s and were horrified by the blatancy, the dangers, the backlash and so on."³³ With the prominence of activist voices against the state and changing views of society, homosexuals now felt more confident to be themselves and pursue their own interests.

As activists of the British counterculture were voicing their political dissent, they created new customs that would characterize their movement. With its emphasis on pleasure seeking and self-indulgence, the counterculture embraced Rock 'n' Roll and folk music as a means of expressing a longing for something different. Similarly, drug culture became a key characteristic of the counterculture, with participants actively engaged in marijuana and LSD experimentation as a means of protesting societal norms. Drug culture heavily impacted its participants' desire to express new forms of sexuality, with British youth increasingly engaged in sexual activities. As the British counterculture embraced these new customs that older generations had traditionally viewed as taboo subjects, it also featured images that came to be associated specifically with the idea of Britishness.

III. Images

British youth involved in the 1960s counterculture displayed elements of dress and fashion that highlighted their new attitudes of opposition toward the status quo. In order to be perceived as an authentic activist during this time, one had to have a certain look against conformity. According to counterculture participant Jeff Nuttall, male activists

appeared in the standard uniform at the time which was tattered jeans and dirty old donkey jackets. Everyone wore black. Really filthy: the tidemark around the neck was a badge of authenticity. Long black hair, filthy hair, always looking dead miserable as though they hadn't had a night's sleep for at least a week.³⁴

Historian David Fowler argues that men in the late 1960s British counterculture would not have had the confidence to sport such a different physical image if they had not been influenced by the Mods of the 1950s who dressed in tailor-made suits and hung around drug-fueled dancing clubs.³⁵ By dressing the way they did, the Mods of the 1950s and the males of the 1960s counterculture showcased their authenticity and opposition to traditional roles of masculinity imposed by adults who had lived during World War II. In a search for discipline and structure in a world running amok, adults valued the image of a clean-faced and well-dressed youth. As the counterculture started to gain momentum in the mid-1960s, British male citizens felt the need to display themselves in a way that differentiated them from older members of society and donned a dirtier and messier look. One was

³³ Green, *Days in the Life*, 321.

³⁴ Green, *Days in the Life*, 7.

³⁵ David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c. 1920-c. 1970: From Ivory Tower to Global Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 132.

not fully an active member unless one talked the way activists were supposed to talk, meaning with authority and confidence, and looked the way activists were supposed to look—a way that distanced them from so-called normal society, resulting in a new image of ironic conformity.

Britain during the 1960s set the standard for women's counterculture fashion. Films and newsreels from the archives of the British Pathé showcase the unique fashion statements many women during the 1960s made in an attempt to express themselves freely. Following a day in the life of the editors of *Intro* magazine in 1967, a British Pathé newsreel describing "Swinging Britain" recorded some of London's most outrageous fashion. The audio commentary remarks that these young people were "social rebels" that had an image that was "way out and weird." The video features women wearing orange hats with holes and even paper dresses, with one having the image of Bob Dylan's face printed on it. The tape also shows women parading in brightly colored short miniskirts and dresses embellished with tasseled fringes as they dance frenetically to psychedelic music.³⁶ According to counterculture historian Arthur Marwick, Mary Quant became the most influential British fashion designer during the 1960s when her "skirt(s) got shorter" and "stocking(s) became bold and patterned," even leaving fashion writer Ernestine Carter to declare 1963 as the "Year of the Leg."³⁷ At first unique to the London counterculture, this quirky and often scandalous fashion quickly became transnational. Wearing more revealing clothing and outrageous outfits provided women with a means to communicate their individuality, especially given that louder males often diminished women's political voices. Many British women felt the need to combat the conformity of docile housewives that had become popular during the postwar period. They rediscovered fashion as a form of self-expression against traditional values of modesty. However, this also became problematic, as the media often portrayed them only as sexual objects who did not have an active or prominent leadership position in social movements.

Central to the 1960s British counterculture was the image of the deviant youth. Teenagers and young adults during the 1960s had different perceptions of society, themselves, and their role in the status quo than the older generations. Youth distrusted the policies of their government, questioned the values placed on them by their parents, and felt the need to find a meaningful and "real" lifestyle. Sue Miles, a member of the 1960s counterculture, said her involvement was a protest against the values imposed on her by society: "We don't want jobs, fuck you! We don't want to go and do that—that's the last thing we want [...] I think it was

³⁶ *Swinging Britain Print* (London: British Pathé, 1967), accessed May 4, 2019. Audio commentary: 00:18; images of women wearing orange hats with holes: 00:29; images of the Bob Dylan-inspired paper dress: 02:39; images of the happening containing a psychedelic performance: 05:05-06:20. Interestingly, this segment also shows male performers wearing henna, a dye for temporary body art, on their faces, which reflects counterculture males' desire to be different from the status quo.

³⁷ Marwick, *Sixties*, 66.

probably the first time the children went to college without any idea of getting a job at the end of it.”³⁸ Journalist Nigel Fountain views the 1960s counterculture as a “lucky generation,” for

they missed the war, and grew up in a world where the expansion of affluence seemed infinite. With the typical gratitude of the young, they responded with protest, argument, and what their parents regarded as deviant behavior.³⁹

Both Miles and Fountain highlight the new sense of entitlement that many youths experienced after their parents saw greater prosperity after World War II. The late 1950s and early 1960s also witnessed a large increase in college attendance rates, where students were able to converse and debate with a variety of intellectuals. Observing that their parents were able to financially prosper due to the availability of consistent work, counterculture youth wanted to break free from this mold. Going to college, music concerts, or even just talking to new people made them value the importance of self-expression and the need for personal gratification.

Throughout the 1960s, the counterculture featured images that came to be associated with Britishness. Males in the counterculture were expected to have their hair longer and dress in disheveled clothing as a means to appear authentic. They were also expected to be college-educated or at least have the ability to communicate their thoughts in a meaningful and provocative manner. Women, however, remained marginalized, as few ever became prominent political leaders and organizers. Nonetheless, women, too, seized opportunities to express themselves more liberally through fashion, particularly in the freeing sense of miniskirts and clothing embellishments. At the center of the counterculture was the youthfulness of the men and women involved. With a lively energy to pursue their interests, the youth led the way through these social movements in an attempt to challenge and change traditional views and values.

Conclusion

As the world was experiencing many new changes and shifts in power, the British citizenry turned to counterculture ideals to voice their dissent. Print and visual media, testimonies, and official documents reveal insightful occasions of British youth culture fulfilling their roles as activists and creating new customs and images to differentiate themselves from previous generations. By questioning the status quo, participants in the British counterculture took the role as activists against what they perceived as injustices. Trained in the college setting to lead and communicate effectively, the youth protested against Britain’s stockpile of nuclear weapons, against their government’s alliance with the imperialist power of the United States, and against the latter’s involvement in Vietnam. Along with their role as activists, the British youth also introduced new customs into the

³⁸ Green, *Days in the Life*, 32-33.

³⁹ Nigel Fountain, *Underground: The London Alternative Press, 1966-74* (London: Routledge, Publishing, 1988), vii.

counterculture. They listened to music that reflected their sense of disillusionment and took drugs in an attempt to find stimulus in a society they deemed lacking in personal enjoyment. Freedom to express one's sexuality had been seen as taboo by the older generations, but the culture created by the youth thoroughly embraced sexuality. The movement's images of Britishness centered on appearances where men were expected to dress in a certain disheveled manner to reflect authenticity and women expressed themselves freely through scandalous fashion statements.

If using a cultural lens to study the social movements of the 1960s can shed light on the complex relationships between individuals, the state, and society in Britain, further analysis of other areas in the world can enrich the study of the global 1960s. Studies examining the social movements in specific African, Latin American, and Asian countries during the 1960s can provide greater knowledge about the transnational aspect of counterculture ideals. Not only did 1960s British counterculture highlight the appeal of building a common struggle, it set the tone for embracing a life where one need not feel ashamed of voicing one's opinion or acting to fulfill one's own self-interest. In the words of John Lennon:

We need to learn to love ourselves first, in all our glory and our imperfections. If we cannot love ourselves, we cannot fully open to our ability to love others or our potential to create. Evolution and all hopes for a better world rest in the fearlessness and open-hearted vision of people who embrace life.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ Quoted in Luminita D.Saviuc, *15 Things You Should Give Up to Be Happy: An Inspiring Guide* (New York: Perigree/Penguin Random House, 2016), electronic edition.

Shannon Deana Landreth and Anissa Lopez (editors)

*Family Matters in Post-Revolutionary War North America:
The Blackden-Stoddard Letters (July 8, 1800, to July 24, 1809)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

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SC 64.

War Memorabilia Collection.

Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.

July 8/10, 1800, to July 2/24, 1809.

Six letters (numbered 19 to 24 below).

Introduction

The six letters from early-1800s America that are edited here belong to the “Durkee/Blackden Correspondence” of the “War Memorabilia Collection” held in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. The letters were donated by Miss Florence Durkee of Brea, California, in 1973. The condition of the letters varies from fine to extremely fragile (letter 20 has separated into three pieces at the bottom). Each letter also features the occasional ink blot or hole. The letters are written in cursive in black (occasionally faded) ink on stationery paper that ranges in color between yellow and beige. Some of them display traces of the red wax seals with which they were sealed originally.

Written between July 8/10, 1800 (letter 19), and July 2/24, 1809 (letter 24), the letters’ postal addresses (of both senders and recipients) include the states of New York, Connecticut, Virginia, and Vermont. In letters 19 and 20, Samuel Blackden writes to his wife Sally (Sarah) Blackden (née Stoddard); in letter 21, Sally Blackden addresses one of her husband’s business contacts, Mr. Leavenworth; in letter 22, Josiah Stoddard writes to his aunt, the aforementioned Sally Blackden (whose brother’s name had also been Josiah); and in letters 23 and 24, Sarah (Sally) Blackden (by now a widow) writes to her sister Lydia Eldredge. The correspondence covers a wide range of subject matters, namely, personal business, such as getting one’s laundry done (letter 19), a nephew (young Ben) who “swears like a Virginian” (letter 20), a financier who has absconded to France with one’s funds (letter 21), another nephew (Josiah) who greatly esteems a young lady (Sally Riggs) (letter 22), and family members who are gravely ill (letters 23 and 24), as well as national and international affairs, such as an assassination attempt on King George III in a London theater and the Yellow Fever epidemic in New York (letter 19), deliberations in Congress, and a possible reference to the construction of the U.S. Capitol building (letter 21).

The letters offer insight into various family and business matters in post-Revolutionary War North America, but also a bottom-up perspective on other

local, regional, national, and international affairs. Therefore, they should be of particular interest to social and cultural historians.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Letter 19, S[amuel]. Blackden to Sally Blackden,
July 8/10, 1800, New York, New York*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [hole/tear in paper] [modern hand] 6 - From New York July 8 1800 - From S.B.

Mrs. Sally Blackden
Salisbury,
Connecticut

Front right:

New York July 8.th 1800¹

My Dear Sally -

This morning I received your kind letter of the first instant, I have wrote you twice before this, which were consign'[e]d to the care of Mr. Cotton for conveyance, if you have received them they inform'[e]d you of everything that could [be?] said at the time, but as I did not keep copies I dont know the dates, in future they shall be put down in my memorand[u]m - Mr and Mrs. Cotton have call'[e]d to see me once, and Mr. Cotton by himself once more within three weeks, my cloaths were sent home on Saturday ~~which~~ as arranged with her to be wash'[e]d, I asked the girl to call on Monday for my things, but three weeks has slip'[e]d by and I have neither seen nor heard from them, - the person that washes for the house took them last Monday - Mr. Cotton told me Mr. Carfield was in town, and he would bring him to see me, which he never did and whether he is gone or not I can't tell - Mrs. Ryckman call'[e]d once, I believe she is gone into the Country - I have neither seen nor heard of Mr. Tolman, Rogers was here about a fortnight ago he said he was going for a few days to the Country

¹ The letter was written over several days and contains a second date: July 10, [1800].

Back left: [traces of red wax seal]

Mrs. Sanders call'[e]d also, she is gone to New Brunswick²
 Mr. Farrell is with us, he desires his kindest respects to
 you - Some of the former letters mention'[e]d in[-]
 form[e]d you that I had written to Mr. Platt upon
 the receipt of the letter and parcell which was sent
 and the letter was given to Mr. Avery -
 From the appearance of European news, it is
 Generally believed that our Commissioners have suc[-]
 ceeded³ and we may hourly expect news from them
 By the English papers it appears that Pudding
 head⁴ had hired a drunken, crazy journeyman silversmith
 to fire a charge of powder at him in the Playhouse⁵
 in order to make a noise and produce another Waggon[-]
 load of addresses to the throne while the wretched Island [?]
 10.th July - In hopes of a private conveyance the foregoing
 has lain by, but now if I dont find One it will go by
 post - It is not possible for me to make the arrang[-]
 ment for your return, and if it was, at this moment
 when the whole City⁶ are trembling under the apprehension
 of a revisit of the epedemic,⁷ it would be imprudent, it
 more probable if I dont go to see Mr. J-[efferso?]-n⁸ - if means
 can be found I shall come up the North River⁹ -
 Rogers has return[e]d and call'[e]d yesterday, he desir[e]d
 a thousand good things to you, from himself and family
 Take no notice of L. H. the time may come I shall

Back right: [traces of red wax seal] [hole/tear in paper]

have it my power to gall his kibe¹⁰ - I never had
 any connection with him but once, and his conduct
 did not display either honor or honesty -
 To Miss Fitch I beg you to express my

² New Brunswick, New Jersey.

³ Possible reference to the end of the XYZ Affair and the Quasi War with France (1798-1800).

⁴ Nickname for King George III of England.

⁵ On May 15, 1800, James Hadfield fired a shot at King George III at London's Theatre Royal (Drury Lane). The king remained unharmed. Hadfield was incarcerated for insanity.

⁶ Most likely New York City.

⁷ The Yellow Fever epidemic of 1798-1803.

⁸ Presumably then U.S. Vice President Thomas Jefferson.

⁹ The Hudson River which runs between New Jersey and Manhattan.

¹⁰ To tread on someone's toes. See William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (act 5, scene 1).

grateful feelings for her friendly attention to you,
 nothing in the world could lay me under so
 much obligation, and it is with a pleasing hope
 I anticipate the hour, when I shall have it within the
 compass of my abilities to shew her how sensible
 I am of her kindness, to the rest of our friends say
 all the kind things that are due - give my [...] ¹¹
 respects to your Mother & Capt[ain]. Holmes, a[nd be assured?]
 of the affection of your S[amuel]. B[lackden].

*Edition: Letter 20, S[amuel]. Blackden to Sally Blackden,
 June 12, 1801, Norfolk, Virginia*

Front: [bottom of page split into separate pieces]

Norfolk June 12.th 1801-

My Dear Sally

We sail[e]d at half past four oClock
 on Friday from New York and we arrived here Tues[-]
 day at the same hour consequently we were just four
 days, and though we had, wind, and rain, and calm,
 it may be accounted a good Passage, it was as to
 company agreable enough -
 It has rain[e]d ever since I arrived and so
 hard there is no looking out of doors, as soon as the
 weather clears up I shall proceed to Washington¹² -
 The family are in Good health, Betsy is a very
 fine girl, and in a few years will be tall enough, she is
 slender, very straight, has beautiful eyes, and the finest
 Eye lashes I ever saw, her education has been as much
 as possible attended to - Olive is a fine healthy child
 and young Ben is a forward ~~lad~~ boy, talks very plain
 and swears like a Virginian -
 I beg you to remember me kindly to all
 our friends, and respond upon hearing from me as soon
 as possible after my arrival at Washington, by which
 opportunity I shall inform you of what may Occur
 and of my route back - Till Then Accept my Dear
 Sally of the finest good wishes for your health
 from yours affectionately
 S[amuel]. B[lackden].

¹¹ Illegible deletion.

¹² Washington, DC.

Back: [bottom of page split into separate pieces, repair strips] [traces of red wax seal]
 [stamped postal seal] [modern hand] 4 -From Norwalk [sic] -June 12. 1801. - From S.
 B- to Dear Sally -25

Mrs. Sally Blackden
 Care of Mrs. I. Platt
 New Haven
 Connecticut

My Dear Sally
 Norfolk June 12th 1801 -

We sailed at half past four o'clock on Friday from New York and we arrived here this day at the same hour consequently we were just four days and though we had wind and fair, and calm it may be accounted a good passage, it was as to company agreeable enough -

It has rained ever since I arrived and so hard there is no looking out of doors, as soon as the weather clears up I shall proceed to Washington -

The family are in good health, Betty is a very fine girl, and in a few years will be tall enough, she is slender, very straight, has beautiful eyes, and the finest eye lashes I ever saw, her education has been as much as possible attended to - Olive is a fine healthy child and young Ben a forward ^{boy} ~~and~~ talks very plain and means like a Virginian -

I beg you to remember me kindly to all our friends, and depend upon hearing from me as soon as possible after my arrival at Washington, by which opportunity I shall inform you of what may draw and of my health -

I am, Dear Sally, ever
 Yours of the finest good wishes for your health
 from yours Affly
 (S.P.)

Figure 1: Letter 20, S[amuel]. Blackden to Sally Blackden, June 12, 1801, Norfolk, Virginia.

*Edition: Letter 21, S[arah=Sally?]. Blackden to [Mr. Leavenworth?],
August 29, 1801 [?], New York, New York*

Front: [modern hand] 8 -From New York -Aug. 29. 1802 [sic] -S. Blackden

New York Aug[u]st 29 - 1801¹³

D[ea]r Sir¹⁴

By the arrival of Mr. Sand [?],

I am made happy in hearing of your

Health and prosperity and most

sincerely do I wish for its continu[-]

ance

Hearing nothing worth -

communicating I hope you will

Excuse me if woman like I talk

about my self - I have for these seven

years past been tossing about from

place to place without any settled

habitations - Mr. Sw[a]n¹⁵ who Mr. B[lackden]

says owes him a great deal of money

has left the country having convey[e]d

away all his property, and I am

convinced he does not intend to return

On Issues of Congress the

particulars of which you can know

from Mr. Barlow letters¹⁶ have been

Requested [?] - but from an interview

Mr. Blackden has lately had with the

president¹⁷ we are flattered with

the hope of yet obtaining some -

thing the next session of Congress

Mr Blackden is y[e?]t cabable

of doing busyness but without a

Cupulal¹⁸ [?] it is impossible here

¹³ According to *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 36 (December 1, 1801, to March 3, 1802), 274, Samuel Blackden died before January 11, 1802, when his widow Sarah Blackden continued his petitions. Since Sarah/Sally still refers to Mr. Blackden as alive in this letter, it must have been written on August 29, 1801 (not 1802).

¹⁴ Based on the letter's ending, the addressee is probably Mark Leavenworth, one of Samuel Blackden's business contacts.

¹⁵ James Swan (1754-1830), financier.

¹⁶ Joel Barlow (1754-1812), poet, diplomat.

¹⁷ U.S. President Thomas Jefferson.

¹⁸ Possibly cupola (capital dome). The U.S. capitol building was under construction at the time.

Back:

to do anything to any purpose - but
 cou[l]d he be usefully employed he
 wou[l]d willingly come to France
 or if you are of an opinion that
 something might be recovered from
 D'allund on Sw[a]n the affairs would
 Be worth pursuing - in that
 my friend you already see my situation
 is peculiarly unpleasant and beg
 you on that account to pardon the
 liberty I take in writing to you
 thus freely and of asking a price
 from you by the first possible
 conveyance - present me in the
 kindest manner to Mrs. Le[a]venworth
 and Believe me your sincere
 friend S[arah]. Blackden

*Edition: Letter 22, J[osiah]. Stoddard to Sarah Blackden,
 May 15/16, 1803, Geneva, New York*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [modern hand] Geneva May 16th. - Paid 20 - 19 -
 May 15 1803 - From J Stoddard - Mrs. Sarah Blackden - New York

Geneva May 16th
 Paid 20
 Mrs. Sarah Blacken
 New York

Front right: [traces of red wax seal]

Geneva 15th May 1803
 My Dear Aunt
 The length of time that has elapsed
 since we have interchanged letters has deprived me
 almost of a subject on which to write you.
 I shall only make one apology for this seeming
 neglect, which is that I have been frequently told
 that you were going to France and from the reports
 believed you were there until my brother Rich[ar]d
 told me he saw you in N[ew]. York this spring.
 I am certain there is not one of your friends that
 holds you in higher estimation than I do and
 hope we may be in future more liberal with
 our pen ink and paper. I was at Rich[ar]d[s] house

last week where I found Father and Richards wife very unwell, the latter so much so that I think it doubtful whether she ever recovers her health again. Richard contemplates sending her to N[ew]. York and Long Island for the benefit of the sea air, I shall probably accompany her and shall make it my business to find you immediately on my arrival in the City. If it should so happen that I should not accompany my sister I hope you will do me the honour to write

Back left:

me. I am a[-]shamed of my neglect in this instance, but I do think you are also a little dilatory in these matters too.

Those of your friends and acquaintance in this Country are in general in very good health and often speak of you. Mylan Holly is in Canandaigua¹⁹ and proposes settling in that town in the profession of Law, he appears to be a very good young man and I think will do business to advantage.

There is now in this town a young Lady from Mendham N[ew]. Jersey by the name of Sally Riggs who will return in a few days to New Jersey by the way of N[ew]. York she is a very fine worthy young lady and is much respected by our friends and acquaintance in this Country. I shall not hesitate to tell so good a friend as you are to me, that I esteem hir very much and if accident should throw hir in your way I hope you will take particular notice of hir. Hir parents are wealthy and respectable people and live about 25 miles from N[ew] York She is a very fine Girl tho not very handsom, poseses

Back right:

a good mind and is very friendly She will be proud of an acquaintance with you and I am certain she will derive much benefit from an acquaintance with a person that has seen as much of the world and mixed with the

¹⁹ Location in New York state.

polite circles as you have, I do not know that
 you will ever see hir but if you should
 do remember hir on my account. I shall
 do all in my power to persuade Sister
 Sally to go to New York where if I accompany
 her I hope to see you -
 Accept my best [?] wishes for your
 future hapiness -
 Yours sincerely
 J[osiah.?] Stoddard

*Edition: Letter 23, Sarah Blackden to Lydia Eldredge,
 January 8, 1808, New York, New York*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [hole in paper] [stamped postal seal] New York
 Jan. 9 [?] [modern hand] - 23 - From Greenwich Str N.Y. - Jan[uary]. 3. 1808 - From
 Sarah Blackden

Miss Lydia Eldredge
 Burlington
 Vermont

Front right:

Jan[ua]ry 8th 1808 - Greenw[ic]h Street²⁰ n[o.] 266
 My dear Sister,
 I have within a few days written
 to Sister Bennett and inclos[e]d my letter in
 one to Mrs Stanton two days after I receiv[e]d
 one from Mrs Stanton, and as she mentions her
 intention of going soon to Connecticut I
 fear She will not get my letter till her
 return to Vermont - it is therefore best I
 think for Bettey to write her and let
 her know the contents of my letter in
 case she is to be absent for a long time
 This however I consider of no great
 consequence and is by no means the
 cause of my writing to you I write
 Because I have long contemplated the
 propriety of addressing you once more
 Before the opportunity - is past of saying

²⁰ Historic street in Manhattan.

Back left: [hole in paper]

to you that I am well informed of the very
 alarming state of your health and that it is
 my most earnest desire to see you once more
 whether I do or not depends on the progress
 of your disease - and getting the means
 to accomplish the journey but all is
 uncertain and while I am meditating upon
 an Event that may take place and which
 to me would be Sorrow indescribable I may
 Be laid upon a sick bed and go to my Grave
 long before you, wou[l]d to god it migh
 Be so - and that you may be yet spared to
 your friends spared to your family that god
 wou[l]d lead you that he wou[l]d make thee such
 as he wou[l]d have us all to be, gives us daily
 increase of charity strengthen our faith
 confirm our hope, may he see thy children
 and all those that wou[l]d come to him even if they
 Be afar off and bring us all to the full
 fruition of the glory and perfection of
 god and

Back right: [hole/tear in paper]

the Father the Son and the holy Ghost to whom
 Be praise honor and adoration given by all angels
 and all men and all Creatures now and forever
 more - give my most affectionate regard
 to Sister Bennett and tell her she little
 knows how much I rejoice at any good that may
 happen to her and her children and that
 I hope her present prospects may be
 [en]larged [?] - Let me hear from you al[l?]
 [and?] that without delay - love to Char[...]²¹
 and Lydia and Polly Mr & Mrs Smith
 to there children and Suitable regards
 to your good and much respected
 Husband - and believe me with the
 most earnest solicitude for your health
 and life your very affectionate Sister
 Sarah Blackden

²¹ Illegible deletion.

There will [be?] no war²² - tell the girls
to write immediately -

*Edition: Letter 24, S[arah]. Blackden to Lydia Eldredge,
July 2/24, 1809, Salisbury, Connecticut*

Front left: [traces of red wax seal] [hole in paper] [modern hand] 1 - July 24 1809
From S.... - Salisbury - July 24th 1809 - 1

Salisbury July 24th 1809

17

Mrs Lydia Eldredge

Burlington

Vermont

Front right:

Salisbury July 2[n]d 1809

This letter My dear Sisters is equally
addressed to you Both I write because it is
my duty to write and let you know what
~~you~~ I am sure you both wish to know
and can learn from no one So well as my[-]
self, I give you no information with
respect to our Mother with any idea of
making you uneasy because more is not
done for her, she knows and we all
know that you do all for her that
is in your power, were you both nearer
to her you now might be of great
assistance to her, that assistance and that
aid and help that she lent to us when
we were unable to think or ask for
our selves - I have now been with her better
than two months and in all that time I
think she has been rapidly declining
her voice is extremely feeble her
memory has fail[e]d her very much and
at tim[e]s is quite unable to get to the
Bed or Back to the same [?] without
help she has indeed fallen down
several

²² Presumably with Britain.

Back left:

tim[e]s and then observes to me that she shall never walk any more that the grave is open for her and that she shall soon go and be united to her children and then is extremely grieved that she cannot see Lydia and Olive once more and then gets your stockings and will have them on and the cap you sent her and takes down my towel and hangs up yours to let me see that I must not think so much of what I do for her, sometimes she puts her finger on the darn²³ in the stocking you sent - says that it looks just like you and that she means to keep them - but she has worn them almost out, after all this she falls a[-] sleep and then wakes up full of gratitude for what I have done she says she must have died if I had not come to her reliefe it is true I have done a great deal for her and never have I known any pleasure or satisfaction equal to that of preparing a little victuals and sometimes

Back right: [traces of red wax seal] [hole in paper]

feeding her as you wou[l]d feed an infant she frequently makes me read to her and often gives me the 12 part of the 119 psalms²⁴ (Watts) to read - saying that is her case and will god pardon will he forgive will god have mercy on her this is what she says and is no doubt sensible of her approaching end I do not however think she will die so soon as many apprehend - Some are of opinion that

²³ Mend.

²⁴ Presumably a reference to Psalm 119, Part 12 ("My God, consider my distress"), written by Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and published 1806.

she will not live till September whether
she does or not I must le[a]ve her[.] the misirable
state of my own health and other cares
oblige me to quit for the present
we are now trying to get some one
to take care of her and if I get better
and she shou[l]d live I will endeavor to
come again as soon as I can
Present my tender regards
to your Husband and children to the
Sister amos Eldredge & her children
and Believe me your
Affectionate Sister
S[arah] Blackden
Mrs J[onat?]han & Mrs
Amos Eldredge

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Raumi Majd Kinan, Joshua Kyle Kreeger-Johnston,
Timothy Joseph Mancillas, and Sierra Rey Sampson (editors)

*"I have mingled extensively with all kinds of people":
Azariah Ashley Bancroft's Recollections (1880-1884)*

Shelfmark

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Introduction

The following is the first critical edition of the *Recollections* of Azariah Ashley (A. A.) Bancroft (1799-1885), contained in a leather-bound volume with approximately 100 pages (some blank) and held in the University Archives and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The volume was purchased from Zeitlin (& Ver Brugge), a Los Angeles-based rare books dealer, on December 17, 1969, for \$500. Its light beige pages are reasonably well preserved; however, the condition of the spine is compromised as pages have mostly separated from it. The volume's slightly faded, black-ink, cursive script remains fully legible. Some entries have been crossed out. Although the *Recollections* were written by A. A. Bancroft, he stated that the book was the property of his son, the noted California historian Hubert Howe (H. H.) Bancroft (1832-1918), "as he furnished the blank" (i.e., the blank volume). Not only did A. A. assemble the memories of his life, he also included copies of letters.

A. A. Bancroft began writing his *Recollections* at the request of his son in October 1880 while living in Oakville (Napa Co., California) (ms. p. 1), and he completed the composition while in San Francisco on August 7, 1884 (ms. cover page). Bancroft was born on January 25, 1799, in Granville, Massachusetts. His family moved to Lewis Lake, Pennsylvania, in 1809, and then to Granville, Ohio, in 1814. He married Lucy Damaris Howe, a teacher, on February 22, 1822. Six of the couple's children lived into adulthood. Bancroft participated in the famous circular hunt at Gibbons Deadening in 1823; he worked on the Ohio and Erie Canal in the late 1820s/early 1830s; he hosted the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery Society in his barn in 1836 (because Granville's local churches refused to do so); he traveled to California (via New York, Havana/Cuba, and Panama) in 1850 in the context of the Gold Rush; he worked as an "Indian Agent" on behalf of the U.S. government in the territory of the Yakama Nation (Washington state) in 1861; and he subsequently settled in Oakville. He and his wife adopted an

Apache girl (Susan) in 1872. Lucy Bancroft died on February 8, 1882, while her husband was still working on his *Recollections*. Bancroft himself passed on March 21, 1885, only a few months after completing the *Recollections*. Bancroft did not record his memories in a strictly linear fashion: he circles back to certain events that apparently impacted him profoundly, such as his first day at school; his family's move to Pennsylvania; and his travel to California in 1850.

The tone of the *Recollections* is rather personal, with many tender comments regarding members of Bancroft's family and friends (and not so favorable ones regarding one of his school teachers). There are numerous references, both direct and indirect, to the Old and New Testament, Christian hymns, and Bancroft's personal faith. In addition, the *Recollections* mention significant events in U.S. history that occurred during Bancroft's lifetime, such as the War of 1812, the California Gold Rush (1848-1855), the cholera pandemic of 1852, and the American Civil War (1861-1865). Considering that Bancroft's wife was a former teacher, his son-in-law (George Hunter Derby) a bookseller, and his own son (Hubert Howe Bancroft) a publisher and acclaimed author, it comes as no surprise that there are also a few literary allusions, including those to a poem by William Cowper (1731-1800) and novels by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911). Bancroft himself recounts the story of "Putnam and the Wolf" from his school books because it left a lasting impression on him (and because he was specifically asked to include it).

A. A. Bancroft's *Recollections* should be of interest to those studying nineteenth-century U.S. history, the abolitionist movement, the westward movement, relations with the Indigenous, immigration to California, and the history of mobility and alterity. The *Recollections* demonstrate the intersection of significant nineteenth-century historical events with A. A. Bancroft's personal life. Events taught in the classroom receive new life when presented through the eyes of an individual who personally experienced or lived during these events. The *Recollections* are also an intimate personal account and should appeal to readers interested in the history of family, labor, mentality, and spirituality in nineteenth-century America. The *Recollections* provided the foundation for some of the stories H. H. Bancroft used in his works on California and western history.

The transcription below preserves the spelling and capitalization of the original volume; "[sic]" has been used sparingly (and not when words are merely spelled phonetically), and "[?]" appears only when a transcription is unclear. Some additional punctuation has been added [in square brackets] to enhance readability. A. A. Bancroft included page numbers at the bottom of each page, but this edition places them at the top of each page. The headings below are those of the original manuscript; occasionally these headings are preceded by a single "x" which has been omitted in the edition below, as have the occasional asterisk markings [*] in the text that appear to have been added by a later hand. The edition has been annotated to include identifications of most persons, locations, events, and key subject matters mentioned in the text.

Edition: Azariah Ashley Bancroft's Recollections (1880-1884)

Cover page:

This Book should be considered the property of H[ubert]. H[owe]. Bancroft,¹ as he furnished the blank, and it was writ[t]en at his urgent request. the writing I know has done the writer good, & if it amuses or tends to give grandchildren or great grandchildren a clue to the early lives of some of their Ancestors, & there times, it will answer its end[.]

A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft
809 G[u]errero St² San Francisco Cal[ifornia]
Aug[ust] 7 1884

Page 1:

Oakville³ Napa County Cal[ifornia] Oct[ober] 1880

Some early recollections of A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft

Portions of my family have from time to time, urged me to note down something of my early recollections for amusement of children & grandchildren, and I have finally overcome my strong disenclination to it, & make the attempt.

First my grandparents

My grandparents on the Pratt⁴ side of the family were, Gerard Pratt⁵ & Dorcas Ashley.⁶ They lived upon their old home farm, afterwards owned by their soninlaw, Col[onel] James Barlow, was one & a half miles from Fathers. Grandfather reserved two acres of good garden [sic] land with some fruit trees also six fine seek-no-farther appletrees[.] They were aged & infirm[.] when I was a small Boy I used to help him dig and store his potatoes, & apples, & sell his fine apples by the dozen in the spring. He had a kind heart & usually kept a stock of nuts and fruit in their season for the grandchildren[.]

Page 2:

He had one peculiarity of wearing his broad brim[m]ed hat constantly, When he went to bed, he would hang his hat upon the bed post & put it on first thing, when he went to the table he ~~table~~ would take his hat off & hold it untill had asked the blessing, and then put it on. Was a man of few words, & fond of hunting & fishing. My grandfather Bancrof[t],⁷ & grandmother Elizabeth Spellman,⁸ were both good

¹ (1832-1918), A. A. Bancroft's son.

² Address (Mission District, San Francisco); current structure built 1906 (after the earthquake).

³ Town (Napa Valley, northern California).

⁴ Pratt is the family name of A. A. Bancroft's mother, Tabitha Pratt Bancroft (1771-1842).

⁵ (1739-1826).

⁶ (1736-1813).

⁷ Lt. Samuel Bancroft (1737-1820).

⁸ Elizabeth Spelman Bancroft (1740-1836).

talkers she was devotedly Pious. He spent some years in the French and Indian war,⁹ & then in the revolution,¹⁰ serving as a Lieut[enant]. He was a good story teller & fond of company, & I never became sleepy, at night while listening to his war stories. I had sheets of his continental money¹¹ to play with which were never cut apart & wholly worthless. This was his pay for years of service, helping to secure our Independence He died before the law was passed by congress remunerating those old soldiers.¹² He had three sons Azariah[,] Samuel & Barber and five daughters Diana, Rhoda, - -¹³ They both lived to old age[,] grandMother ninety five, & then her death was hastened by means of a fall on slip[p]ery door steps[.]

Page 3:

My Parents

My Father¹⁴ was not of sound health since my remembrance; Always more or less afflicted with Asthma, was quite active for light work in the open air, of good judgment in general matters, both were pious, both had very good governmint, in family without much use of the Black Birch.¹⁵ My Mother was tall & slim of statu[r]e, of a tough wiry constitution, and the way she could turn off her work was a marvel[.] I recollect a private remark father made to me when quite young, was my Mother was worth any two of her sisters, in rearing a family. She was a full hand in all branches of household work, & was I trust devotedly Pious.

Our Newengland farm & farming

Our farm was of rather a hard portion of Mass[achusetts]. Strong and somewhat hilly, our team for farm work was one yoke of oxen, and one gentle horse hi[t]ched before, and driven with a long whip ~~driven~~ the same as the oxen, as obedient to the word, and often without a Bridle, in plowing, it was requisite for a boy to walk beside the team, to keep them straight, When I was 6 or seven years old I done considerable such driving, for my father, I recollect well

Page 4:

one warm day as the sun was getting low, I became very tired & drop[p]ed some tears which my father noticed, sto[p]ped the team & taking me by the hand kindly asked me the cause, I whined a little & replied that I thought this too large a team

⁹ (1754-1763); conflict between the colonies of British America and those of New France.

¹⁰ (1775-1783); war for independence waged by the American colonies against Great Britain.

¹¹ Currency used between 1775 and 1783, issued by the Continental Congress.

¹² Either the 1828 "Act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the army of the revolution," or the 1832 "Act supplementary to the 'Act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the army of the revolution.'"

¹³ A. A. Bancroft apparently did not remember the names of these three aunts.

¹⁴ Azariah Bancroft (1768-1828).

¹⁵ Likely referencing a disciplinary tool made from the Black Birch tree.

for a boy 6 years old to drive all day, he patting me a little said he thought so too, & now you drive two rounds more & we will turn out. Well, after a number of plowings and harrowings we proce[e]ded to plant our little field of corn, father attached a a planting bag to his little boy, father with his hoe removed the stone, & prepared the hill, while I dro[p]ped the corn & he covered it, I suppose in this way we planted less than one acre per day. After I was 7 years old I I [sic] never attended school summers, My services were too valuable on the farm. I am helped to arrive at those dates in this way, I know the family left Mass[achusetts] in 1809, and left Penn[sylvania] in 1814. In my farm work I wore my linen frock, the same as the men, made like a shirt but only larger & courser. I helped plant & hoe corn and potatoes, reap grain, pull flax, rake hay &c.¹⁶ &c. My Father did not move to Granville Ohio¹⁷ in 1806, with the first colony were not quite ready at that time but followed some years later[.]

Page 5:

Our Family Sojourn in Penn[sylvania].

In the Spring of 1809 Doct[or] Stanberry¹⁸ of New York brought his friend Geo[rge] Lewis¹⁹ from New York, to Granville Mass[achusetts],²⁰ his object was to find a man that would hire to Mr Lewis for a term of years, to take charge of Mr Lewis business in Penn[sylvania], where he owned a few thousand acres, laying between the two branches of the Susquehan[n]a,²¹ 75 miles below tioga Point.²² My Father hired to him with the family, at first for 3 years, at \$200 per annum, & afterwards two more for \$300, Mr L[ewis] furnish provisions. This was a cold Mountain section of country, heavily timbered with Hemlock, & black Birch, with an undergrowth of Laurel & detached rock. On the top was a beautiful Lake, of one mile in length & breadth, where he had resolved to spend a fortune upon. could raise grass, oats, & potatoes, Pork & flour were brought on waggons ~~from~~ 20 miles from the Susquehanna valley[.] In Oct[ober] 1809 My Uncle Barber, fathers youngest Brother, & Heman Barlow, my cousin, took each a two horse team, & brought our small effects, from Granville Mass[achusetts], to Lake Lewis,²³ 200 miles. As we approached our location, word was carried to the settlement that, that our teams were assending the mountain[.] Israel Lewis the old mans Nephew, a fine young fellow who was visiting there mounted

¹⁶ Read: "etc."

¹⁷ Village (Licking Co., Ohio); established ca. 1805, named after Granville, Massachusetts.

¹⁸ Jonas Stanberry; father of the 28th U.S. Attorney General, Henry Stanberry.

¹⁹ (1756-1830).

²⁰ Town (Hampden Co., Massachusetts); settled 1736 by English colonists, incorporated 1754.

²¹ River (northeastern and mid-Atlantic U.S.).

²² Location (near the New York/Pennsylvania border).

²³ Location (near Union Dale, Pennsylvania), presumably named after George Lewis.

Page 6:

A horse and rode down & met us, greeting us pleasantly, & asking many questions, finally rode rapidly back, in high glee swinging his hat and shouting, I have seen the yankees, I have seen the yankees, well how do they look[:] W[h]y the old man is dried up old fellow, but looks as cunning as a fox. Yankees at that day and that isolated locality, were not in good repute. The people had little intercourse with except peddlers & sharpers,²⁴ whose aim was to impose the dutch. While moving through, we often had difficulty to get accommodations because we were yankees, but after an acquaintance of a few months, we found them the most confiding friends we ever had, Mr Lewis was an Englishman & a bachelor, of near 70 years[,] feeble & childish & only visited us about once a year, Father taking the entire charge, & proving to be just the man for the plow, harmonizing well with his employer. During our five years of sojourn, there, we opened a large farm, built miles of Stone fence, built quite a town, a good Sawmill, upon the out let of the Lake, built one large glass factory for window glass, and one for bottles all of stone. we had care of a large flock of sheep of fine breed. Mr Lewis bought some lots of merinos²⁵ direct from the ships that imported them[,] badly covered with

Page 7:

scab, the ew[e]s paid 300, & for the Bucks 500, he crowded them into horse carts, & sent them 150 miles, to the Lake by irresponsible persons. we arranged them judiciously in our Barns, & nursed them night and day, but a portion of them would die. And Mr Lewis censured father a little on this occasion, wondering why Bancroft let those sheep die. Father wrote him that he could nurse sheep as well as any man, but could not always keep the breath of life in them. But we had had our eye for some years fixed upon Granville Ohio, where we would meet many old friends, & kindred who emigrated thither nine years before, as a colony. So in Sept[ember] 1814, we settled up amicably with Lewis, hi[t]ched up our own teams, & started for the promised land. We were on the road when our country rang with joyful news of Pease from the war of 1812,²⁶ and soon after of Jacksons²⁷ great victory, at New Orleans[.]²⁸

Of Granville Ohio

In 1805 A company was formed in Granville Mass[achusetts], to emigrate to the 'far West' in a colony. The company sent out two men [Stanbury and Rothburn],²⁹

²⁴ Gamblers.

²⁵ Breed of sheep.

²⁶ (1812-1815); conflict between the U.S. and the United Kingdom.

²⁷ Andrew Jackson (1767-1845); military commander, later U.S. President (1829-1837).

²⁸ Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815); American victory over the British forces.

²⁹ Names added later added at the bottom of the page, possibly by a different hand.

as agents to look for a suitable location, and after diligent search they fixed upon a township in Licking

Page 8:

in [sic] county³⁰, which took the name of Granville Ohio, & in 1806 they were formed into a congregational church,³¹ a sermon was preached at their starting from the text, If Thy presence go not with us, carry us not up thence.³² Then they hitched up their teams of oxen and horses driving their cows along, moved off in a hurry [?]. As I was not one of the favored colony, shall not attempt the incidents of the journey. They reached their destination late in the week, a heavy timbered tract, arranged their waggons near each other, fell a few of the large noble trees, and on sabbath morn, those woods rang with with the sound of prayer and praise. Having a good sermon read, they [had] such a season as those pioneers took pleasure, in recounting, . [sic] There is yet one living witness who partisipated in that season of worship, Deacon Timothy M. Rose.³³ This colony being princip[al]ly from one place, were nearly of one heart & one mind,³⁴ so they had schools immediately, & soon were able to settle a pastor. The Rev[erend] Timothy Harris³⁵ was their first. In this way Granville got the start of adjoining towns in morality & intel[l]igence & always kept it, They had the most schools, & the best & furnished teachers by the hundred for the great West. I am not prepared to state the number of schools & churches

Inserted between pages 8 and 9:

In the town. It is claimed that since that first meeting to come under the head of Granville Ohio³⁶

Some Snakes

The next year after the colony sittled in G[ranville] Ohio, they found their locality almost aliv[e] with snakes, the large yellow rattle snake five foot long, & the little dark copper head 2 feet long, of the two the copperhead was the most annoying & dangerous, was much more active & equally venemous, habits more sneaking liked to crowd himself into our cabbins[,] he gave no warning before biting, as did his noble Uncle of the rattling sp[ec]ies. (the rattle snake, almost invariably ratt[l]es, before he bites) The village of Granville was, n[e]arly surrounded by low hills, which were filled with free stone, & in the upper layers of stone, the snakes harbored in winter. In the early spring of 1807 the people took measures to try and

³⁰ Licking Co. (Ohio); established 1808.

³¹ Protestant Christian denomination.

³² Holy Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 33:15.

³³ (1762-1813).

³⁴ See Holy Bible, New Testament, Acts 4:32.

³⁵ (1781-1822); graduate of Middlebury College (Vermont); ordained 1808 in Granville (Ohio).

³⁶ The main narrative continues on page 9: "In the town."

reduce those pests. I was not there at that time, but I had the results from very good authority, and will let you have "it all the same." They assembled & chose sides as in other - con[tinued]

Inserted between pages 8 and 9 (continued):

hunts, and hunted two days, some dig[g]ing into those loose stone before they had left winter quarters, others scouring the county at large, they only Bag[g]ed the tails of the two venemous sp[e]c[i]es although in dig[g]ing they found snakes of all the common varieties, coiled together in the utmost harmony, all that seemed necessary for a complete fraternization was there Snakeship. It was said as a result of this two days hunt, they counted seven hundred tails of those two varieties. My Father moved into Granville a little later & there was no unusual number there then[.]

Page 9:

In the town. It is claimed by those who knew, that since that first meeting upon their first sabbath that no sabbath has occurred since, but what has been honored by public worship, in some form. When no preaching could be had, they would have what they called a Deacons meeting. There was this peculiarity in that township, there none very rich and none very poor, all were Kings & all subjects. Here all our children were born[.]

My Fathers Family

My Mother gave birth to eleven children, two having died in infancy,³⁷ and raising nine to mature age, four sons & five daughters Gerard,³⁸ Ashley,³⁹ Henry,⁴⁰ William,⁴¹ Lucretia,⁴² Matilda,⁴³ Rhoda,⁴⁴ Clarissa,⁴⁵ Charlotte.⁴⁶ They all reared families, all were pious all were members of the congregational church. Three sons & four daughters are supposed at this date to be living Jan[uary] 2[n]d 1882 there ages ranging from 89 to 75 years, rather a slender Brood but incline[d] to spin out life Without cont[r]oversity, they ware an admirable family, and I confidently trust they all, (yes every one) will have a place in those prepared mansions⁴⁷ above. And what more can we ask for them[.]

³⁷ For one of these, William Wilson (1803-1805), see below, manuscript pages 53, 61.

³⁸ (1792-1885). Most of the siblings were buried at Maple Grove Cemetery (Granville, Ohio).

³⁹ (1799-1885), the author of the *Recollections*.

⁴⁰ (1800-1890).

⁴¹ (1805-1870).

⁴² (1795-1856).

⁴³ (1797-1882).

⁴⁴ (1808-1892).

⁴⁵ (1796-1858).

⁴⁶ (1814-1887).

⁴⁷ See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

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But the great event of my life was

Entering into a marriage relation. Well, a long time ago, a little stammering Boy turned up from the rocks & hills of Mass[achusetts], who might eventually want a wife, and Infinite Benevolence took the case into his own hands, and being able to see the end from the beginning what better advocate could we possibly have, and as a compensation (or some other cause) for this grievous affliction entailed upon him[.] He was graciously inclined to bestow upon him a very great Boon, one of the very best wives in His keeping, and in accordance with this plan, He caused the damsels of his mighty realm, to pass before him, and strange to relate, in the green Mountains of Vermont,⁴⁸ one was found one with whom he was perfectly acquainted, which he knew would be the right person to fill the place. Now the parties were far removed from each other, & still farther removed from the scene of their future destination, which was Granville Ohio. And now the time drew nigh in which those young persons were to be prepared for their work, & for each other therefore the great moving power gave them good parents to train them, & good associations and could clearly see that they would rear a family of children that they would not be ashamed of.

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And now in accordance with the great plan I was sent out from Mass[achusetts] to Ohio, a few years in advance of my mate, and four years later there was a movement in a family in Vermont, who bid farewell to friends and started for the west, there mode of travel was rather primitive, one ox team, & one of horses driving or leading a cow, it was not a fast train, as they consumed, seven weeks to a day in the Journey from St Albans,⁴⁹ V[ermon]t to granville Ohio. Mr Curtis Howe,⁵⁰ had a Brother who owned a farm North of fathers, where the emigrants stop[p]ed, but they soon bought the farm on the south of fathers. The second day after their arrival, I was walking from fathers towards town, I met two persons[,] one proved to my sister Matilda, the other Miss Lucy D[amaris] Howe, my sister gave a slight introduction & passed on, but not untill I had seen a great deal, my eyes were fixed upon this new object, & I could not tell why, nothing escaped me, not even her dress, which I should think was scarlet alopaca⁵¹ & well fitted. Dont know exactly how it was, whether the dress became the person, or the person the dress, but taking them together I thought them the finest establishment I had ever

⁴⁸ North-south mountain range in Vermont. The parents of Lucy Damaris Howe (1799-1882), A. A. Bancroft's (future) wife, were married in 1798 at St. Albans (Franklin Co., Vermont).

⁴⁹ St. Albans (Franklin Co., southwestern Vermont); settled 1785.

⁵⁰ (1772-1871); Lucy Damaris Howe's father and A. A. Bancroft's (future) father-in-law. Curtis Howe originally hailed from Granville, Massachusetts, as well.

⁵¹ Perhaps "alpaca."

seen, Poor Ashley, he was rather smitten, & dare not make a move, but he had one resource,

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he knew the way to a throne of grace,⁵² and his prayer for months was, that god would give him a companion that should prove a rich & lasting blessing to him. And how wonderfully that prayer has been answered. Miss Howe when she started out from her Uncles log cabbin that morning, did not know that she was going forth into the street, to meet him who was ~~to~~ appointed to be her companion, during a pilgrimage of ~~more than sixty~~ ~~eighty~~ years.⁵³ What a wonder working God is our God who works~~ing~~ all things after the councils of His will.⁵⁴ Help us to trust Him. When I first met Miss Howe coming up to my fathers house, her object was to rent one of our chambers to do some work as her Uncles cabbin was small & dark. Lucius D. Mower⁵⁵ a young man somewhat profane one of our merchants, met Miss Howe soon after her arrival [and] asked one [of] his chums who she was, when told [he] remarked she is develish handsome. Miss Howe united with the congregational church of St Albans V[ermon]t in 1817 & next year brought her church letter⁵⁶ to Ohio. When she arrived there were about a dozen young persons myself included had been examined for membership, so that Miss was admited by letter on the same day that I was admit[t]ed on profession. Our Pastor at that time was the Rev[erend]

Page 13:

Timothy Harris. Miss Howe taught school some in Granville, & then in Irville⁵⁷ 20 miles east of Granville on the Zanesville⁵⁸ road. While she was in Irville I wrote to her upon this absorbing subject, It was only a few lines, but she was able to understand them, the reply came in due time, [and] was quite brief and noncommit[t]al. She remarked that her school would close in a few weeks, she should then return home. Well, we were both rather backward and she slow to pledge herself, but when I got encouragement that I thought reliable, my mental response was Bless the Lord o my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name.⁵⁹ Were not touched with doubts & fears after this. Mis[s] Howe helped her

⁵² See Holy Bible, New Testament, Hebrews 4:16 (a metaphor for praying).

⁵³ The corrections here appear in a different hand. A. A. Bancroft was referring to his and his wife Lucy's lifespan which, since both were born in 1799, had surpassed eighty years when he started writing his *Recollections* in 1880. The correction to "sixty" is therefore a reference to their married life together (1822-1882).

⁵⁴ See Holy Bible, New Testament, Ephesians 1:11.

⁵⁵ (1793-1834). His 1824 red brick house in Granville, Ohio, is still standing.

⁵⁶ A reference to transferring church membership "by letter."

⁵⁷ Community (Muskingum Co., Ohio); established ca. 1815.

⁵⁸ City (Muskingum Co., Ohio); established as Zanesville 1801.

⁵⁹ Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 103:1.

father ~~her~~ with own earnings in building his house on the farm, & then by teaching & making straw bonnets, she made her outfit for her marriage. my visits during the intervening time, sometimes at her fathers, & then at places where she was teaching, were pr[e]cious seasons, the utmost harmony prevailing. Can call distinctly to mind whin I put to the Hon[orable] Curtis Howe, rather a leading question. When I asked (him by letter) if he would bestow upon me his oldest daughter, he graciously replied well, I think it would be a precious gift, & I - thought - so - too; But the preciousness of the gift did not so much at first appear, untill we had traveled the rugged

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path of life a few years, & she had began to stamp her image upon our offspring, & then point them to heaven, then I understood better the value of the gift. Our marriage which occurred on wife's birth day 23 years of age Feb[ruary] 22, 1822 was not so brilliant as some I have read of but quite enough so for the times & the parties were greeted by no other than pleasant faces. And now after some solicitude on my part this tall Green Mountain girl had become legally mine and how shall we construe the teachings of a kind parent in this case. We can but expect some good results from this union, in comeing generations. The plan of my parents were for me to occupy the home farm and live with them, but a few months after our marriage W[illia]m Stanberry⁶⁰ Esq[ui]re. a leading lawyer of our county & living in Newark⁶¹ 6 miles from us wanted a large residence built on his farm two miles below Newark, & as part payment would give a farm of 100 acres adjoining the town of Granville on the north, & two thousand dollars in cash & other property[.]

Hewing out our destiny

We closed our contract with d[octo]r Stanberry[,] we furnishing all materials & my father who was in poor health would would [sic] help what he could[.]

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Accordingly in august after harvest, I moved my young wife into a small cabbin on the Stanberry farm with two young men⁶² to help and first cleared the cite of a growth of small oaks, plowed & scraped out a cellar, and opened a stone quarry, and by that time every one of us were taken down with the ague⁶³ and in some of its fases, chills shaking or dumb ague and after struggling & suffering without help to care for the sick, we adjourned to our old home the neighborhood we left in G[ranville], was exempt from ague, & going to this low ground at this season we ought to have expul[l]ed it. Finally we adjourned our work on the job untill

⁶⁰ (1788-1873); half-brother of the 28th U.S. Attorney General, Henry Stanberry.

⁶¹ City (Licking Co., Ohio); settled 1802.

⁶² "Men" is a later insertion.

⁶³ Malaria-like disease; involves fever, shivering, and sweating.

spring & moved back to G[ranville] - where our first son⁶⁴ was born in Oct[ober]. After health was partially ~~we~~ restored we done something in the way of hauling logs to a number of saw mills for our lumber, and in the spring returned & made brick &c. My Brothers Gerard and Henry at time were carpenters, and with their apprintices done most of our work. Stanberry added extra work so that his house when completed cost him about \$4,000[.] at that time it was the best residence in Licking County. We had not the conveniences of Mill work in sash doors cornice⁶⁵ &c. all were now made by hand, so we were two years in building[.]

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Then we moved to our farm North of Granville where six of our children were born, all except Curtis.⁶⁶

My work on the Ohio Canal

I think I did not rest on the farm but a few months when work commenced on the Ohio canal.⁶⁷ My first contract of any note was quarrying, hauling & cutting the stone for two locks near the Muskingum River,⁶⁸ eight miles above Dresden⁶⁹ Father Howe being employed with me. This was a heavy laborious job ~~There were celebrated mills locks built at the locks mills dont remember their name~~ The stone used for those locks were sandstone laying in very large detached blocks upon the face of the hill above locks. we broke to suitable size, hi[t]ched a chain & with an ox team drew them down, did not load them upon wheels. My young energetic wife with very little help hearded [?] all our hands, and nursed our Babies[,] was with us there two years[.] I spent much of my time cutting stone, as I had had some experiences in work of that kind before going upon the canal. We made a little clear money on all of our jobs more or less, but upon the whole those jobs were not lucrative but we came off with honor in every instance.

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My last job of much note was sowing Blue grass seed upon the canal banks, and harrowing it in. The object of this was to prevent the banks from washing from rain. This job extended from Circleville⁷⁰ to Portsmouth⁷¹ 75 miles. It was a

⁶⁴ Curtis Azariah Bancroft (1823-1893).

⁶⁵ Ornamental molding around the wall of a room, just below the ceiling.

⁶⁶ These children included: Cecilia Marianne (1826-1868), Emily Matilda (1829-1907), Hubert Howe (1832-1918), Mary Melissa (1838-1933), Albert Little (1841-1914), and a boy who died in infancy. See Henry R. Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft and His Card String of Events (Continued)," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (December 1950): 357-367.

⁶⁷ Ohio and Erie Canal (Ohio); constructed 1825-1833.

⁶⁸ Tributary of the Ohio River (Ohio).

⁶⁹ Village (Muskingum Co., Ohio); incorporated 1835.

⁷⁰ City (Pickaway Co., Ohio); established 1810.

⁷¹ City (Scioto Co., Ohio); established 1803.

responsible job, as I knew better how it should be done, then the commmissioners or engineers, They however gave me much credit for its faithful performance. In 1834 I built a stone residence on our farm, cutting the stone myself, & ro[o]ffing it with tin, I was back there in 1873 & that roof was nearly as bright without paint as when put on, but the cause of this I suppose was being remote from sea breeze[.]

My Southern mistake

About this time it was discovered that there [was] fine farming land in the lower corner of Missouri, southwest of New Madrid⁷² and a number of families from Granville, includi[n]g our own moved down. It was a charming rich country, interspersed with small Prairies the best of soil & timber. But it had its draw back, it was too low & rich to be exempt from this dreaded miasma.⁷³ Well I struggled there about three years, more dead than alive, & then slid out of it not richer in money

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But in something else. I was in health quite low did not expect to regain it, but my constitution proved not only wiry but elastic & I was on my feet again.

The summer of 1849 was a very fruitful season in orchard products, & I built a flat boat on a feeder⁷⁴ of the canal, loading it with apples, cider, applebutter⁷⁵ and a multitude of other articles, and ran out into the Ohio River at Portsmouth & thence into the Father of waters,⁷⁶ selling as we went. But there was much cholera on the River that year, so that many p[e]ople were afraid of our fruit. We stop[p]ed some weeks at Memphis tenn[essee] selling princip[al]ly out, then ship[p]ing the ballance upon a steamer bound up red river.⁷⁷ And here again that fatal disease was at our heels, Two days ~~after~~ before we reached Shreveport,⁷⁸ I was taken with cholera⁷⁹ and I think ran a narrow escape. One night there among strangers, I expected to die much more than to live & the feelings I had for my family were difficult to express, & if I ever prayed, I did then, and the Lord heard my ardent prayer[,] rebuked my disease, and permit[t]ed me to reach home in safety and mingle with dear family & friends again, as he had done many times before & since, and blessed be his name[.]⁸⁰

⁷² City (New Madrid Co., Missouri); established 1778.

⁷³ Strong, unpleasant odor; associated with transferable diseases.

⁷⁴ Supply/tributary canal.

⁷⁵ Concentrated applesauce.

⁷⁶ Mississippi River.

⁷⁷ Tributary/distributary of the Mississippi River.

⁷⁸ City (Caddo Parish, Louisiana); founded 1836.

⁷⁹ Infectious disease; causing diarrhea and extreme dehydration.

⁸⁰ See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 113:2

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The gold fever

Early in the spring of 1850⁸¹ a company of about 30 persons moral and respectable men, from our part of Licking County were about to start from Granville to California and I cast in my lot with them. Procured through tickets on steamer & started early in March & on reaching Panama⁸² the Steamer Columbus⁸³ had not reached Panama, & our Consul said probably she would not for one month[.] as we did not like to stop there we exchanged our tickets for a sail vessel with some boat, it was the Bark Susan⁸⁴ of 300 tons[.] The Capt[ain] & ship were both promising, and we started out under favorable circumstances, but our staid old Capt[ain] soon gave evidence of insanity steering for different ports almost every day & finally, one evening cut his throat and threw himself into the ocean, our mate took us back to Panama where after 57 days we drop[p]ed our anc[h]or with our colors reversed as a signal of distress. a commit[t]ee from our Company of passengers were by the first boat that left the ship to lay our case before the consul for redress. He took us in charge at once furnished us supplies as we had been on allowance for a while, and the cleansing of the ship had been neglected after we lost our Capt[ain], & the passengers were many of them were sick, some died on

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and some after we arrived in Panama, the boat that brought us ashore, took back from the Consul provisions & medicine. We put a large tent on the Island Taboga⁸⁵ (near Panama) while our vessel was cleansed refitted and reof[f]icered and in two weeks were sent forward on on the Bark Susan & were in all on board that vessel over 160 days. After making our outfit we went to Mormon Island⁸⁶ American River[.]⁸⁷ In the fall we passed oustro[m]⁸⁸ Yuba⁸⁹ and worked there about two years. I returned home in summer of [18]52 a few days before our sonsinlaw Harlow Palmer & George Derby died in Buffalo[.]⁹⁰ Mr Derby a few weeks before his death, ship[p]ed a stack of Books to San Franci[s]co, & as providence would

⁸¹ California Gold Rush (1848-1855).

⁸² Transcontinental country (southernmost Central America).

⁸³ Side-wheel steam ship; operating 1828-1850; sank November 27, 1850, Chesapeake Bay.

⁸⁴ Bark Susan W. Lind; wrecked February 19, 1860, Gingerbread Ground Reef (Bahamas).

⁸⁵ Volcanic island (Gulf of Panama); about 20 kilometers from Panama City, Panama.

⁸⁶ Mining town (Sacramento Co., California); established 1848; now underneath Folsom Lake.

⁸⁷ River (California); the nearby 1848 discovery of gold at Coloma started the Gold Rush.

⁸⁸ Community (Yuba Co., California).

⁸⁹ Yuba Co. (California); established 1850.

⁹⁰ Harlow Palmer was the husband of Emily Matilda Bancroft; George Hunter Derby was the husband of Cecilia Marianne Bancroft. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 357-358. The brothers died during the 1852 cholera pandemic in Buffalo, New York.

have it, Mr Derby had been training two of his Boys H[ubert]. H[owe]. Bancroft⁹¹ & G[eorge] L Kenny⁹² for their work, & sent them by the Isthmus⁹³ to S[an]. F[rancisco]. to take charge of his shipment & sell them out[.] Well, soon after the stock started by one route, & the Boys in another, for their destination, Mr Derby died in Buffalo of Cholera. And now his ~~the~~ Brothers took charge of Geo[rge] Derbys business, is[s]ued orders to H. H. to put the goods up at auction & make them returns, but the Boy H. H. had Geo[rge] Derbys instructions to sell them differently which he did, and remit[t]ed to them the last doller -. And here, through the Providence of God was the germ of the Bancroft house in San Francisco[.]

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And what has it accomplished[.] Some one hath said, that that who studies the provid[en]ces of God, shall providen[c]es of God to study. Now here is a place for some very interesting incidents in connection with this business[.] But others understand them better than myself therefore will be excused from recording them. While this cruel war⁹⁴ destroyed thousands of fortunes families & friends, it dealt gently with our family, and was a means of their accumulating property. For a time Greenbacks⁹⁵ were worth only 50 & they could sell for coin, & buy for Greenbacks, so doubling their money every move, and for a time, made money as fast as they desired.

Indian Agent

In 1861, About the time [of] the War of the Rebellion⁹⁶ was inflicted upon us, I rec[e]ived an appointment from President Lincoln⁹⁷ as Indian Agent⁹⁸ for the Yakima⁹⁹ agency, located at Fort Simcoe¹⁰⁰ W[ashington]. T[erritory]. east of the Cascade Range¹⁰¹ 90 miles ~~west~~ north from Dalls City[.]¹⁰² This Post was built by the military & while new This was turned over to the Indian department[.] In my appointment I was informed that my salary would be \$1500¹⁰³ per annum, but before we rec[eive]d our first payment Greenbacks were the order of the day and

⁹¹ Then a clerk in his brother-in-law's (i.e., George Derby's) bookstore in Buffalo, New York.

⁹² H. H. Bancroft's close friend and (future) business partner in San Francisco.

⁹³ Panama Isthmus; connects Central and South America.

⁹⁴ American Civil War (1861-1865).

⁹⁵ Paper currency issued by the U.S. during the American Civil War.

⁹⁶ American Civil War.

⁹⁷ Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865); U.S. President (1861-1865).

⁹⁸ Individual authorized to interact with the Indigenous on behalf of the U.S. government.

⁹⁹ City (Yakima Co., Washington); named after the region's Indigenous Yakama Nation.

¹⁰⁰ U.S. army fort (Yakima Co., Washington), established 1856-1859.

¹⁰¹ Mountain range (extending from southwestern Canada to northern California).

¹⁰² The Dalles City (Wasco Co., Oregon); incorporated 1857; ca. 90 miles south of Ft. Simcoe.

¹⁰³ Later insertion from a different hand above: "(\$1500 -?)."

were worth only about 50 ce[n]ts, & as a general Gov[ernment] employees in all departments were paid off in

Page 22 (1); there are two pages numbered "22" in this manuscript:

this currency, so with others I submit[t]ed to how my salary reduced nearly one half, but it was the only war tax I had to pay, Then add to this the agency was deeply in debt when I took possession made a difficul[t]y in paying off old debts with curren[c]y so much below par. We were not paid coin during the four years I was there, but as my sons were in business at S[an]. F[rancisco]. they proposed that I should save my greenbacks & they would credit me on their books the face, & send them east to purchase stock, which helped me much in the out come. Well in 1864 I think it was we left Simcoe & drop[p]ed down to San F[rancisco] H[ubert] with family was living in Oakland¹⁰⁴ and doing business in San F[rancisco]- Wife and I stop[p]ed with ~~th~~ him a few days untill he bought the lot con [sic] Pine & Franklin St[reet],¹⁰⁵ where he now lives, & the little house now occupied by Mrs Watts, this was moved to one corner of the lot, & repaired repaired [sic], which became our[s] for [a] few years, while I worked some in the warehouse at store and some in improving the lots adjoining this, cl[e]aring the Brush off & grading, then H[ubert]. put up two res[i]dences on the lots on Cal[ifornia]. St[reet]s¹⁰⁶ west of Alberts,¹⁰⁷ & I ~~labored in~~ labored in building those two houses, cl[e]aring fensing & grading. But much of the labour I done there, was done over me, as plans were changed a number of times, But this was now about 20 years ago, & does not affect me much now

Nov 10. 1883

Page 23 (1); there are two pages numbered "23" in this manuscript:

I had previously mentioned of comeing to california with a company, as a Miner in 1850. At that time it was frequently the case that men without means would offer to others who would pit them out, one half of the net profits on their return. There were not less than 6 or 8 so fitted out from granville. And I think in every instance it was a loosing game for those who advanced the out fit. My Brother W[illia]m & myself sent two persons on that principle, & I went out and took charge of them, but they were determind to steal and did so, in spite of every thing. They were temperate at home, but after being from ~~two~~ home two days they drank to excess. Thomas Owens¹⁰⁸ was an exception he was the Doct[or] second man he done pretty well in working & saving but was shipwreck[ed] on his way home and lost some. One of our men whom we fitted out (Morrison) ~~whom~~ left

¹⁰⁴ City (Alameda Co., California); incorporation approved 1854.

¹⁰⁵ Intersection (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

¹⁰⁶ Street name (San Francisco); transects the Polk Gulch neighborhood.

¹⁰⁷ Albert Little Bancroft; one of A. A. Bancroft's sons.

¹⁰⁸ (1811-1869).

his bones upon 'Long Bar Yuba'¹⁰⁹. This was after I left 'long bar'. It was thought by other miners, that Briggs¹¹⁰ who was camping with him, killed him. They were both bad men from G[ranville]- I returned home July 1852 I brought a few hundred in gold with me, & lost some in a quartz mill. a few weeks after my return, Harlow Palmer died in Buffalo of Cholera. And a few weeks after, G. H. Derby our other soninlaw died of the same complaint. Thus our two daughters Ce[ci]lia & Emily were both left widows in

Page 22 (2); there are two pages numbered "22" in this manuscript:

one month. They were very pleasantly situated near each other, with uncommon fair prospects, with the best of husbands, & business prospects quite flattering. Ce[ci]lia left with three daughters,¹¹¹ Emily with one infant daughter,¹¹² but, both left with considerable means & some enter[pr]ise which enabled them to make the most of what they had. Their loss was exceding great, and yet few were so well provided with money & friends as they were. The first summer after my return [in] 1853 I spent in the employ of Channel & Spencer¹¹³ taking charge of two companies of men quar[r]ying stone in Licking Narrows¹¹⁴ 16 miles below Newark, the stone were for rebuilding locks & aquedocks upon the Ohio canal. I continued the work into the winter, and had to thaw the sand reock before we could break them. My employers awarded me much praise for my skill and perseverance in quar[r]ying & ship[p]ing the stone in that inclement season. I had prev[i]ously made arrangements with Brother W[illia]m to open a large Prairie in Coles Co[unty]- Ill[inois]. Immediately after getting released from Channel & Spencer, I proceeded to Ill[inois] and commenced the laboreous task of making rails parts and slots. We had prev[i]ously obtained a section of prairie & two forty acre lots of timber adjoining the prairie. This farm was in Coles Co[unty] Ill[inois], & on the Okaw,¹¹⁵ head waters of the Kas-Kask[i]a.¹¹⁶ I opened a fine farm there fencing with posts & slots split on the farm

Page 23 (2); there are two pages numbered "23" in this manuscript:

I worked this farm about two years, & never raised prod[uce] so easily as there, but had to do it by hired help, & to board the workmen, which made it [a] hard place for my dear wife & I resolved to have change for us both but my sons were in cal[i]fornia & spoiled for a farming enterprise, & after consu[l]ting with Brother W[illia]m, our minds were made up to sell the farm stock & tools, which did at fair

¹⁰⁹ Former township (Yuba Co., California); named after a bar in the Yuba River.

¹¹⁰ Perhaps a reference to George C. Briggs, a (1849er) transplant from Ohio.

¹¹¹ Emma Cecilia, Florence Cordelia, Ida Matilda. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 358.

¹¹² Anna.

¹¹³ Probably a company name.

¹¹⁴ Name of gorge through which the Licking River flows (near Newark, Ohio).

¹¹⁵ West Okaw River (Illinois); flows into the larger Kaskaskia River.

¹¹⁶ Large tributary of the Mississippi River (central and southern Illinois).

rates, I thought then & ever since, that Ill[inois]- is the largest & best body of farming land without waste in the known world, taking everything ind account, Rail Roads, stone coal, water, & climate &c. &c.

• Relating to my dear wife

My dear wife was a person of great resolution & uncommon energy; Was beset with a large well proportioned frame, and a very good constitution And had she taken good care of herself, she ought she ought to have lived ~~ten~~ ^{twenty} years longer. Her Father lived to a great age, lacking I think ~~but~~ ^{16 months} ~~two~~ ^{of} an hundred. & she would to think she might live as long as her father, but did not so carefully obey the laws of Nature. It might be said of him, that he was temperate in all things" Her friends admonished her frequently during a few of her last years, that she was overdoing her and that she was growing old too fast, & that her system could not endure the strain she imposed upon it, but would make light of it, had to be convinced that she was injuring herself.

But Oct 19 1881 while doing some of her trapezoidal work upon our back porch at dusk, she stepped off backwards where it was 20 inches high, she fell heavily upon her hips & thigh, some slight bruises showed the next day, but only for two days & no bones were broken, but was almost as helpless as an infant, while she lived. We employed Doct Dawson of St Helena, the best Physician in Napa, a good conscientious Christian gentleman, who attended her while she lived. He said her fall was not so much the cause of her death, as the excuse. That the system was much run down, that of her

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Figure 1: Relating to my dear wife (ms. p. 25).

Page 24: Page left blank.

Page 25:

Relating to my dear wife

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But Oct[ober] 19 1881 while doing some of her trifli[ng] work upon our back porch at dusk, she step[p]ed off backwards where it was 20 inches high, she fell heavily upon her hip & thigh, some slight bru[i]ses showed the next day, but only for two days & no bones Miss placed, but was almost as helpless as an infant, while she lived. We employed Doct[or] Dawson¹¹⁸ of St Helena,¹¹⁹ the best Physician in Napa, a good consciencious Christian Gentleman, who attended her while she lived. He said her fall was not so much the cause of her death, as the excuse. That the system was much run down, that & her

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age, plased the case beyaund the reach of medical aid. Then the sciatic nerve, the princiapal nerve of the leg, was much injured, so that with all the aid, and our appliencs she could not take one step. She needed constant attendance, moving & rub[b]ing, every few minutes, especially rub[b]ing. Curtis¹²⁰ was stop[p]ing with us as an invalid, when Mother had her fall, & I was also an invalid, from injuries rece[i]ved months previous, so it was difficult for us two invalids to lift & care for her, while in her extreme distress. Curtis gave out, in a few days & left for the city, and a few days later friends decided that I must also leave, which left our help at home very short, we advertised for help, in the city a man & his wife as nurses &c. And it was said that while our ink was yet moist they began to rush in. The first that applied was a Mr Cook & wife no childrin, would take the place at \$50 per month, they struck us favorably & as soon as may be, they were sent up. We had previously obatained a young widow as nurse good & strong of English bearth, & they all proved to be, a God send to us, & they did not come one day too

¹¹⁷ Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 9:25.

¹¹⁸ Dr. William Dawson (born 1846); native of Canada; came to St. Helena in 1877.

¹¹⁹ City (Napa Co., California); incorporated 1876.

¹²⁰ A. A. Bancroft's oldest son.

soon, for Emily¹²¹ was here with but little help, & twice as much work as she could stand up to. These were dark days for the dear child, & we fear it will be many months before she gets over it. Ere long we had over three helps organized, one as cook & two as nurses, and times looked a little better. I remained away three weeks and improved a very little, but could not say that for Mother

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Sometimes we flattered ourselves there might be a little improvement, but our good honest physician did not give us much hope. ~~We discharged~~ About Feb[ruary] 1st there was a little change, the system showed more dropsical¹²² tendencies, & the sciatic pains a very little less severe But we took no courage from that, for the[i]r symptoms were not so favorable. Mr Kenyy¹²³ & Ce[ci]lia came up a few days before Mother died, Mr K[enny] remained untill after the funeral, & Ce[ci]lia a week later and they done us more good than we can express, were the right people, in the right place. Hubert and Tilla¹²⁴ were with us quite frequently with hearts and hands always full. Well, the great event was slowly but surely approaching day by day, with stealthy step, untill Feb[ruary] 8th her last day with us, when her Dear Savior released her, and as we trust, gave her an abundant entrance into those prepared mansions¹²⁵ above. Her last day with us, dawned upon us much as other days, except alittle labored breathing, and wanting the outside door open much of the time. Emily & two of the nurses had been with her the later part of the night, I came in a little before light, & Emily went to her room, & Mr. Kenny & Ce[ci]lia came in without being called, soon after. I went to Mother & asked if she was suffering much she says no, not at all, open the door wide. Perhaps an hour later, I approached & kissing, she siezed my hand tightly & exclaimed O pa, dear dear pa, and was

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alittle affected. She talked without difficu[l]ty with all her speech holding out remarkably. I think about 11 oclock she asked Ce[ci]lia is pa here, C[ecilia]- replied he is near the fire, do you wish to see him[;] yes, I want to bid him good bye. She drew [me down?] and kissing me spoke cheerfully and distinctly dear dear¹²⁶ pa, good bye which were her last words. ten or fifteen minutes later I asked if she knew me but got no response, & a little before 12 she ceased to breathe without moving a muscle Can assure you that we who had stood over her so many days & nights, in her deep distress without the power of affording much aid, felt a relief when the dear body was at rest. Yes Forever at rest. From all we could discover

¹²¹ A. A. Bancroft's second-oldest daughter.

¹²² Edematous (swollen due to an excess of watery fluid).

¹²³ George L. Kenny; H. H. Bancroft's close friend and business partner in San Francisco.

¹²⁴ Nickname for Matilda Coley Grffing, H. H. Bancroft's second wife (married 1876).

¹²⁵ See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

¹²⁶ The words "dear dear" are pasted over the original text.

her deathpains, were not near so severe as those sciatic pains she endured every day for more than 100 days previous. It would seem that the Messenger did not approach her as a thief in the night,¹²⁷ she appeared to understand her situation better than her nurses. During her last night she had a bad 'spell', & some thought she might be dying. Emily asked her if she should call me, she replied, not yet, not yet, & then a few hours later when she wished to bid me good bye she ap[p]eared to understand full well how the case stood with her for a few moments after, she was unconscious. The funeral was largely attended Friday the 11th Rev[erend] Mr Mitchel of St Helena offici[a]deing.¹²⁸ We sang at the grave with fine effect, I would not live always.¹²⁹

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And is it a reality, an undisputed fact that Lucy D[amaris]. Howe, a long time ago, jo[u]rneyed from St Albans Vermont to Granville Ohio, and there met on the street, south of town, for the first time ~~met~~ Ashley Bancroft, a poor obscure ~~boy~~ Boy & after a lengthy but pleasant preliminaries, married him, & after which they journeyed hand in hand, up the rugged steepes of life, meeting with all the vicis[s]itudes which this life is subject to, but more of the "Light than of the shade"¹³⁰ for 60 years untill her husband had become a de[c]repid old man, then one pleasant morning Feb[ruary] 8th 1882 she called for me, saying she wanted to bid me good bye, and drawing my head down kissed me & s[p]oke distinctly & cheerfully, dear dear pa, good bye, step[p]ing aside & was gone. - gone! oh whither?

And they tell us that natural afficton¹³¹ does not exist upon the other side of this mysterious River.¹³² How is this? that my wife, my spouse, my undefiled, the Mother of my children, with whom I lived so long, & in such close relationship, will be no more to me in heaven, than other saints in light.¹³³ It may be an orthodox view, but I do not recieve it, as I do not wish to. No, let her remain mine, for I am sure, that the Lord gave her to me, in a mysterious manner, and blessed be His name, for He makes no mistakes.

¹²⁷ See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Thessalonians 5:2; 2 Peter 3:10.

¹²⁸ Read: "officiating."

¹²⁹ "I would not live alway" [sic]; hymn (ca.1824) by William A. Muhlenberg (1796-1877).

¹³⁰ See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Isaiah 50:10.

¹³¹ Read: "affection."

¹³² Metaphor for death ("crossing the river").

¹³³ See Holy Bible, New Testament, Mark 12:25.

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Subjects for devout gratitude Aug[ust] 2, 1882

Am thankful for birth & education in Mass[achusetts], the land of the Pilgrims.¹³⁴
 For Christian Parents & early religious instruction. For early habits of industry &
 frugality For being dedicated to God in infancy. For early restraining grace to hold
 me back from many of the sins of youth For being shielded from dangers seen &
 unseen through a long life. For having a companion given me from the Lord, &
 spared me to a good old age, & in giving us children, which are very great blessing
 to us, & we trust to the world And for a reasonable allowance of the good things
 of this life, that we trust may follow us to the end

But all this shrinks to nothing in view of our glorious inheritance¹³⁵ in those
 prepared mansions¹³⁶ above, where we shall dwell forever with the Redeemer &
 the Redeemed

From a slip found in my folio

To My Dear Husband Dec[ember] 25 - [18]80

My Prayer has been for some days that we, you & I, may have ~~given~~ grace &
 patience given us, by our Precious Saviour, to live one year, (if indeed such
 unprofitable servants as we are should be permit[t]ed to live another year), my
 prayer is & shall ever be, that we may have patience & self controll enough, not to
 speak one wrong or wicked word, to each other, for one year.

signed Your Loving Wife

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Gods Universal Providence - Aug[ust] 4 [18]82

As an evidence of Gods tender regard over all his creatures & of us my dear
 companion & myself in particular, & that He did design and prepare us for
 eachother in a remarkable manner, I would remark That notwithstanding we were
 born quite remote from eachother, each were given parents of the same religious
 faith, viz Congregation[al]ist and that our Mothers indoctrinated us into ~~this~~ this
 faith in our childhood, by the aid of the Shorter Catechism.¹³⁷ Great use was made
 of this help when I was a little Boy. The answers that I learned 80 years ago while
 standing at my Mothers knee, are many of them familiar to me today. The first
 question was, What is mans chief end. ans[wer]- Mans chief end, is to glorify God

¹³⁴ Reference to the Plymouth Colony of Pilgrims (Massachusetts); established 1620. One of
 A. A. Bancroft's ancestors, John Bancroft, came from England and settled in Massachusetts in 1632.
 See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 357.

¹³⁵ See Holy Bible, New Testament, Ephesians 1:18.

¹³⁶ See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 14:2.

¹³⁷ Westminster Shorter Catechism (1646/1647); a didactic summary of Christian doctrine.

& enjoy Him.¹³⁸ Now 80 years ago this was thought to be orthodox, But who can tell me today, what is mans chief end for all will admit there has been great progress during the past 80 years in many things, ask Ingersoll¹³⁹ Now the instruction and general teaching in Mr Howes family in V[ermon]t, were nearly identical with that of my fathers in Mass[achusetts]. In early times, in our schools Saturday afternoons were devoted exclusively to reciting the Catechism. And then once a year our district schools assembled at the village church, & our Pastor heard our recitations & gave us a good talk. This was equivalent to our present S[unday]. S[chool].¹⁴⁰ conventions

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as this was a long time previous to the origin of S[unday]. S[chool]. I recollect when S[unday]. S[chools]. were being introduced, that one grave objection was, we Broke the sabbath¹⁴¹ by teaching school I think this objection was short lived At this time every family far removed from heathenism Taught the catec[h]ism, so that this help at this time was worth more to Newengland than a goldmine would have been Now you can easily imagine that two persons trained in that manner, there would naturally be a oneness existing between them to a remarkable degree, & ~~thus~~ I trust it was thus with my dear wife & myself, we enjoyed the same preaching, the same religious reading, our views upon family training, & government were identical. I would compare those two persons to two portions of a watch in our modern watch factory, before they were wanted for use, they were being tumbled about the factory, but when wanted, they were brought forth, & each fitted their place to a nicety. And now friends what have you to allege against this great Architect,¹⁴² if He should reveal to you in some way that he had those two persons 'in question' in his keeping from all eternity. He knew them perfectly, He inspired & answered the prayers, offer[e]d at their infant dedication, He saw the influence they would exert, the family they would rear, all they would do & how they would do it. And finally, he saw them plod[d]ing along to a good old age and then one of them passed on before, leaving the other for a time, a lonely wanderer

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Oct[ober] 19th 1881

On the eve of this day My dear wife took a fatal step backwards, off our porch in Napa, (20 inches high) & it proved to be her last step. Uup to that time, she could

¹³⁸ The first question and answer in the Westminster Shorter Catechism. There are 107 total.

¹³⁹ Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899); a.k.a. "The Great Agnostic;" advocate of "free thought."

¹⁴⁰ With origins in eighteenth-century England, Sunday Schools became a means to provide education for working children.

¹⁴¹ See Holy Bible, Old Testament, Exodus 20:10.

¹⁴² One of the ways in which the medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas characterized God.

walk a mile without inconvenience. Curtis was there as an invalid, & myself in the same predicament, we had difficulty in getting her into the house, as she was helpless as an infant, & in very great distress. With all the skill of kind friends & physicians, we could not enable her to walk a step. Doct[or] Dawson of St Helena said, that the s[c]iatic nerve of the leg (the principle nerve) was injured, but it was not the fall from the porch that killed her, but that her system was greatly impa[i]red by exhaustion, & had it no[t] been the fall, some some [sic] other event would have occur[r]ed, to have hastened the event. She was the greatest sufferer for more than three months, that I ever witnes[s]ed, And when that dear form was still in death the friends all, I think, breathed freer, from a relief Her last agonies, as far as we could judge, were not near so distressing, as those s[c]iatic pains which had been constant for about 100 days.

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Recollections

I recollect distinctly one pleasant morning in Napa, Feb[ruary] 8 - [18]82, a very affectionate & cheerful leavetaking, between Wife & husband, Mother & children, then all was silent, & I was alone -

And this is what they call Death

But through Christ, he is a vanquished enemy¹⁴³

Mr Curtis Howe, my Precious wives father, lived to a great age, & she used to take pride in her good constitution saying she did not know why she might not live to be a hundred years old, and when she received her injury, I do not think she gave up the hope of long life, & through most of her distressing illness was hopeful. After it became evident to us all that she was sinking I thought best to have a little plain talk with her in which I made the remark, that I thought it doubtful whether she ever got well, soon after she spoke qu[i]te cheerfully to one of the daughters, Emily I think what do you think Pa says, he thinks it doubtful whither I get well, & in that case I shall never see Alberts little Boy Shall I?¹⁴⁴

She had no fears of death her hope was unshaken in Christ. ever calm, but exhibited some feeling when she came to take leave of her husband & children, a few moments before she ceased to breathe. Voice strong & distinct to the last.

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An itim that should have been inserted previously

I was always rather hasty in temper One day when I was about 8 years old I was driving [a] team for Father to plow the team incur[r]ed my displeasures & I plied the whip with all my powers, Father spoke earnestly & tenderly, I knew from the

¹⁴³ See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 15:54-57.

¹⁴⁴ Albert Little Bancroft's youngest son (Karl August) had been born in Weimar (Germany) in 1881 while the family was traveling in Europe. See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 367. The news had reached the grandparents in California, but they had not yet seen the boy when Lucy passed.

tone of his voice, that he felt deeply, Ashley, As[h]ley dont do so, If you would only learn to govern your temper, & treat your team kindly, I should 'really' think you one of the best Boys in the country.

Now here was matter for serious thought. If I only lacked one thing of being one of the best boys, in my Fathers estimation could I not reform, & attain that high standard which I think I did.

Now that tender pleasing voice which is fresh in memory, haunts me still touched me in the right place, and how much better for me than a f[e]roicious whip[p]ing I arrive at many of my early dates in this way I was born Jan[uary] 1799, My Father left Granville Mass[achusetts] in the fall of 1809, I was then in my tenth year, Stop[p]ed in Penn[sylvania] five years, & came to Ohio in 1814

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Susan, our adopted and redeemed Apache

About 1870, in the providence of god there was a little Apache captive girl captured by Gen[eral]- Crooks¹⁴⁵ command, near Prescott Arizona,¹⁴⁶ aged about 4 years, & two years later she providentially fell into our hands at Oakville & we had her legally bound to us. She had been in bad hands in Prescott for a while, so there was much to unlearn, My Wife taught her to read, & gave her religious instruction as she had her own children, and she proved to be quite teachable, in every thing except lying, & she was an adept in that. But as the good seed took root it seamed to overcome that propensity, & in a few years, she gave satisfactory evidence that she loved the Saviour and His word. We had prev[i]ously reared the best of children, but none of them were more kind, or selfsacrificing to us than this Indian girl. She was, for a few years, a stout broad face healthy child as we could ask, but as it often occurs with the poor Indian, consumption¹⁴⁷ fastened its fangs upon her vitals, & no pow[er] that we could avail ourselves of could eradicate it. Her death was peaceful, at the age of 15 years. At no time did we strike her, but tied her up a few times. Her remains lie near those of my dear wife in Yountville¹⁴⁸ cemetary. Weeks before she died, she was solicitous to know what we would do with her when she died,¹⁴⁹ we assured her that we should do as with one of children

see next page

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Susan said she thought she saw both her Parents killed by Gen[eral] Crooks soldiers, & she was almost killed in riding behind an off[i]cer two days, in reaching

¹⁴⁵ George R. Crook (1829-1890); U.S. Army officer.

¹⁴⁶ City (Yavapai Co., central Arizona); founded 1864; incorporated 1881.

¹⁴⁷ Wasting disease (e.g., pulmonary tuberculosis).

¹⁴⁸ City (Napa Co., California); established 1855; named "Yountville" in 1867.

¹⁴⁹ Based on the dates given in the *Recollections*, Susan passed in 1881.

Prescott. Why do we wonder at all the kind care Jesus exercised over this poor little Indian child, we trust she was one of his Lambs,¹⁵⁰ He knew her full well, then why should he not shield her from the Bullets and outrage of the Soldiers, He knew all about her

St John in his revelation says After this I beheld and lo a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds & people & tongues stood before the throne & the Lamb,¹⁵¹ yes & one little broad faced Apache Indian girl stood with them, And I verily believe this one was a bright Star in the crown of your dear Mother

I once was young, & now am old, yet cannot call to mind of ever striking a boy in anger, or receiving a blow. I have toweled¹⁵² [sic] extensively among stranger[s] and the same remark about Boys, will hold good concerning men. No man ever heard me utter a profane word, No man ever saw me drunk yet I know I am exceed[i]ngly imperfect & loathe my imperfections. And in the summ[a]ry up when my richeousness is called,¹⁵³ all I can do is to point towards Christ
Knowledge is not what you learn, but what you remember

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Substance of a letter addressed to my Brother, Gerard Pratt Bancroft of Granville Ohio

1605 Franklin St,¹⁵⁴ A[lbert]. L[ittle].s residence San Francisco Oct[ober] 1883

My Dear affected elder Brother, The loss of your dear wife Jane,¹⁵⁵ with whom you had lived more than 70 years, has quickened my memory some what relating to your early life, And as I take devout pleasure in contemplating the providences of God, permit me to record one chapter fraught with deep interest, no doubt to both of us. In our boyhood days, we were constituted quite differently, you being six years my seignior you were forward of your age, while I was backward, yet were intimate, you intrusting me with your secreits to some extent & now to the Point. In 1808 you fell in love with a little girl Abi Graves¹⁵⁶ in Granville Mass[achusetts], whose family were expecting to remove to Granville Ohio & and as our family were anticipating making the same move ere long, you two forward youths solem[n]ly pledged yourselves to remain true to each other, & meet in Ohio & be married Well, our family left Mass[achusetts], Oct[ober] 1809 but under a contract with Geo[rge] Lewis¹⁵⁷ Esq to take charge of a large business of his in

¹⁵⁰ See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 21:15.

¹⁵¹ Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 7:9.

¹⁵² Perhaps "traveled."

¹⁵³ See Holy Bible, Old Testament, Isaiah 42:6.

¹⁵⁴ Address (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

¹⁵⁵ Jane P. Little Bancroft (1794-1883).

¹⁵⁶ Abigail Graves Spelman (1793-1818).

¹⁵⁷ (1756-1830); see above, manuscript page 5-7.

Penn[sylvania]- opening a large farm, & erecting a glass factory &c. &c. Mr Lewis was a feeble old man of wealth, & a Bachelor of English berth, residing in N[ew] Y[ork]. & only visiting this isolated locality over a year

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The locality was upon a spur of the Alegany Mountains,¹⁵⁸ between the branches of the Susquehann¹⁵⁹ & 75 miles below Tioga Point,¹⁶⁰ a little Lake on the mountain top which struck the old mans fancy, & he had resolved to spend a fortune there, which [he] did, to little purpose. Father at first engaged for three years at 200,\$ per ann[um] for the whole family & after for two years more for \$300, per an[n]u[m]. Well Abis friends went on to Ohio according to contract, while we were serving our stewardships with Mr Lewis, & not finding her boy there, another boy set his trap, & caught her, on the principle, that a "bird in hand is worth two in the bush"¹⁶¹ Judge Bancroft our uncle was living in Ohio & Knowing Gerards plans, wrote him the state of the case, & G[erard] was for drop[p]ing every thing, & going to O[hio] to counter act the plot, but his uncles next letter stated that he had called upon Abi Graves, & her mind was made up not to wait, & then there was a large boy of about 17 years I think, going around with head down ~~wishing~~ frequently wishing himself dead, but no, he could not die, although you did come very near it once as I witnessed, when a rowboat of sand sank beneath you & John Sample in the middle of Lake Lewis & you then & there had to learn to swim on a cold March day, & in water that the ice had only left three days before. John Sample, under favorable circumstances was a good swim[m]er G[erard]- had never swam a rod¹⁶² independantly he had on heavy boots, which he pulled off just as the boat was dip[p]ing under, this to all human

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appearance saved him. John encouraged Gerard by telling him not to be afraid, that he could swim out with him on his back, after taking water G[erard]- attached himself to John, & for some reason John could not swim with him, & G[erard]- said he saw they would both drown at that rate, & he disengaged himself, & commenced with a slow stroke, & found he could swim, & he reached the shore alittle in advance of Sample. A number of us ran up the Lake Shore a third of a mile to where they were comeing out, was near G[erard]- when he clim[b]ed the bank, his teeth chattering with cold, heard him utter his first noble words Well, I thank my Maker for this, Yes my dear Brother, there were others who through up

¹⁵⁸ Alleghenies (part of the Appalachians in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia).

¹⁵⁹ See above, manuscript page 5.

¹⁶⁰ See above, manuscript page 5.

¹⁶¹ Proverb (better own something small than merely see the potential of something great).

¹⁶² Unit of measurement (16.5 feet).

an ejaculatory thanks giving to God, for this great deliverance.¹⁶³ and now the piercing March wind chilled them so they could not walk, but four of the friends present, took each an arm & hurried them to the house. In the sinking of the Boat, the Boys were taken by surprize, they had loaded it with with [sic] damp sand, but not wet, & would absorb a good deal of water, before it would show it self upon the surface, & were unaware of their condition untill about sinking. And now Abi Graves having married Timothy Spellman,¹⁶⁴ my fathers cousin, settled the matter between her & h[e]r Gerard & now Gods plans begin to appear, and that was for G[erard]- to marry Jane Little a very good girl from a good family from the state of New Jersey, which was brought about Jan 1814. My fathers plan from the first, was to settle his family

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eventually in Granville Ohio. & in Oct[ober] 1814 he settled up with Mr Lewis, started with two teams for Ohio. Gerard leaving his young wife with her parents went with us, to drive one of the teams. while on our way the war of 1812 with Great Briton,¹⁶⁵ was brought to a close, and the news was flashed through the country, not by telegraph, for they did exist, but by handbills, in large letters Peace, Peace, Esq Little¹⁶⁶ & Gerard sent by father \$200, to invest in a joint farm for them, as they had decided to remane the next year, all of which was accomplished. On reaching O[hio] & resting a little, Gerard saddled one of our horses & rode back to his family & friends. The place where Esq Little lived, was on out of the place, where they enjoyed no religious prival-¹⁶⁷ & the people had relapsed into a state of simmi-heathenism & Gods plan was to take Esq Littles family six in number with four young men their near friends, ten in number from this isolated into Granville Ohio where privalys¹⁶⁸ were very good & they all every one became interested upon the subject of religion & all ynited with the church militent, & we trust also with the church triumphant¹⁶⁹ as they witnessed a good pr[o]fession. Here we see the wisdom 8 [sic] of God, in frustrating our plans, Jane Little proved to be a much better wife & Mother than Abi Graves & living twice as long,¹⁷⁰ & then bringing those ten persons within the pale of the church thereby starting a pious race, which may tell for many generations & yet Gerard thought when his plans were frustrated that all these things were against him.

¹⁶³ See, for example, Holy Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 45:7.

¹⁶⁴ (1791-1879).

¹⁶⁵ See above, manuscript page 7.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas "Squire" Little (1774-1863), Jane's father.

¹⁶⁷ Perhaps "prevail" ("prevalence").

¹⁶⁸ Perhaps "prevails" ("prevalence").

¹⁶⁹ States of the Church: militant (on Earth), triumphant (in Heaven).

¹⁷⁰ Abigail died in 1818; Jane died in 1883.

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*Copy of a letter addressed to Mr & Mrs J[ames].M. Pierce
San Diego Dec[ember] 16 1883*

My dear Son & Daughter¹⁷¹

I was unwilling to let this old year of 1883 slip by without addressing you one more of my disjointed letters. I often wish I could photograph on paper My thought & feelings better than I can. I frequently during my wakeful hours, coin the skeliton of a letter and when I came to record it it is like the old dreamers dream, it has departed from me, & as we have no Daniel¹⁷² to fall back upon, we must do the next best thing we can, A small portion of the World know that I am an egotist & wherewithall Proud of my children. And now, with regard to Gods dealings with our family first & last what shall we say, "Allelu[i]a for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth"¹⁷³ yes let us look up & rejoice in God for he is our strength & shield.¹⁷⁴ notwithstanding you my dear daughter, in past years have been grievously aff[li]cted, yet you have this consolation it - was - the - Lord And trust you are not unmindful that you have had strewed along your path by the same hand mercies also which were exce[e]ding great. Nothing appears plainer to my mental vision, than that your parents were designed & prepared by the Great Architect¹⁷⁵ for each other from childhood, although far removed from each other their training was identical. you may not easily understand the advantages this gave us in rearing a family. Our doctrines & views upon all important matters were the same Hense, there must exist a oneness above what we often

Page 45 and 47: both numbers appear; there is no page 46.

meet with. And now let me come a little nearer home I am favor[a]bly impressed with your investments for 1883 I see no reason for a change of opinion, I believe it is as the Lord would have it, & that you might safely say as one of old who was Gov[ernor] of a marriage - f[e]ast, some time ago when refreshments were being discus[s]ed "but you have kept the good wine untill now"¹⁷⁶ I believe also that you two persons were also design for each other although your wheels moved a little slow, yet effectively And now may you be able to serve & trust Him all your days, for he as[s]ured you cannot do better A[zariah]. A[shley]. B[ancroft].

¹⁷¹ Addressed to A. A. Bancroft's daughter Emily Matilda Bancroft (the widow of Harlow Palmer who had died of cholera in 1852) and her second husband James Pierce (1821-1887). See Wagner, "Albert Little Bancroft," 358. Contrary to Wagner's statement, the two had married in 1882, not 1884. A marriage in 1884 would render the above 1883 letter's address nonsensical.

¹⁷² Old Testament prophet; dream interpreter.

¹⁷³ Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 19:6.

¹⁷⁴ Holy Bible, Old Testament, Psalm 28:7.

¹⁷⁵ See above, manuscript page 33.

¹⁷⁶ Holy Bible, New Testament, John 2:10.

I Recollect distinctly the first

day I ever attended school, it was in Granville Mass[achusetts] was probably five years old, our house was one mile from schoolhouse, my Father was going with his ox te[a]m & a load of tan Bark a little b[e]yound the schoolhouse, he put me upon the load, while the other children walked. arriving at schoolhouse I was seated upon a long high bench, standing in middle of the room, think my feet reached about halfway to the floor & becoming weary fell asleep and nothing more natural than that I should fall off upon the floor & hurt myself beside frighten[e]d myself & cried lustily to go home & see my Mother.

How mysterious is an old mans memory, the incident related above, occur[r]ed probably more than 80 years ago Since I have noting those incidents, my memory has been great excitement in our school district

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Putnam and the Wolf

I have been request[ed] to note down this incident¹⁷⁷ which is a historical matter, being incorporated into one of my early school-Books, & supposed I read it with interest a score of times where a little boy, & therefore am able to record it very much as I read it, It occurred a few years prev[i]ous to our revolutionnary war, and the locality was Pomphret con[n]e[c]tticut,¹⁷⁸ The country was rather new at that time, and the people found it difficult to keep sheep on account of the Wolves. The people of pomph[r]et were especially annoyed by the depredations of one old she wolf for a number of years, she had been caught when young in a steel strap & cut the toes from one foot, and after that could not be caught, She raised a litter of young every year, those the people caught or shot, but the old one app[ea]red to have a charmed life, untill the patience of the people were greatly exhausted, and they called a townmeeting to devise some means by which they rid themselves of this great pest, fortunately a light snow fell at that time & this animal having lost the toes from one foot, made it an easy matter to track her, & at the townmeeti[ng] the people resolved to put a company of men & dogs upon her track, and follow her alternately untill slain or fled the country, and after a few days of unremit[t]ing tail, the dogs drove her into her den or cavern in the rocks, And now the question was what next.

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The dogs would enter a short distance, & return wounded, and refuse to reenter. Putnam who was a born leader, proposed to his Negro man to go down into the cavern & shoot the wolf, but he declined, Putnam remarked that he was sorry to have a coward in his family, & volunteered to go himself, accordingly he attached

¹⁷⁷ Israel Putnam (1718-1790); American army officer; fought in the American Revolutionary War; killed Connecticut's last wolf in 1742 in Pomfret ("Israel Putnam Wolf Den").

¹⁷⁸ Town (Windham Co., Connecticut); incorporated 1713.

a rope to his feet, instructing the people not to draw him back until he kicked the rope. He took a torch of pitch pine,¹⁷⁹ & went down to explore, the wolf was sitting upon her haunches at the further end of the cavern, greatly disturbed, throwing her head between her legs, growling & snap[p]ing her teeth, apparently in the act of springing upon him. Having made what discovery he could, he kicked the rope, & was drawn out. After a little rest he loaded his musket heavily with ball & Buck shot,¹⁸⁰ he entered the second time, with musket¹⁸¹ in one hand, & torch in the other, the wolf was in about the same place, & in the same mood as before, he took deliberate aim & fired, wounding the wolf mortally, who set up a great howl & became furious, the friends outside fearing he was in trouble, drew him out hastily without being signaled, which made it a rough passage for him. After adjusting his clothes, & giving a little time for the smoke to clear a way, he entered the third time with merely his torch, as he approached the scene of action, he could see the wolf laying quiet, he drew near & applied his touch to her nose & found she

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and found she was dead, and laying aside his torch, took her by the ears & kicking the rope he and the wolf were both drawn out together

This same Putnam a few years later, was quite conspicuous in our war of the revolution, as Maj[or] General of our army, and proved to be one of our bravest & best Generals & greatly beloved by his men, as he was ev[e]ry inch a Pleb[e]ian¹⁸²

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I here quote a scrap from our golden wedding¹⁸³ Book

The Antislavery excitement

In May 1836 the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery society¹⁸⁴ was appointed to be held in Granville, it being presumed that some one of the half dozen churches of that pious little village would [open] its doors to the convention. But as the time drew near, the trustees of the various churches being intimidated by the citizens declined. We decid[e]d to open the doors of both house & Barn, and by putting a temporary addition we were able to accommodate one of the most interesting & important meetings ever held in the state - So it came to pass, that those early reformers asse[m]bled out of town in a barn, not exactly for f[e]ar of the Jews,¹⁸⁵ but for fear of a di[s]solution of the Union. Although it was in the month of May it was yet it was emphatically a well filled Barn, yes the best filled

¹⁷⁹ A torch made from a tree branch.

¹⁸⁰ Combination of musket ball and pellets.

¹⁸¹ Muzzle-loaded long firearm.

¹⁸² A commoner in ancient Rome; here: "a man of the people" or "unrefined."

¹⁸³ A. A. Bancroft and his wife Lucy celebrated their "golden wedding" in 1872.

¹⁸⁴ (1835-1845); abolitionist society; established in Zanesville, Ohio.

¹⁸⁵ See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 7:13.

barn I ever saw, scaffolds and all. Near the close of the meeting a colle[c]tion was taken to advance the interests of the cause, when several hundred dollars were raised. I well recollect of seeing tens twenties & a few fifties pass up over the heads of the crowded audience to the stand.

I have wrote a
 scraps from our
 golden wedding Book x The Antislavery excitement

In May 1836 the first anniversary of the Ohio State Antislavery ^{society} was appointed to be held in Grouville, it being presumed that some one of the half dozen churches of that pious little village would its doors to the convention. But as the time drew near, the trustees of the various churches being intimidated by the citizens declined. We decided to open the doors of both house & Barn, and by putting a temporary addition we were able to accommodate one of the most interesting & important meetings ever held in the state —

So it came to pass, that those early reformers assembled out of town in a house, not exactly for fear of the gears, but for fear of a dissolution of the Union. Although it was in the month of May it was yet it was emphatically a well filled Barn, yes the best filled barn I ever saw, scaffolds and all. Near the close of the meeting ^{or collection} was taken to advance the interests of the cause, when several hundred dollars were raised. I well recollect of seeing tens twenties & a few fifties pass up over the heads of the crowded audience to the stand,

When the amount was announced, the Ben Tait brothers arose and said, the silver and the gold are the words, let us praise him in a song, and struck up the doxology praise God from whom all blessings flow at the top of his voice, I dont know exactly

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Figure 2: The Antislavery excitement (ms. p. 51).

When the amount was announced, the Rev[erend] Doct[or] brothers arose and said, the silverr and the gold are the Lords,¹⁸⁶ let us praise Him in a song, and struck up the doxology¹⁸⁷ praise God from whom all blessing flow¹⁸⁸ at the top of his voice, I dont know exactly

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how it was, but either from the vibration of the timbers, or some other some other [sic] cause, Old Hundred¹⁸⁹ sounded about right. I do not expect to hear it performed again in like mannar this side of heaven. Among the resolutions proposed near the close, was a note of thanks to A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft for the use of his Barn. Means were taken to let the mob understand, we were prepared, and should certainly defend ourselves. The meeting closed without much disturbance, but as the people passed into the village, they were assailed by the mob. Among the distinguished guests present was the Hon[orable] J[ames]. G[illespie]. Birney¹⁹⁰ of Cincinnati, formerly a Kentucky Slaveholder. He came to Granville riding a valuable horse. When preparing to leave it was found that his horse, with quite a number of others were closely shaved main & tail, He mounted this fine animal at the door of my Brother Doct[or] W[illiam]. W[ilson]. Bancroft. The mob improved their opportunity and [ar]ranged themselves each side the street with Basket of eggs "for our glorious Unioun must be preserved."¹⁹¹ The Judge accepted the situated the situation [sic] walking his horse deliberately up main Street while the eggs poured upon like hail. after passing the guantlet, he put his horse upon a lope & left, both man & horse like Jonah¹⁹² preaching the downfall of human slavery as they went.

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I am thankful that were permit[t]ed to aid in so Glorious a work. Of the investments I have made during the past 25 years, the small patron[a]ge bestowed upon that heaven born institution the American Missionary Association,¹⁹³ has been the most satisfactory, causing devout gratitude to God. I am sure they will yield the largest & richest returns for our country and the world. Why were we induced to extend the helping hand to the Amistad Captives¹⁹⁴ & then take on interest in the American Missionary Association, To God be the praise, and may

¹⁸⁶ Holy Bible, Old Testament, Haggai 2:8.

¹⁸⁷ Liturgical formula of praise.

¹⁸⁸ The Common Doxology; verse written by Thomas Ken (1674).

¹⁸⁹ Genevan Psalter (1551); tune used for the singing of the Common Doxology.

¹⁹⁰ (1792-1857).

¹⁹¹ Attributed to Andrew Jackson (1830); used by Lincoln for the 1860 presidential campaign.

¹⁹² Old Testament prophet; famed for preaching at Nineveh.

¹⁹³ (1846-1999); Protestant abolitionist group; founded in Albany, New York.

¹⁹⁴ In 1839, African captives stolen for the slave trade rose up against their captors on the schooner *Amistad*, ultimately resulting in a 1841 U.S. Supreme Court case that set the Africans free.

He lead our children and childrens children, to support the right, even though it brings the worlds division. & not wait untill success had made it popular
 Would here note a brief obituary notice of my young Brother William Willson Bancroft Born Granville Mass[achusetts] 1803 Died Oct[ober] 1805 two years & few days ~~Born~~ died about three weeks before Doct[or] W. W. Bancroft was Born¹⁹⁵

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Driving Game in Licking Co Ohio in 1820

In the early settlement of Ohio we were much an[n]oyed by Wolves interfering with our sheep, and farmers felt called upon to exert themselves for their extermination This was about 1820,¹⁹⁶ I was then 19 years of age and had some ambition. At that time the law required our Militia to be well organized, and to meet twice each year for training & drill, This organization was a great help to us, in preparing for those celebrat[e]d drives of game which followed, as our military officers were our officers in those hunting enterprises which Licking County Granville hoasted an artillery company, we had of of [sic] our own make, east at the Granvitte [sic] furnace [?] a six pounder, this was brought into requisition in our drives as a signal gun. At first we felt able to cope with a township six miles square selecting one N[orth]. W[est]. from Granville, on which there were but few settl[e]rs, our county surveyors sur[veyed?]- and blaised the lines plainly, of a half mile square in the center of township. It was distin[c]tly understo[od] that in marching in we were to halt on this half mile line. The general orders were, for certaen officers to take charge of men of certaen townships, & to be reach a certain line of this hunting ground at an early hour, & to station the men in the followery manner, step off 100 yards on the line & station a

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man, with instructions what course to have in marching in, and to have the lines all moved by 10 a[m.] air can[n]on was moved to a suitable position & at the hour of 10 was to be discharged as a signal for commencing marching for the center[.] our section of Ohio was heavily timbered much of which was Beach which as a general rule afforded a heavy Beach Mast which drew large quantities of Turkey & deer. Well, this matter of driving game was new to us at this time, & we soon found we had attemp[t]ed to grasp a little more than we could do justice to, some of our lines were not well preserved & much game escaped, yet there were large quantities of deer & turkeys killed and taken to the center, where many hundreds of us met as the sun was getting low, & if not mistaken there was a noisy time, when a few thousand hungry rude fellows met on that oc[c]asion but as it [was] getting late, our officers called for order The game was placed in four equal piles

¹⁹⁵ Final lines of manuscript page 53 are crossed out: "Would here note [...] Bancroft was Born."

¹⁹⁶ The circular hunt of Gibbons's deadening described hereafter took place in 1823. See Henry Bushnell, *The History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio* (Columbus: Hann & Adair, 1889), 126.

& the officers & men who moved the four lines took charge. large fires were kinder[e]d, & as the deer were skinned sharp poles were incerted as spits & laid into forked steaks drove into the ground near the fire, then the deer could be swung to or from the fire, and as portions became more done would swing off & take a slise, for I can assure you that some hundreds of us “began to feel as well we might, the keen demands of appetite”¹⁹⁷

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I brought home a quarter of venison as I had a good reliable horse & think reached home quite early the next day, many others camped on the ground
But we were not well satisfied with this our first ~~hunt~~ effort in driving game, accordingly a few weeks later, we fixed upon a locali[t]y nearer home, which we knew to be a great haunt for Wolves. In 1805 a man by the name of Gibbons¹⁹⁸ deadened¹⁹⁹ a thousand or two acres, of beach & Maple land within a few miles of Granville, & in a few years the old timber died & f[e]ll down & a heavy second, growth sprang up, & made one one [sic] of the worst thickets, & a great harbour for the game, We had a three mile square tract so surveyed, that brought our half mile center into beautiful open wood and proce[e]ded to operate upon it as at the first. This proved to be a rich tract for our sport, our lines were better man[n]ed, & proceeded more cautiously, we killed much game in driving in one Bear two wolves, & a large number of deer & turkey, When we halted upon our half mile line, our Boys stood almost within reach of each other, and before us herd of about twenty deer, and three old wolves, two Gray & one as Black as a mink were exercising before us. Had it not been that those wolves had murde[re]d so many of our sheep should have felt some sympathy for them.

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for they evidently felt bad, keeping a constant lope around the ring, with heads & tails down toungu[e]s out & a constant roar of rifles pouring upon them. Our Boys here seem to think that A[zariah]. A[shley]. Bancroft did not know what amusement was when he was young, But I would not give one half hour of standing on that line with that game playing before us, & hundreds of rifles roa[r]ing at their heels, for all their senseless games of a life time. The wolves did not incline to scatter but kept one regular track, & a good rifle shot from the line, we always knew when to look for the wolves by the constant roar that followed them. The deer within the lines, were soon disposed of, but the wolves seemed to have a charmed life. But as the day was far spent a change in the programme was called for, orders were is[s]ued along the line to cease fireing and a number of expert hunters were sent in who soon dispa[t]ched the wolves & ended that sport. Then the dividing of the [game] followed as at the prev[i]ous hunt. And as the

¹⁹⁷ From the poem “The Nightingale and the Glow-Worm” by William Cowper (1731-1800).

¹⁹⁸ William Davidson Gibbons (1783-1854).

¹⁹⁹ Stripping trees of bark.

shades of evining drew on, & our fires glowed bright. a few of the old hunters who k[n]ew to do it, ar[r]ayed themselves with Turkey quills in their hair, gave us an Indian pow wow²⁰⁰ over the game, with song and Indian dance.

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This first hunt at Gibbons dead[e]ninn, proved a Waterloo defeat,²⁰¹ for the wolves in our section. The ground was driven a number of times afterwar[ds] but never with success. Those not slain evidently changed their quarters, and ever after had comparative peace.

I will relate an incident showing how half the wolves of that day had become, we used to corell²⁰² our sheep nights just across the street from front of our house, say four rods²⁰³ from our door, The sheep came up one night, the corell being a little wet, the sheep lay down in the street close to the house, Father remarked that as they had located so well, would let them remain there, but in the night father was awakened by the rattling of the sheep bell & dog being disturbed, called me & ran out the sheep had disappeared, we proce[e]ded a few rods from our gate, & there lay a fine fat weather²⁰⁴ kicking & the blood spinning from his neck, while standing there looking, the wolf set up a howl a short distance away He had given that sheep one snap, at the throat as only a wolf can and then was obliged to leave. We had a fox trap which I knew was too light for a wolf, but I set it, & Mr wolf carried the trap about half a mile, & lift it with one toe in it, which he never came back for. So we had a grain of comfort, in rob[b]ing him of one toe, & fresh Mutton for breakfast.

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Feb[ruary] 5 1884

My School Teachers

I think I can name every one of my teachers & all but one or two I loved and resp[e]cted. A Miss Keziah Jones a weak minded, degraded herself by acting a lie, to us little Boys, when the truth would have for better. At her last day of school She was about, she was about to make us some small presents, I was in the third class, she called our class up to her desk, said she wanted to make the good boys of the third class presents of some nice fishhook, and bealt²⁰⁵ out one Bogus fishhook to each little boy, Now as young as we were, we knew what fishhooks were better than she did. Well, after those good boys had reci[e]ved their Bogus fishhooks, they might go out and play, but the boys of the second class were not

²⁰⁰ Narragansett term: an Indigenous ceremony involving feasting, singing, and dancing.

²⁰¹ Battle of Waterloo (June 18, 1815); British-led coalition victory over France.

²⁰² Read: "corral" (i.e., gather together).

²⁰³ Unit of measurement (16.5 feet).

²⁰⁴ Read: "wether."

²⁰⁵ Read: "dealt."

very good, they must not go out. And when we were out of sight, she called up the boys of the second class & presented them with sleevebuttons, one pair of which were worth a doz[en] of her fishhooks. And then they might go out and play, & -send the third class in. Well, the boys with the sleevebuttons could not resist the temptation of crowing our us, whose heads were now made sore “They would not have such worthless things” some threw them away, others took them in & laid theirs on their Hon[orable] teachers desk.

Poor Miss Jones, How little she thought that one of little Boys after a laps[e] of 80 years would be away here toward the setting sun exposing her Perfidity

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Job Interviewed

Job 14-10

Job²⁰⁶ gravely informs us that man dieth and wasteth away, yea man giveth up the ghost and where is he,²⁰⁷ yes Job we understand something of that first proposition, we see it demonstrated quite frequently, that man dieth and giveth up the ghost, then you ask us poor short sighted creatures where is he. Now Job I dont think that is exactly fair, you have greatly the advantage of us. you have been up yonder almost “since the morning stars first sang together,”²⁰⁸ and I think you should be willing to gratify our curiosity, and we would return the question, And now Job if you have not got the moundbuilders of the Missi[ssi]ppi Valley,²⁰⁹ the Cassa Grand builders²¹⁰ of the Gila vall[e]y,²¹¹ and the Cave dwellers up there with you. I would ask with due respect where are they. The Cassa Grand builders, have left us some rude stone implements & probably they have left us their dust, but we cannot read it, no metal, no Bones, but they have left us an evidence of their being indefatiga[b]le workers in their way, and Job where are they.

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Obituary Notice

A brief obituary notice of my young Brother William Wilson Bancroft born Granville Mass[achusetts] June 7 1803, Died Oct[ober] 19 1805 aged two years & a few days. He died about three weeks before my other brother William. Doct[or] W[illiam]. W[ilson]. was born, so I have had for a long tim[e], two pre[v]ious Brothers in heaven, of the same name,²¹² I recollect the young brother as a pleasant

²⁰⁶ Old Testament figure.

²⁰⁷ Holy Bible, Old Testament, Job 14:10.

²⁰⁸ Holy Bible, Old Testament, Job 38:7.

²⁰⁹ Monuments of the Indigenous (ca. 3500 BCE to 1500 CE), e.g., at Cahokia, Illinois.

²¹⁰ Casa Grande Ruins National Monument (Pinal Co., Arizona).

²¹¹ Gila River Valley (in Arizona and New Mexico).

²¹² William Wilson Bancroft (the Older) died 1805; Dr. William Wilson Bancroft (the Younger) died in 1870. Reusing the same name for siblings helped keep the deceased’s memory alive.

playful little fellow, At one time he had two day scabs upon the corners of his forehead, that he called his horns. His ailment was called at that time canker & rattles,²¹³ am told it was what we now call scarlet fever. He died sitting in grandmother Bancrofts²¹⁴ lap. A little before his departure he called for something a number of times, & could not make himself understood, finally he was understood to call for Ashley & Henry, we were brought to him, he took each by the hand he could not speak, but seemed pleased & satisfied. this was his last farewell to his older Brothers[.] When he ceased to breathe, grandmother spoke quite distinct, well Tabitha,²¹⁵ he has gone, Mother was greatly affected. And now when we enter those gates, shall we look for a little Boy, or for a young man

Page 62:

My First day in school

I recollect distinctly the first day I attended school.²¹⁶ It was in Granville Mass[achusetts] was probably four or five years old. our house was one mile from the schoolhouse. My Father was going a little beyaund the schoolhouse with a load of tan Bark, he put me upon the load while the other children walked[.] arriving at the schoolhouse I was seated upon a long high bench standing in the middle of the floor, I think my feet reached about half way to the floor, and becoming weary went to sleep and fell off upon the floor[.] hurt a little and frightened more and cried lustily to go home and see My Mother. But the kind teacher and the little Boy finally compromised, & stayed untill night.

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In noting my early recollections I have recorded some things rather humiliating, and others that inspired devout gratitude to God. Would here remark that I verily believe that I was renewed in h[e]art as early as five years of age at least, that if I am a child of God now I was then, notwithstanding my childish freaks &c. &c. Well, when I was quite a small boy I was sitting beside my Mother reading the testament to her & of the Saviours hteaching & healing[.] My reading was attended with some difficulty on account of my impediment, My Mother inter[r]upted my reading by asking if I did not wish the Saviour was now on our streets, that I might go to him and be healed of this trouble, He was as willing to heal now as then, & we could go to him by prayer with a promise that he would hear and answer. Well, as young as I was this was a matter of deep thought and I remembered it before the throne and as I became older my supplications more importunate & at times but little desire to live without an answer - And you may ask, did the Kind heaven

²¹³ Croup after scarlet fever.

²¹⁴ Elizabeth Spelman Bancroft (1740-1836), A. A. Bancroft's paternal grandmother.

²¹⁵ Tabitha Pratt Bancroft (1771-1842), A. A. Bancroft's mother.

²¹⁶ See above, manuscript page 45 and 47.

answer - Yes he answered like a God, not by granting the identical request but something Far Better.

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My trip to Upper & Lower Sandusky in 1820

About one year before I was married, which [was] just before the Ohio canal was constructed, labour and produce were extremely low & money as scarced, My brother in law Knowels Linnel²¹⁷ & my self, in order to put in our time, loaded our two horse waggons with Flower²¹⁸ of our own make, for Upper Sandusk[y]²¹⁹ timing it so as to reach there at the time the Indians were to rece[i]ve their annuities - We also had orders from Col[onel]. Humphrey²²⁰ of Granv[i]ll[le] for loads of tin plate from Lower Sandusky²²¹ as back freight. We started late in July after our harvest, when weather was settled & roads good. We took our camp equipage along including Horse feed &c. &c. intending not to [make] the country taverns much richer for our trip. As we were to be absent many days, we took our time, the distance more than 100 miles and our loads including feed were heavy, yet our intent was to make the journey rather pleasa[n]t[.] We found a large number of Indians assembled there, engaged as Indians are prone to be, in drinking gambling Horse rasing,²²² but we soon found there was but little money in circulation[.] They wanted flour, but lacked the money to pay for it. However we sold many small lotes²²³ to families, but sold our loads principlly to Indian traders. As our expences were not worth nameing, we done much better than at home.

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After disposing of our loads we spent some hours at their town Pipe town,²²⁴ where was an extensive Indian Cemetery where we amused ourselves. It was different from Lone Mountain,²²⁵ but exhibited the different phases & tastes of the Poor Indian, much as Lone Mountain does of the Whites. This Indian Cemetery was located on a sandy tract, some of it covered with scruboakes, which were utilized ~~expen~~ in enclosing & covering the graves, inside of those enclosures were many articles of food in neat little Trays carved of wood, dried meat, green corn, crabapple, wild Plumbs, Gourds of water, Mockosons Hatchets, Bows & arrows.

²¹⁷ (1788-1875); married to Lucretia Bancroft (1795-1856), A. A. Bancroft's sister.

²¹⁸ Read: "flour."

²¹⁹ City (Wyandot Co., Ohio); settled before the American Revolution.

²²⁰ Col. Chauncey Humphrey (1774-1852); entrepreneur in the tin and sheet iron business.

²²¹ City: Fremont (formerly Lower Sandusky; Sandusky Co., Ohio); 1750s trading post.

²²² Read: "racing."

²²³ Perhaps "lots."

²²⁴ Location (Ohio); named after an Indigenous chief, Captain Pipe (Konieschquanoheel).

²²⁵ Lone Mountain Cemetery (San Francisco, California); established 1854.

The Indian belief of the future is, that if he is a good Indian he goes into good hunting ground where he fares well, but if a bad Indian, he has a hard time of it, much as the bad white people do. And now what has inspired the poor benighted Indian to bestow this kind care upon his friends who have gone to the happy hunting ground. As this was a long time in advance of Miss Phelps²²⁶ having enlightened the public by her "Gates - ajar" & her beyond the gates" He must have receiv[e]d the insperation from some source to sit him to thinking & working[.]

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Then we had a pleasant drive of abo[u]t 30 miles from Upper Sandusky, to Lower Sandusky stop[p]ing over the sabbath at 'Cold Spring'²²⁷ the longest and most celebrated Spring I ever saw, it Boiled up over a space of two acres of level ground, making a deep of that size, where it was ten feet deep we could see every straw & pebble on the bot[t]om (from the clearness of the water) When we were there in 1821 they were building a dam & a mill at the outlet of the S[p]ring. I think it em[p]tied into Lake Erie in about 5 melis,²²⁸ & in that distance there were quite a number of mills, I dont remember the number. While there we were shown a number of vacant log cabbins where white settlers lived before the war of 1812, but dereng the war Indians raided those settlements and took the white women & children Prisoners, many of which never found their friends again. Upon arriving home with our loads of tin plate, Col[onel] Humphrey opened a[n] extensive Tin Shop for the manufactory of tin ware[,] the first started in Granville which furnished business for a large number of tin Ped[d]lers[.]

Pages 68, 69, 70: Pages left blank.

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Feb 21 - 1884

San Fransisco

My Work and its results

When requested to put some early recollections on paper for amusement of children &c. I was not disposed to regard it with favor, I done alittle, and soon after I rec[e]ived an injury which cripp[le]d [me] for a time, then the sickness & death of my dear wife followed so there was a long time my book was out of sight, But Sept [18]83 I was located in this pleasant chamber with all the facilities for work and soon found that my work tended to quicken memory, It has been alittle like widows cruise,²²⁹ the more I usued the more I had for use. I know full that it

²²⁶ Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911); American author who penned *The Gates Ajar* (1868), *Beyond the Gates* (1883), and *The Gates Between* (1887).

²²⁷ Probably the "Blue Hole" (Castalia, Erie Co., Ohio).

²²⁸ Read: "miles."

²²⁹ See Holy Bible, Old Testament, 1 Kings 17:8-16.

is a crude auncouth concern, yet have rather enjoyed it. I needed employment and this has done me good in more ways then one[.] We know that every part of the System is made for work. Our teeth for instance, if we do not use them in grinding our hard food they decay, our limbs also if we do use them, they become set so we cannot use them. I have recorded many little incidents that occurred 75 or 80 years ago and am confident that I have in most cases have availed myself of the identical words used, it has also had some effect during past months, in Staving off old age a[little]. We frequently hear the term used a che[c]kered life. And most of our lives come to analize there are more or less checkered. my own for instance, in looking back upon from this standpo[i]nt

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say my 85 anaversary in many resiepts²³⁰ looks checkered. I have not in those many years, done every thing that some others have done. I have mingled extensively with all kinds of people, and from the days of my Boyhood, to the present time cannot call to mind of ever striking a boy or man in anger, or ever receiving a blow. No man has ever heard me utter a profane word. No man has even seen me drunk[.] In my business intercourse, have never contracted but very few debts, almost iniconelly²³¹ earned my money, before I spent it. Am not cons[c]ious of honestly oweing a man one dollar, As a general rule when a Boy I harmon[i]zed pretty well with Brothers & Sisters, yet can call to mind many things, that called for penitense. But I would not for one moment regard myself as richeous²³² above others, for I know that my life has been exceedingly imperfect. But I can glory in an imputed robe of richeousness²³³ even Christs which is my only hope. But it seems almost too much for me to make that claim. And now, in my present state, feeling myself more dead than alive expecting almost daily to be called by the Master, I often ask myself, how I could live one day without this unspeakable boon of imputed richeousness. O "what a friend we have in Jesus."²³⁴ "Wonders of grace to God belong[.]"²³⁵
1605 Franklin St²³⁶ Feb 29 San F[rancisco]

Page 73:

When I was from 6 to 8 years old there was much said & preached about the Millinneum²³⁷, by this team was me[a]nt a reign of richeousness, when a large

²³⁰ Read: "respects."

²³¹ Read: "initially."

²³² Read: "righteous."

²³³ Read: "righteousness."

²³⁴ Hymn; words (1855) by Joseph M. Scriven; tune by Charles Crozat Converse (1868).

²³⁵ Line three of the hymn "Give to Our God Immortal Praise" by Isaac Watts (1674-1748).

²³⁶ Address (Polk Gulch neighborhood, San Francisco).

²³⁷ A reference to millenialism, a belief held by various Christian groups since late antiquity and based on Holy Bible, New Testament, Revelation 20:1-6.

portion of the inhabitan[t]s of earth would be christians. expositors in studying the prophesies with a view to ascertain when this event might be expe[c]ted, fixed upon the year 1866.²³⁸ Now I was anxious to make sure of heaven, but could not reason[a]bly expect to live to see that day. It was not expe[c]ted that this great event would be ushered in suddenly but gradually, & by human instrumentality²³⁹ by lay minestirs & others laboring through the world as Mr Moody²⁴⁰ has done. Expositors yet believe that such a time is comeing, but in their calculations have not fixed upon the right time. And now for some reasons my life has been lengthened out beyond this fixed time for this great event so I do not in the least trust to that, yet my hope of heaven is as unshaken as the Eternal-Hills. and O what a foundation we have in Christ.²⁴¹ I think it not too much for me to claim & to express, that I do know that I love the Saviour and am loved of Him, notwithstanding all my inconsistencies. When I was from four to six years old, I had frequent seasons of laying awake nights and weeping on account of my sins, & there upon my bed resolving that I would try & be a better little Boy

Page 74:

I have had similar exercises through my life, though of late years not so much tears of penitense, as tears of gratitude and joy for Gods unmired mercies throug[h] a long life. Where is the man that has been so signally favored as I have been[.] And in view of my exercises of mind when a little Boy and since, I am strongly impressed that if I am a renewed person now, I was when four years old.

Page 75:

March 1850

Notes of my first trip to California

In March 1850²⁴² a company of about 30, most of them Farmers, & rather moral started from our part of Licking County for the Gold fields. We had secured tickets on a line of Steamers from New York to Chagres,²⁴³ We were to go to Zanesville by wagons[.] We left Granville one morning before daylight in a blinding March snow storm. It was a dismal morning, & dark for[e]bodings, and most resembled a Leep in the dark, of any that I ever took. I thought then, & afterwards that there was a number of chances for me to fall by the way, to where there was one to escape. But my covenant God was with me. And is it a reatily²⁴⁴, or an illusion that

²³⁸ See, for example, R. Govett, "Answer to the Rev. B. Young on the Millennium," *The Rainbow: A Magazine of Christian Literature* 4 (1867): 403-412; see also *ibid.*, 472-474, 506-511.

²³⁹ Read: "instrumentality."

²⁴⁰ Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899); American evangelist and publisher.

²⁴¹ See Holy Bible, New Testament, 1 Corinthians 3:11.

²⁴² See above, manuscript pages 19-20.

²⁴³ At the time the main Atlantic port on the Isthmus of Panama.

²⁴⁴ Read: "reality."

I did leave my home on that dismal morning, & on that dismal enterprise, and that that step forward, had something to do with the Bancroft none on the Pacific. Prev[i]ous to our leaving, we had sent two of our number to New York to arrange for us, on arriving I met G[eorge]. H[unter]. Derby²⁴⁵ who was there on business, he was ~~there~~ exce[e]ding kind and active in supplying all my little wants. He gave me a large diary which was very useful, As I was about leaving he became a little excited & in shaking my hand hand [sic] remarked, I must come to San Francisco soon, and start a Bookstore there about as big as all out of doors. Our Steamer was of the largest size -

Page 76:

We all understood that Capt[ain] Porter²⁴⁶ was to call at Havana²⁴⁷, and there meet a ship from New Orleans²⁴⁸ and transfer her passengers to our ship for Chagres, but a few of our hat heads swore it should not be, had enough already & then they might bring some disease aboard, but the bluster did not trouble Capt[ain] Porter. The Harbour there is very snug, at the mouth we run in under the guns of Morro Castle²⁴⁹ which looks at a little distance like a ledge of rock, at a nearer view would be seen mounted guns, and Soldiers, the Ship from the south was there in advance of us and we anc[h]ored near by, we remained there near two days, where the time arrived for transfer[r]ing the passengers, Porter came on deck with a double shotgun and sat down, & ordered our line to be passed over to the other ship & made fast, then attached to our caps[t]on,²⁵⁰ and began to draw the ships together and when side by side the transfer was made just as easy as sliding down hill, and Porter had no occasion to spend his ammunition. We spent our time there very pleasantly indeed yet every thing about the city has an old decayed look. The Park is extensive, fountains numerous and in their day were gorg[e]ous, The city wall does not not amount to much, numerous old cannon planted in the streets as fenderposts. On our round we bought at a stand some mealons²⁵¹ laid there on an empty table to cut, taking out our pocket knives, which the vendor seeing rushed up huslled them

Page 77:

out of sight saying if police see we pay big fine and handed us some old case knives which were not danger[.] There were a number of shipmates got into trouble by not conforming to their silly rules. But those w[h]o kept sober and behaved decently had no trouble. Our Capt[ain] Porter was son of the celebrated

²⁴⁵ Husband of Cecilia Marianne Bancroft, A. A. Bancroft's daughter.

²⁴⁶ Probably David Dixon Porter (1813-1891).

²⁴⁷ Capital city (Cuba).

²⁴⁸ City (Orleans Parish, Louisiana).

²⁴⁹ Fortress at the entrance to Havana Bay (Cuba); constructed 1589-1630.

²⁵⁰ Read: "capstan;" vertical-axled rotating device to haul ropes etc.

²⁵¹ Read: "melons."

Com[ander]-Porter²⁵² who was a distinguished as a Naval officer in 1812 he commanded the Essex & her consort, done some hard service in destroying British ship[p]ing untill they marked him & fit[t]ed out two ships much heavier than Porters, & sent them out to cruise for him, and thi[s] was about what might have been expected, they were too heavy for him. We reached Chagres near sunset, I told our boys not to hurry off untill I c[o]uld speak to the Capt[ain]. when the way was clear I explained to him I had charge of a few men and in my permit from my insurance Co[mpany] was restricted from stop[p]ing ouver night at Chagres and could we not a few of us remain on the ship over night, he was quite gentlemanly said the ship would not remain, but I would have no difficulty[;] I could secure men & boats & start at once better than to wait. I thanked him & found it as he said and [we] were soon moving up the River withe the multitude hooping & shouting. We ship[p]ed for the town of Gorgona²⁵³ were many pack trains fit out paid our mim²⁵⁴ [sic] half their fare before starting There were many shoal places where our men had to step out, & drag over them[.]

Page 78:

alittle after midkn[i]ght our men were up to some of them lined and they proposed stop[p]ing untill morning & all take a sleep, which we did[,] they going home & we sleeping in the canoes drawn up on the sand. The passage up Chagres²⁵⁵ was quite pictureisk & exciting[:] every thing, s[h]rub, tree, & plant had a foreign aspe[c]t, every thing but the King fisher²⁵⁶ he looked & behaved just as he used to[,] plenty of monkeys over head parake[e]tes or wild Parrots screaming over head Blooming trees common But the Bamboo Brakes or thickets alloreled²⁵⁷ [sic] much[,] grew like cone Brakes close, & from 4 to 6 inches diameter & from 50 to 70 feet high. Great use is made of Bamboo in building their houses log cabin style. Well our men were on hand bright & early, there were many settlers & some small towns along the river where we got fruit & vegetables. at one town we got some Bread Fruit²⁵⁸ the only lot I ever saw, growth like corn[,] taste like sweet potatoe only better[.] I asked the Alcalda²⁵⁹ of this Bread Fruit, said was easily cultivated & productive, a few rods square would supply a family the entire year, & not require other food, so that is the place to live. In the course of this second days run, an American woman hailed us from the other side [of] the river wanted us to come

²⁵² David Porter (1780-1843).

²⁵³ Town (on the Pacific coast, Panama).

²⁵⁴ Perhaps "men."

²⁵⁵ River (central Panama).

²⁵⁶ Bird.

²⁵⁷ Perhaps "allured."

²⁵⁸ Tropical tree with edible fruit.

²⁵⁹ Read "alcalde" (official, magistrate).

over and her in awe of our canoes, untill she could overtake her company[.] She was standing upon a log partly in water[.]

One of our natives who was in the water dragging started over for her, as naked as he was born backed up to her took her on his back & brought her over as I helped her from his back into the canoe I remashed, Madam this is rather a novel mode of travel the safest I should think it was. The third day at eve we reached our destination Gorgona atown where many pack trains are fitted out, some miles, but more of oxen, and more of Natives than either. We remained there about two days, on one of which they held a great native For-dou go epidemic to a Ball, in the open air, so we had the pleasure of seeing the Natives dance. During the performance a "few of loose sort" created a disturbance and the Alecks ordered them to the guard house, & two of them had their feet made fast in the stocks, so we paid them a visit. The guard house was of Bamboo 30 square built log cabin style. the stocks were two pieces of light timber extending the length of the house on ^{one} top of the other with hot places secured to fit the ankles, a strong hinge on one end & hoops & padlock on the other, dog hides were placed on ground to sit upon, they could lie, sit, or recline. There were two native guards with short muskets walking back and forth looking awful grave. It was well understood that Lito Paster was to call at Novana & there meet a ship from the south & take her passengers on board for Chagres, but a few of our hot heads were it should not be hot too many already. But the bluster did not trouble the

Figure 3: Bancroft crossing Panama (ms. p. 79).

Page 79:

one of our natives who was in the water drag[g]ing started over for her, as naked as he was born backed up to her took her on his back & brought her over as I

helped her from his back into the canoe[.] I remarked, Madam this is rather a novel mode of travel she replied - I - should - think - it - was. The third day at eve we reached our destination Gorgona a town w[h]ere many pack trains are fit[t]ed out, some mules, but more of oxen, and more of Natives than either. We remained there about two days, on one of which they held a great native Fon-don go²⁶⁰ [sic] equi[v]alent to a Ball, in the open air. So we had the privalige of seeing the Natives Damsels. During the performance a "few of booe²⁶¹ sort" created a disturbance and the Alcalda ordered them to the guard house, & two of them had their feet made fast in the stacks, so we paid them a visit. The guard house was of Bamboo 30 square built log cabin stile. the stacks were two pi[e]ses [sic] of light timber extending the length of the house on one top of the other[,] both had places scal[l]uped to fit the oveles, a strong hinge on one end & hasp & padlick²⁶² on the other, dry hides were plac[e]d on ground to sit upon, they could lie, sit, or recline, Then two native guard with shout muskets walking back and forth looking awful grave[.]

It was well understood that Capt[ain] Porter was to call at Havana²⁶³ & there meet a ship from the south & take her passengers on board for Chagres, but a few of our hat heads swore it should not be[,] had too many already. But the bluster did not trouble the [Captain?]

Page 80:

In entering the little snug harbour we ran in under the guns of Moro Castle. At a little distance Moro looks like a ledge of rock, but at a nearer mounted guns & troops. Our southern ship was in & we anchorerd near by, we remained near two day, when the time arrived for transfer[r]ing the passengers Porter came on deck with a double barrel[l]ed shot gun and sat down, ordered our line passed over and made fast, also made a turn around our caps[t]an and began to draw the ships together, and when side by side the transfer was made just as easy as sliding down hill, and no waste of ammunition[.] We spent near two days very pleasantly at Havana[,] were constantly on the move, every[thing] there has an old decayed look, the Park is extensive, Fountains numerous & in their day georgeous. The city wall does not amount to much. There are numerous old cannon planted in the streets as fenderposts. One day on our rounds we bought at a stand a lot of mealons, we laid them on an empty table to cut, took out our pocket knives which the vender saw, he rushed up & hust[l]ed them out of sight saying poliece see them you pay big fine, gave us old case knives. There were a number of our shipmates arrested for refusing to comply with their silly rules.

²⁶⁰ Read: "fandango" (dance, party).

²⁶¹ Those who boo (i.e., shout in disapproval).

²⁶² Read: "padlock."

²⁶³ See above, manuscript pages 76-77.

Page 81:

Brief sketch

Our experi[e]nce on the Pacific

We had tickets, on a Steamer for the Pacific that [had] not arrived at Panama,²⁶⁴ our commit[t]ee called upon the Consul to get his views, he thought she might not be at Panama for a month[.] We called a council. There was a sailing vess[e]l in Port. the Bark Susan of 300 tons calling for passengers, we visited the Capt[ain], & the ship, both appe[a]red well, He was a Boston Seafaring man of 50 years quite preposses[s]ing, we could exchange our tickets and get extra for them, It was sickly at Panama, & all were in favor of shipping upon the Bark Susan, we started, what we thought under favorable circumstances. Would much rather be on pacific, than waiting in f[i]lthy old Panama, were well pl[e]ased with our Capt[ain], for about three days every thing went well. The best friend I had on board was W[illia]m Ellis intel[l]igent & pious, he took me by the arm saying what do you suppose ails our Captain[,] he is trouble[d], watch him, goes to one side of the ship & stra[i]ns his eyes ahead and then to the other & so back & forth. Early the next he notified us to assemble he wanted to explain to them, Said the company [that had] fitted out ship imposed upon him, had put more passengers and less supplies than were to, but added dont be troubled, I know those southern seas well I can run South a few days an[d] catch all the rain water we want, & then proce[e]de[d] on our course[.]

Page 82:

so we gave him a cheer for the south, and in few days he called us up again, thought we had better steer for a port on the coast of Mexico as the winds seemed to faver it so we cheered for that port. Then again changed to Galap[a]gus Islands²⁶⁵ on the Equator. It disturbed the Capt[ain] some for us yankees to watch the compass, one morning friend Ellis came to me early slap[p]ed me on the shoulder saying what do you think, we are headed for Panama I rep[l]yed well I am prepared for almost any thing and soon it was undersdood among us, we were on our return. Then the Capt[ain] called us up once more and said It was a fact, after more thought he had decided that our grieven[c]es were so great that that [sic] he dare not enter a port where there was no American Consul, therefore had made the change in the night. Now he says keep up spirits, and the Consul will supply us & then go direct to San F[rancisco]. At dusk that same eve a cry was raised A man overboard he lay close under the stern, a rope was thrown to him & exhausted to lay hold, but no[,] then a boat was lowered and before they reached him he had sank. And this our poor Captain. He had gone into a store room at the

²⁶⁴ See above, manuscript pages 19-20.

²⁶⁵ Volcanic archipelago (off the coast of Ecuador, Pacific Ocean); famous for its wildlife.

stern and cut his throat with a razor and not dying soon he clim[b]ed up to a scuttle in the stern and threw himself out into the water[.]

Page 83:

So it devolved upon our first Mate to take our ship back to Panama.²⁶⁶ Our ship had become very light water & sup[p]lies nearly gone, and no ballast and being round bottomed, could not hold up against the wind, Panama Bay is very large some say 300 miles, when we arrived at its mouth we met a strong land breeze, the ship light & round Bottomed could not ~~not~~ make headway by tacking we ran back & forth for ten days across the mouth, other ships well ballasted would pass us and enter without difficu[l]ty. This was the trying position I was ever placed in, we had been on allowance of food & water for some time, then the ship was a floating Hospital many sick, some nigh unto death, and we comple[te]ly helpless untill the wind would favored us, at length our time came and we ran in, and 57 days from the time we left, drop[p]ed our anchor in Panama bay with Flag reversed as signal of distress. ~~we~~ our company had our commit[t]ee for the Consul appointed, and the first boat that came off took us ashore[.] the Consul was prompt, the boat us off took back medicine & supplies for the sick, we were furnished a large tent on the Island of Taboga near P[anama]- which occupied two weeks while our S[h]ip was being cl[e]ansed refitted & reoffic[e]red & sent on in the same ship, arriving in San Frances[c]o in July, about five months from time of starting[.]

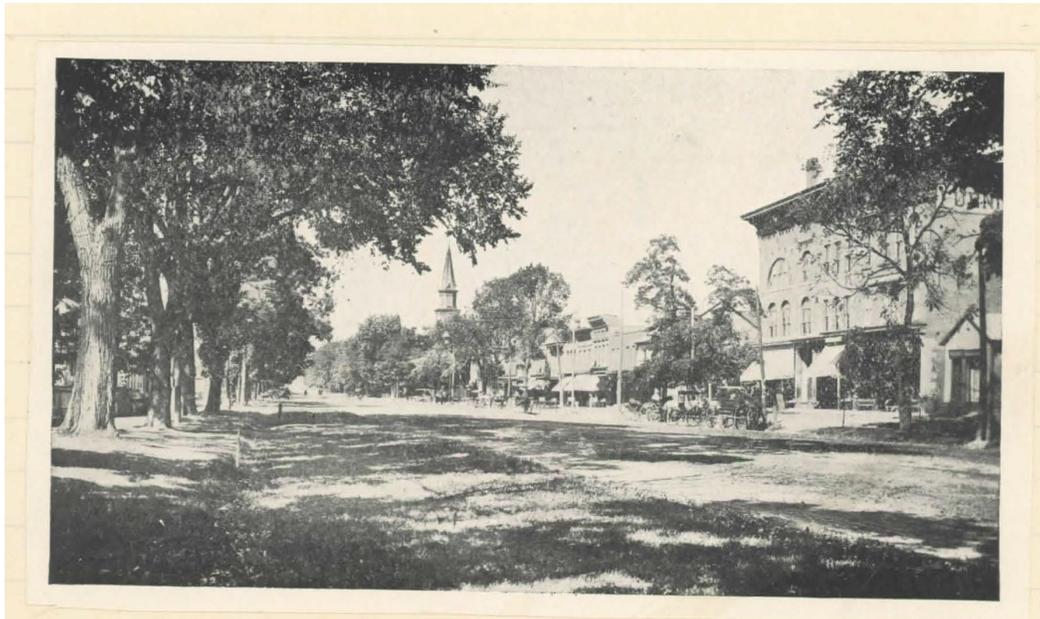


Figure 4: Granville, Ohio (historical photograph).

²⁶⁶ See Robert Frank Evans, *Notes on Land and Sea: 1850* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1922), 50.

The remainder of the book contains the following printed matter: (1) *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 56 (1902): 83-88, including J. Henry Lea, Esq., "Genealogical Gleanings among the English Archives," with information on the Bancrofts in England dating back to the sixteenth century; (2) a historical photograph/postcard of Granville, Ohio, with the First Presbyterian Church (110 W Broadway) in the background on right; (3) Rev. C. L. Work, D.D., "The Presbyterian Church of Granville, Ohio," *Old Northwest General Quarterly* 8 (1905): 255-259, with additional images of Granville's earliest buildings and inscriptions from "Old Burying Ground, Granville" (*ibid.*, 406); the historical photograph/postcard mentioned above (2) appears in this same volume (*ibid.*, between 250 and 251).

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Glenn Patrick Doherty and Amer Hamid (editors)

The Drudgery of a Dramatist:

George Bernard Shaw's Correspondence with Frederick Whelen (1896-1916)

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC-79.

Dwight Strong Collection of George Bernard Shaw.

Document Box 3: Correspondence. Folder 3: Frederick Whelen.

November 8, 1896, to April 21, 1916.

Eight letters, four postcards, one drawing (numbered 1 to 13 below).

Introduction

The eight letters, four postcards, and one drawing edited here are part of the "Dwight Strong Collection of George Bernard Shaw," donated to California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), by the businessman and collector Dwight V. Strong (1916-2002). Consisting of manuscripts, first editions, and memorabilia (45 linear feet in volumes and boxes) pertaining to the famous Irish playwright and political activist Shaw (1856-1950), the collection was initially intended for Stanford University, Strong's alma-mater. However, feeling that it did not receive proper attention there, Strong reconsidered, so CSUF's Patrons of the Library procured it in 1981. Shortly thereafter, the Patrons sponsored a symposium with major Shaw scholars, moderated by Dr. Paulina June Pollak, professor of English (CSUF). The correspondence is in good condition. The color of the paper is manila to off-white; the ink color is usually black; and the type either black or blue.

All but two of Shaw's items edited here are addressed to London Stage Society founder Frederick Whelen (1867-1955). Correspondence 3 (April 2, 1903) is addressed to Audrey Smith, the secretary of the Stage Society, and Correspondence 9 (June 4, 1910) is written by Whelen himself in direct response to Shaw's Correspondence 8 (June 3, 1910). The items cover a wide range of subjects, including minor and major business ventures (Correspondence 1, 8, 9); the casting of Shaw's play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (Correspondence 2); several matters pertaining to the Stage Society and its reincorporation (Correspondence 3, 5, 6, 10); Whelen's idea to open a bookshop in London, which Shaw welcomes and uses for a tirade on London's inadequacy in that regard, especially when compared to Italy (Correspondence 4); a delightful drawing of Shaw telling prominent politicians "what to do" (Correspondence 7); the plans for a National Shakespeare Theatre and the politics of censorship (Correspondence 11); the idea of writing a film based on Shaw's plays, which he sets aside due to his uncertainty that it would be worth his time (Correspondence 12); and the offer

to write a preface for a book on modern Russian theater, which he rejects, arguing that he has never been to Russia (Correspondence 13).

The correspondence shows one of the most famous modern playwrights successful, engaged, and active. It also shows him considering and conservatively rejecting new endeavors during that success. It suggests that Shaw's social critique and political activism stem from the views he develops as he manages his life as a playwright.

The transcriptions below preserve the spelling and capitalization of the original correspondence. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

Edition: Correspondence 1, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen, November 8, 1896 (postcard)

Front: [handwritten, black ink; red Queen Victoria halfpenny stamp, black postmark]

Frederick Whelen [Esq.]¹
59 Rossetti Mansions²
Chelsea
S.W.

Back: [handwritten, black ink]

29 Fitzroy Square W.³
8th. November 1896.

Dear Whelen

£30. That is my ordinary rate for magazine articles - £3 per thousand words, with £5 as a minimum.

How soon would the copy have to be delivered?

y[ou]rs

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw

Edition: Correspondence 2, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen, December 6, 1900 (letter)

Front: [handwritten, black ink; letterhead, printed: "10. ADELPHI TERRACE. W.C.;"⁴ left margin, handwritten, black ink, different hand: "Barker⁵ played the American and was one of the successes of the play."]

6th. Dec. 1900.

Dear Whelen

¹ Whelen's name in this and other correspondence is followed by a symbol that presumably represents "Esq." (Esquire); see below, Correspondence 8 (June 3, 1910).

² Address (Chelsea, southwest London); building (ca. 1890) still standing.

³ Address (central London); building (ca. 1790s) still standing; Shaw's residence 1887-1898.

⁴ Address (Westminster, London); building demolished in the 1930s; Shaw's residence (together with his wife, Charlotte Frances Payne-Townshend) 1898-1906.

⁵ See below, note 7.

It seems to me useless to send out this program until the cast is settled. All that has happened today is its unsettling; for Thorpe⁶ did not turn up and I have just written to Granville Barker⁷ to tell him that if he plays the Captain⁸ he will disgrace himself (he cannot talk American) and that he had better stick to his original part of Redbrook.⁹ That shifts Bottomley¹⁰ to Marzo¹¹ - if he will stand being shifted, and if Barker agrees. The whole affair is in a devil of a mess; and if you must send out a program now, you had better leave out the names of the players; for Lord knows what the final selection will be.

By the way, had you not better send Clement Scott¹² a box.¹³ He has put a paragraph in the Free Lance¹⁴ clearly asking for one. As he is an editor and a man of letters now, and not a critic in his old sense, there is no reason why he should not enjoy this civility; and I think it would pay the S. S.¹⁵ because he

Back: [handwritten, black ink]

would undoubtedly write something about the performance, and a notice from him would make it much easier to get actors in future. At all events it is worth considering.

In haste

y[ou]rs ever

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw

Edition: Correspondence 3, George Bernard Shaw to Aubrey Smith, April 2, 1903 (letter)

Front (single-sided): [typewritten, black ribbon]

Copy.

Maybury Knoll,¹⁶

Woking.

2nd April, 1903.

Dear Aubrey Smith,¹⁷

⁶ Courtenay Thorpe (d. 1927), actor.

⁷ Harley Granville-Barker (1877-1946), actor, director, writer, theater producer.

⁸ Character in Shaw's play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1900).

⁹ Character in Shaw's play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1900).

¹⁰ Roland Bottomley (1880-1947), actor.

¹¹ Character in Shaw's play *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1900).

¹² (1841-1904), theater critic, writer.

¹³ Perhaps a reference to (tickets to) a theater box (i.e., preferred seating).

¹⁴ *The Free Lance: A Popular Society and Critical Journal*, founded by Clement Scott in 1900.

¹⁵ Stage Society: private/not censorable London play-production organization (1899-1948).

¹⁶ Address (cottage name, northwest Surrey, southwest of London); rented by the Shaws.

¹⁷ Secretary of the Stage Society, actor. See James Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition 1881-1914* (Beckenham: Croom Helm Letc., 1984), 61.

This is to explain my telegram. Please pass it on to the Committee.¹⁸

Bashville¹⁹ is all very well as a joke. It would do excellently as a tailpiece on the last night of the season after a three act play, or after two shorter pieces, of which the central one was of really serious interest. Even then the parts should be played by London critics, who should not be paid the customary two guineas,²⁰ and who, on their being called at the end, should be saluted with a shower of eggs, dead cats, nad [sic] gingerbeer bottles (property [sic] ones). A specially large and putrid cat should be reserved for the author.

But to put the piece up as the staple of a subscriber's night,²¹ with one piece too short to be anything but a curtain raiser, would be trifling with the Society. If I were an ordinary subscriber I should certainly complain that this was not what I paid my money for, and not what I put Mrs Shaw²² on the committee for. I should ask whether we were to have one of Mr Hankin's "Dramatic Sequels"²³ next.

I know what the committee say about Bashville being cheap. But its cheapness depends on its being done with curtains instead of scenery; and I think the committee overlooked the fact that other plays can be done with curtains too, and that curtains are good for serious plays and bad for burlesques. I am strongly in favor of trying curtains as an experiment - the right sort of curtains are not more than twice as expensive as second hand scenery. I have seen Browning's *Luria*²⁴ without scenery; and it did not suffer at all. One of Landor's²⁵ *Imaginary Conversations with Imaginary Scenery* might do. But anyhow once we decide to try curtains (which we could borrow from Miss Craig²⁶) the whole poetic drama is open to us. The one thing that would not justify curtains is a burlesque of any sort. If the thing were a success, you could do *Caesar and Cleopatra*²⁷ next year with curtains and wooden soldiers. Meanwhile we can either find a really suitable play for the experiment or else abandon the performance altogether and save it up to make a fifth performance certain next time.

Yours faithfully,

G[EORGE]. BERNARD SHAW.

¹⁸ Stage Society, committee of managers.

¹⁹ *The Admirable Bashville* (1901), play by Shaw.

²⁰ The subscription cost of being a member of the Stage Society was two guineas.

²¹ Stage Society members paid to meet on certain Sundays for private viewings of plays.

²² Charlotte Frances Payne-Townshend (1857-1943), Irish activist, Shaw's wife since 1898.

²³ *Mr. Punch's Dramatic Sequels* (1901), collection by St. John Hankin (1869-1909).

²⁴ *Luria* (1846), play by Robert Browning (1812-1889).

²⁵ Walter Savage Landor (1775-1864), author of *Imaginary Conversations* (1824-1829).

²⁶ Edith Craig (1869-1947), producer, costume designer.

²⁷ *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1899), play by Shaw.

*Edition: Correspondence 4, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
April 18, 1903 (letter)*

Front (single-sided): [handwritten, black ink; letterhead, printed: Grand Hotel Brufani
** Perugia **²⁸]

18th. April 1903.

Dear Whelen

I think you may venture upon your Bookshop scheme without much misgiving, as you are a good organizer, and there can be no doubt of the width of the opening for such an enterprise. Nothing astonishes me more than the difficulty of buying books in London. My public business brings me eventually into the Borough of St Pancras,²⁹ with [a] quarter of a million inhabitants, with Tottenham Court Road³⁰ at one end and Highgate³¹ at the other. I know of no bookshop in it. There are stalls in the railway stations; and no doubt Shoolbred³² will sell books if customers ask for them; but there is nothing to let the passer-by know that. There is a shop where you can buy sextants and a shop where you can buy folding bedsteads, but no visible bookshop. Now I cannot believe that the demand for sextants in an inland borough like St Pancras is ~~less~~ greater than the demand for books. Yet the sextants are on sale and the books not. Here in Perugia,³³ with a population of one fourteenth that of St Pancras, there are bookshops which exhibit not only novels, but important historical, scientific, artistic + political books, which would no more be stocked by an ordinary suburban or provincial ~~bookshop~~ stationer-bookseller than a pound of radium by an ordinary oilshopkeeper.³⁴ You can buy books everywhere on the continent, whilst in England it is easier to buy motor cars. I believe there are more publishers in London than booksellers. In Henrietta St, Covent Garden,³⁵ there is a publisher in every house, a publisher on every floor, a publisher in every room, a publisher in every corner, and a literary agent in the middle of the floor; but their selling power is absurdly small relatively to our huge population, because there are no bookshops. It is nearly twenty years since my first published book³⁶ appeared; but I have never seen a book of mine in a shop yet, and never shall, unless your scheme goes forward. I have no doubt whatever of your success if you can get sufficient capital to do yourself justice. I can suggest nothing that you have not anticipated in your circular: all the economies of the business are there, soundly enough.

²⁸ Historic hotel (Piazza Italia 12, Perugia, Italy); established 1884; still operating (2020).

²⁹ Area (northern London, today part of the borough of Camden).

³⁰ Street name (central London).

³¹ Area (northern London, today part of the boroughs of Haringey, Camden, and Islington).

³² Store (Tottenham Court Road, London); established in the 1820s; closed 1931.

³³ City (capital of Umbria, central Italy).

³⁴ An oilshop is a traditional hardware store.

³⁵ Street name (Henrietta Street) and district name (Covent Garden; London, West End).

³⁶ *Cashel Byron's Profession* (1886).

yours sincerely,
G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw.

18th April 1903.
Grand Hôtel Brunani
Perugia

Dear Whelen

I think you may venture upon your Bookshop scheme without much misgiving, as you are a good organizer, and there can be no doubt of the width of the opening for such an enterprise. Nothing actuated me more than the difficulty of buying books in London. My public business brings me constantly into the Borough of St Pancras, with quarter of a million inhabitants, ~~at~~ Tottenham Court Road at one end and Highgate at the other. I know of no bookshop in it. There are stalls in the railway stations; and no doubt they would sell books if customers ask for them; but there is nothing to let the passer-by know that. There is a shop where you can buy sextants and a shop where you can buy folding bedsteads, but no viable bookshop. Now I cannot believe that the demand for sextants in an inland borough like St Pancras is ^{greater} ~~less~~ than the demand for books. Yet the sextants are on sale and the books not. Here in Perugia, with a population of one fourteenth that of St Pancras, there are bookshops which exhibit not only novels, but important historical, scientific, artistic & political books, which would no more be stocked by an ordinary suburban or provincial ~~bookseller~~ ^{stationer-bookseller} than a pound of radium by an ordinary oilshopkeeper. You can buy books everywhere on the continent, whilst in England it is easier to buy motor cars. I believe there are more publishers in London than booksellers. In Chancery Lane, Covent Garden, there is a publisher in every house, a publisher on every floor, a publisher in every room, a publisher in every corner and a literary agent in the middle of the floor; but their selling power is absurdly small relatively to our huge population, ^{because there are no bookshops.} It is nearly twenty years since my first published book appeared; but I have never seen a book of mine in a shop yet, and never shall, unless your scheme goes forward. I have no doubt whatever of your success if you can get sufficient capital to do yourself justice. I can suggest nothing that you have not anticipated in your circular: all the economies of the business are there, soundly enough. ^{yours sincerely} G. Bernard Shaw.

Figure 1: Correspondence 4, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen, April 18, 1903, Front (single-sided).

*Edition: Correspondence 5, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
April 12, 1904 (letter)*

Page 1 of 2: [typewritten, black ribbon; letterhead, printed: "ADDRESS TELEGRAMS TO "SOCIALIST LONDON"." / "10 ADELPHI TERRACE LONDON W.C.;" left margin, handwritten, pencil: "see also Page 14 no. 22"]

12 April 1904.

Dear Whelen

I have read through the Memorandum and Articles of the proposed Stage Society.³⁷ Here are the points which seem to me questionable.

Page 7-8, No 6. Have you considered the special case of a member belonging to a theatrical syndicate? I do not quite understand why you do not simply exempt joint stock shareholders chock-a-block, as on public authorities.

Page 8, No 8. I most vehemently object to charitable objects. I should ~~suggest~~ [...] ³⁸ substitute "then ~~for~~ to some enterprise for the promotion of the fine arts, provided that no payment be made which would have the effect of relieving the rates without adding to public activity in this direction." Page 17, No 37. I cannot see why the chairman should have a casting vote. A tie should be a dropped motion. A decent chairman, no matter how he feels personally, always has to vote as a matter of course against an innovation when the sides are equal; and the result is that a motion is put down as defeated, and is perhaps thereby prevented from coming up again for a stated period, when it has not really been defeated, but only slain by [...] ³⁹ one of its own supporters, bound by his chairmanship to vote for the status quo.

Page 17 No 40. This is perfectly awful. Just imagine Hankin the Pertinacious,⁴⁰ with two others of less staying power, committing the Society to a whole season of Browning⁴¹ -- taking the theatres for the season, making all the engagements, and pledging all Thomson's⁴² hard earned savings for a year to come. Or me, with two other infatuated Shavians,⁴³ arranging for a Shaw Festival. I strongly urge that this whole section should be revised in quite a contrary sense to its present bearing. The quorum of the Council should be increased to at least two thirds, especially as you provide for working by circulated minutes. One or two standing committees should have their functions defined; and all other sub-committees should be limited to the terms of the reference, subject to a general condition that in no case should a performance or the selection of a play for performance or the purchase of dramatic rights be delegated by the Council to a committee.

³⁷ While established in 1899, the Stage Society was preparing for new incorporation in 1904.

³⁸ Illegible deletion.

³⁹ Illegible deletion.

⁴⁰ St. John Hankin (1869-1909), essayist, playwright.

⁴¹ Robert Browning (1812-1889), poet, playwright.

⁴² W. Hector Thomson, honorary treasurer of the Stage Society.

⁴³ Followers/admirers of Shaw.

Page 19, No 6. This strikes me as a very large order. Have you considered what might happen if the Society elected a majority of wrong uns for a year to the Council. They might sell the whole concern, lock, stock & barrel, to any speculator who made it worth their while. Or they might not be wrong-uns, but simply hero worshippers -- say of Grein,⁴⁴ or Charrington,⁴⁵ or Charles Frohman.⁴⁶ By simply making their hero the trustee, they might make him a present of the whole affair and leave the Society howling. The clause looks as if it were expressly devised to make such a deal possible. What is the real notion of it? Surely No 11 is enough for all your purposes.

Page 2 of 2: [typewritten, black ribbon; name/signature at bottom: handwritten, black ink]

Page 22, No 62. This is absurd. It means that you are not to borrow more than £1,000 without the sanction of the Society; but that if you do borrow more, the Society will have to pay it all the same. You must omit the nevertheless.

The most important financial article is No 10 on page 13. It seems to me to be perfectly mad. The usual thing for a Society with a guinea subscription is to have a Life rate of ten guineas. But there is no sort of parallel between your case and theirs. You might as well expect an Insurance Company to give you a pension at 21 for ten years purchase. Just consider. In ordinary Societies electing Life Members, the use of the Society by the member is personal: that is, NON-TRANSFERABLE. In four years or less the member is tired of it and drops out, costing nothing but a few stamps or at most a copy of the Society's journal, if it has one. In most cases the Society dies in less than ten years. But in the Stage Society every member will cost the Society a ticket for each of five performances every year for the whole life of his natural life; for even when he gives up going himself he will still give the tickets to his children, or even sell them. Why, the Cyclist's Touring Club,⁴⁷ which does nothing directly for its members except send them a monthly copy of its Gazette, asks forty years purchase for Life membership. Of course if you insist on it, you shall have my fifteen guineas by return of post; and it may be that you are so desperately in want of capital that you think it worth while to issue your stock at a ruinously low figure.⁴⁸ But you will regret it later on. At least fix an age limit, and dont issue Life memberships to persons under sixty. I dont think there is anything else.

⁴⁴ Jacob Thomas Grein (1862-1935), event organizer, drama critic.

⁴⁵ Charles Charrington Martin (1854-1926), lawyer, actor, theater manager.

⁴⁶ Charles Frohman (1856-1915), theater producer.

⁴⁷ Membership organization; established 1878; still operating (2020).

⁴⁸ Lifetime membership was made available in 1904. Shaw and his wife were the first and only lifetime members at a rate of twenty guineas. See Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition*, 65.

I have just had a letter for Percy Anderson,⁴⁹ the costume designer, to say that he has been commissioned to design dresses for Forbes Robertson⁵⁰ and his wife for Caesar & Cleopatra. He wants to read the play. I enclose an order for Bookshops to send him a copy.

yours ever

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw.

*Edition: Correspondence 6, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
June 1, 1904 (postcard)*

Front: [handwritten, black ink; red Vittorio Emanuele III 10 cent stamp, black postmark: Roma * Ferrovia * 6-04 / 88?]

Frederick Whelen [Esq.]

13 Lancaster St⁵¹

London W.

L'Inghilterra.

Back: [handwritten, black ink]

Rome. 1st. June 1904.

[no salutation]

We start tomorrow on our way back, which will be perhaps devious, as we are not disposed to hurry. We shall make our first stop at Geneva.⁵²

I hope my telegram did not desolate the S. S. too much; but it would have taken at least a fortnight to complete the cast of the Superman⁵³ satisfactorily.

Barrie's⁵⁴ scheme assumes that an author of 50, who has travelled the commercial-popular path for 25 years, can shuddle⁵⁵ over to the other path (at the antipodes⁵⁶) at any moment because he might have shuck it at first. An error!

G[eorge]. B[ernard]. S[haw].

⁴⁹ (1851-1928), stage and costume designer; provided costume designs for the 1907 production of *Caesar and Cleopatra*. See John Peter Wearing, *The London Stage 1900-1909: A Calendar of Plays and Players* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1981), 380.

⁵⁰ Johnston Forbes-Robertson (1853-1937) and his wife Gertrude Elliot (1874-1950) played the title roles of Caesar and Cleopatra in 1907 at the New Amsterdam Theater in New York before playing in more shows in London. Shaw wrote the role of Caesar with him in mind. Source: See Johnston Forbes-Robertson, *A Player under Three Reigns* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1925), 268.

⁵¹ Address (Notting Hill, northwest London); same building presumably still standing.

⁵² City (southwest Switzerland).

⁵³ *Man and Superman* (1903), play by Shaw.

⁵⁴ James Matthew Barrie (1860-1937), playwright, author of *Peter Pan*, Stage Society manager.

⁵⁵ Read: shuttle. There is a horizontal bar across "shuddle,"

⁵⁶ Poetic phrase: the direct opposite.

Edition: Correspondence 7, Ink Drawing of George Bernard Shaw and Others, December 8, 1905 (drawing, signatures, menu)

Front: [handwritten/hand-drawn, black ink; at least three different hands; drawing of three men from the chest up, with George Bernard Shaw in the middle; caption, two signatures with dates]

G.B.S tells J.M.⁵⁷ and C.B.⁵⁸

what to do.

R. Wherry Anderson⁵⁹

Dec 8/05

Frederick Whelen

8.12.05

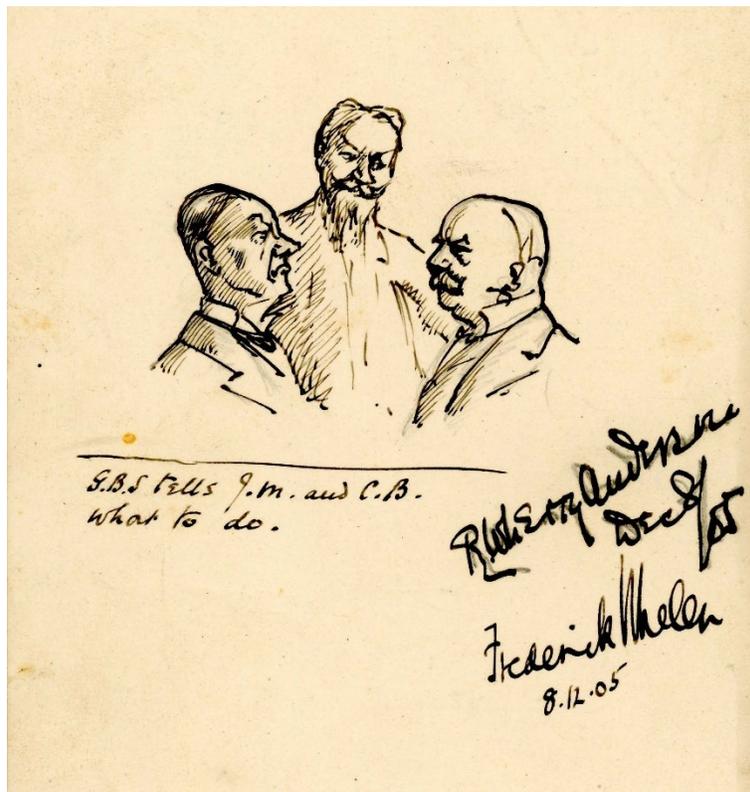


Figure 2: Correspondence 7, Ink Drawing of George Bernard Shaw and Others, December 8, 1905, Front.

Back: [printed: "Maison Jules;"⁶⁰ handwritten, blue ink: déjeuner/lunch menu in nine courses, dated "8 December 05;" used here as scrap paper for the drawing on front]

⁵⁷ Possibly John Morley (1838-1923), statesman, cabinet member (from December 10, 1905).

⁵⁸ Possibly Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908), prime minister (from December 5, 1905).

⁵⁹ Robert Wherry Anderson (1864-1937), member of the socialist Fabian society (like Shaw).

⁶⁰ Historic restaurant (Jermyn Street, Westminster, London); no longer operating.

*Edition: Correspondence 8, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
June 3, 1910 (letter)*

Page 1 of 2: [typewritten, blue ribbon; letterhead, printed: "ADDRESS TELEGRAMS
TO "SOCIALIST LONDON"." / "10 ADELPHI TERRACE LONDON W.C."]

3rd June 1910.

Dear Whelen,

After all, the exact figures about this or that theatre do not come to very much. We know that we cannot put the rent at less than £4000 a year at the very lowest, and that unless we can specify some particular theatre at a lower figure, we must be prepared for £5000. But as at the present moment we are not within sight of five shillings, it seems to me that making all these enquiries bears the same relation to the enterprise as the buying of a dictionary does to the learning of a language. Do you see any serious prospect of getting such⁶¹ an endowment as would justify you in chucking your present job? Charles II⁶² said, whenever they wanted him to do anything rash, that he did not wish to resume his travels just then; and I presume you do not want to go back to King's Langley⁶³ for another period of slavery to your creditors. I am rather anxious about this, because it is extremely easy for me to talk: I do not intend to risk anything; and I am so full of work that I am really unable to take anything new very seriously; so do not depend on me in any way. Probably Barker⁶⁴ is not much more energetic in the matter, although of course he is not quite so much on velvet as I am financially. By the way, I may say here that I am very far from being as flush as I was a few years ago. I am living up to my income now, or rather my income is living

Page 2 of 2: [typewritten, blue ribbon; name/signature at bottom: handwritten, black ink; address at bottom: typewritten]

(2)

down to me; and I could not come to the rescue of any enterprise as I came to the rescue of Vedrenne⁶⁵ & Barker in the days when the Pactolian sands⁶⁶ of Man and Superman in America were still shining with gold. On the whole, with a general view to the interests of Elaine and Maeve,⁶⁷ I feel moved to remind you that the whole scheme is the merest moonshine up the present. When Mrs

⁶¹ Handwritten insertion (black ink): such.

⁶² (1630-1685), king of England (1660-1685), Scotland, and Ireland.

⁶³ Kings Langley (Hertfordshire, north of London), former royal palace with few to no remains today; in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (act 3, scene 4) the setting for learning bad news. Possibly a reference to avoiding one's creditors.

⁶⁴ See above, note 7.

⁶⁵ John Eugene Vedrenne (1867-1930), theater producer (with Harley Granville-Barker).

⁶⁶ An allusion to the Pactolus River sands in the ancient Greek myth of King Midas.

⁶⁷ Elaine Sandham, actress, Whelen's wife. Maeve was possibly their daughter.

Crackenthorpe⁶⁸ wrote to The Times⁶⁹ two or three days ago about the National Shakespear[e] Theatre,⁷⁰ Barker should have cut in and boldly demanded an endowment; but he was out of my reach just then, and I could not do it myself because I have another matter on which I want to make use of The Times presently. I still feel that the deliberate shelving of The Madras House⁷¹ and Misalliance⁷² ought to be exploited for the purpose of boldly demanding an endowment, not for Shakespear[e] or dramatic art or a repertory theatre⁷³ or anything of a general kind, but boldly and impudently for the purpose of keeping the plays of Shaw and Barker on the stage in London. I believe I am to see Barker today; but where and when and how has not been settled.

Yours ever,

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw..

Frederick Whelen, Esq.,

7 Chester Place,⁷⁴

Regent's Park,

N.W.

*Edition: Correspondence 9, Frederick Whelen to George Bernard Shaw,
June 4, 1910 (letter, draft)*

Front: [handwritten, black ink]

Copy

7 Chester Place

4th June 1910.

Dear Shaw.

I agree that the exact figures do not really help. But in seeing anyone who may be serviceable financially I needed some figures. These I now have. We cannot go back t[o] the Court⁷⁵ but the Kingsway⁷⁶ can be received at £57- per week i.e £2860⁷⁷ and the Royalty⁷⁸ probably for the same figure. The Court experiences show that it is not unreasonable to expect £500 weekly receipts. In one year at the

⁶⁸ Letter titled "The Shakespeare National Theatre," addressed to the editor of *The Times*, published May 31, 1910, and signed "The Woman in the Stalls." Shaw alludes here to the historical pseudonym, "The Female Tatler, by Mrs. Crackenthorpe, a Lady that knows every thing."

⁶⁹ Britain's oldest national daily newspaper; founded 1785; rebranded *The Times* in 1788.

⁷⁰ Plans were discussed at the time for a National Shakespeare Theatre.

⁷¹ *The Madras House* (1909), play by Harley Granville-Barker.

⁷² *Misalliance* (1909-1910), play by Shaw.

⁷³ A venue that presents limited runs (one play at a time).

⁷⁴ Address (northwest London, near Regent's Park); same building presumably still standing.

⁷⁵ Theatrical venue (Sloane Square, London); built 1870; rebuilt 1888; still operating (2020).

⁷⁶ Theatrical venue (Great Queen Street, London); built 1882; demolished 1959.

⁷⁷ Perhaps a miscalculation? The rate for 50 weeks would be £2850.

⁷⁸ Theatrical venue (Dean Street, Soho, London); built 1840; closed 1938; demolished 1953.

Court the loss was only £1310 in spite of playing through the summer months and the inclusion of actors salaries so high as Miss Ellen Terrys.⁷⁹ These are not unhopeful

Back: [handwritten, black ink, with multiple deletions and additions, first in the left and then in the right margins]

figures. ~~and~~ They show that Without endowment a theatre run as the Court has run but with a restriction on actor salaries could be ~~run~~ carried on without much loss and ~~one~~ with the possibility even of a profit.

As to myself I ~~know the wisdom am very conscious of the necessity of~~ don't want to "return to King's Langley"⁸⁰ but it is evident t[o] me that I must ~~make consider some other position than~~ consider some alternatives t[o] my present work. The Shakespeare Theatre matter⁸¹ has made me feel insecure. Tree⁸² knew I was approached, I ~~had~~ t[o] tell him so and Gellaney [?]⁸³ has written him also. He is quite friendly about it but I know his temperament. ~~he no longer feels that I am exclusively. I must~~⁸⁴ I went to So that my natural instinct to work for a theatre in which you and Barker, and other modern plays are produced. And this wish is not merely quixotic⁸⁵ I welcomed Barker's suggestion to work for a theatre in which your and his and other modern plays are produced. I am not entirely quixotic in the matter. The public demand for an endowment could come better from him or from you. I wish you had time for that report on the movement generally. I have now a long list of people t[o] see and shall know in a few days what are the possibilities. If you do not ask me t[o] refrain I shall also communicate with Sir Stephen Gatty.⁸⁶

Sm [?]⁸⁷

W[helen]

⁷⁹ (1847-1928), actress.

⁸⁰ See above, note 63.

⁸¹ The Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre General Committee (launched 1909) worked toward reviving classical English drama, as well as producing new and foreign plays of merit. Shaw was one of its twenty-three members, but the project was unsuccessful due to lack of funds. See See Woodfield, *English Theatre in Transition*, 103-104.

⁸² Herbert Beerbohm Tree (1852-1917), actor, manager.

⁸³ Reference unclear.

⁸⁴ Here begins the left-margin insertion.

⁸⁵ Here begins the right-margin insertion.

⁸⁶ Stephen Herbert Gatty (1849-1922), former Chief Justice of Gibraltar.

⁸⁷ Possibly abbreviation for "signé manuellement" (signed by hand).

*Edition: Correspondence 10, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
August 1911 (postcard)*

Front: [black-and-white photograph: Festung Hohen-Salzburg/Hohensalzburg
Fortress, Austria]

Back: [handwritten, black ink; red Franz Josef I. 10 Heller stamp, black postmark; dated
in pencil: "August 1911"]

Frederick Whelen [Esq.]
7 Chester Place, Regents Park
London
England. N.W.

[no salutation]

George Moore⁸⁸ has, in collaboration with Lennox Robinson,⁸⁹ one of the
successful authors of the Irish (Abbey St) Theatre,⁹⁰ made a dramatic version of
Esther Waters,⁹¹ and he is willing to let the Stage Society have the first bite at it if
it likes. There would be a good deal of talk about such a performance, which would
do the S. S. good. What do you think?

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw.

*Edition: Correspondence 11, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen,
March 31, 1913 (postcard)*

Front: [handwritten, black ink; green King George V halfpenny stamp, black
postmark]

Frederick Whelen [Esq.]
7 Chester Place, Regents Park
London
N. W.

Back: [handwritten, black ink]

c[are]/o[f] The Right Hon[orable]. Sir Horace Plunkett.⁹²
Foxrock. Co[unty]. Dublin. 31st. March 1913.

[no salutation]

I know about the N. S. T.⁹³ motion, and am glad Mackinder⁹⁴ is doing it. He is the
right man for the job.

⁸⁸ George Augustus Moore (1852-1933), novelist, dramatist.

⁸⁹ Esmé Stuart Lennox Robinson (1886-1958), playwright, theater manager.

⁹⁰ Theatrical venue (Abbey Street, Dublin); opened 1904; rebuilt 1966; still operating (2020).

⁹¹ (1894), novel by George Augustus Moore.

⁹² Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett (1854-1932), agricultural reformer, writer, Irish senator.

⁹³ National Shakespeare Theatre.

⁹⁴ Halford John Mackinder (1861-1947), academic, MP, forwarded a motion on the creation of
a National Theater on April 23, 1913. See *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 168 (1913), 92.

As to Harcourt,⁹⁵ he regards that idiotic Joint Com[mit]tee. as his own particular bantling⁹⁶ (as it in fact was) and does not want to discredit it by throwing over its report. But if he wants us standing by its follies, we must make some sort of protest. He ought to stand by his own side, and frankly abandon the absurdities that were introduced to conciliate the enemy. John Palmer⁹⁷ of the Saturday Review,⁹⁸ who has written a very good book on the subject, wrote to me to say that after writing the book & thrashing the subject out for himself, he read my Blanco Posnet⁹⁹ preface and found that he had arrived at my conclusions. I hav[e]nt anything to add to that preface: it is the last word on the subject of which I am capable.

I shall be in London on the 14th. at latest, as I have to speak that evening in Gravesend.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile I shall hold on here as long as I can.

G. Bernard Shaw

Edition: Correspondence 12, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen, December 4, 1915 (letter)

Front (single-sided): [typewritten, blue ribbon; letterhead, printed: "10 ADELPHI TERRACE. W.C.;" stamp with handwritten date in pencil: "RECEIVED. 6.12.15;" name/signature at bottom: handwritten, black ink]

My dear Whelen

My drawing powers as a lecturer are naturally a standing temptation to Gerald Christy¹⁰¹ and the American lecture agents; but I have never delivered a commercial lecture in my life, or touched money in any way in respect of my public speaking. Possibly the war¹⁰² may reduce us all to making speeches on the pavement and passing round our hats for the support of our families; but it would take something like that to induce me to break my record; so I am afraid Christy will have to give it up.

With reference to your reminder about Gaumont,¹⁰³ I was not quite sure whether he was still interested in the matter, or in a position to go ahead with it; but if you think he is, I will bear it in mind. One of the Hepworth¹⁰⁴ people had an idea of forming a separate company for the exploitation of the Shaw drama on the film;

⁹⁵ Robert Venables Vernon Harcourt (1878-1962), MP, served on the Joint Committee on censorship 1908-1909.

⁹⁶ Little child.

⁹⁷ John Leslie Palmer (1885-1944), assistant editor of *The Saturday Review* (1910-1915).

⁹⁸ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, weekly newspaper in London, published 1855-1938.

⁹⁹ *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Posnet* (1909), play by Shaw.

¹⁰⁰ Town (northwest Kent, England).

¹⁰¹ Managing director of the "Lecture Agency, Limited" (London).

¹⁰² World War I.

¹⁰³ Film company; established 1895; parent company of Gaumont-British, established 1898.

¹⁰⁴ Hepworth Studios; established 1899; renamed 1926/1955; closed 1961.

and I went so far as to say that I might be induced to try ~~cinema production~~ a preliminary experiment with one of my plays, partly to see whether I could handle a cinema production, but mostly - for I have very little doubt of the former - to find out how much time it required, and consequently whether it would really pay me to meddle in the business at all. I made a sort of beginning with *The Devil's Disciple*.¹⁰⁵ But though I have devised about £50,000 worth of scenes, I have not yet got to the beginning of the play; and my general impression is that I could write at least two, and probably three new plays in the time it would take me to fool over a film.

For the moment, however, I am so overwhelmed with arrears of literary work that my cinema activity must be regarded as in a state of suspense.

Yours ever

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw

Edition: Correspondence 13, George Bernard Shaw to Frederick Whelen, April 21, 1916 (letter)

Front (single-sided): [typewritten, blue ribbon; letterhead, printed: "10 ADELPHI TERRACE. W.C.;" stamp with handwritten date in pencil: "RECEIVED. 24.4.16;" stamp: REPLIED without date; name/signature and P.S. at bottom: handwritten, black ink; note at top left, handwritten, black ink, different hand: "Re "The Modern Russian Theatre by Alexander Bakshy"¹⁰⁶]

21st April 1916.

Dear Whelen

I have read the enclosed chapter. It reminds me a little of the intensely interesting conversation of the Moscow people whom I talked to here about the production of *Pygmalion*.¹⁰⁷ There is a certain childishness in its romantic magnification and transcendentalism of what is at best a very limited art; but it is none the worse for that.

But it is clearly out of the question that I, who have never been in Russia, should write a preface to a book dealing with the modern Russian stage. Of course such things can be done by the sort of people who review books without reading them and write notices of concerts which they have not attended. But it would never do for me to try that sort of game. It would let down my standard at once, and damage me very considerably even commercially. What I can do would be to make just such an examination of the English stage as Bakshy¹⁰⁸ has made of the Russian stage; but that would not be a preface: it would be a separate book. In fact, it would be such a long business that I could not afford to let it go otherwise than as part of my own regular output.

¹⁰⁵ *The Devil's Disciple* (1897), play by Shaw.

¹⁰⁶ (1885-1949?), drama and film critic, author of *The Path of the Modern Russian Stage* (1916).

¹⁰⁷ *Pygmalion* (1912), play by Shaw.

¹⁰⁸ See above, note 106.

I still think that Granville Barker, who has made a study of the Moscow theatre on the spot, and is himself our most noted producer, is obviously the proper man for the job, though the publisher ought to pay him for it, as he is hardly at present in a position to do a valuable stroke of work for nothing.

I shall read the rest of the book with great interest

Yours ever

G[eorge]. Bernard Shaw

PS Just off to Weymouth (Gloucester Hotel)¹⁰⁹ for Easter.¹¹⁰

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¹⁰⁹ Historic hotel (The Esplanade, Weymouth, Dorset); established 1790; still operating (2020).

¹¹⁰ Easter Sunday fell on April 23, 1916; the Irish Easter Rising commenced the following day.

Christopher Dean Robbins and Erika Gabriela Victoria (editors)

*A Journey to the Southern Continent:
The Allen C. Thomson Antarctic Expedition Diary (1911-1913)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

Rare File 3.

Allen C. Thomson, Antarctic Expedition Diary (1911-1913).

December 27, 1911, to March 8, 1913 (with additional entries for 1922/1923).

Introduction

Allen C. Thomson's "Antarctic Expedition Diary" edited here is not currently (2020) part of any particular "fonds" in the University Archives and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). It was previously in the possession of Mary Lessing, Thomson's daughter, and donated by her to CSUF on April 7, 1978 (manuscript, inside cover). Of its one hundred pages, twenty-four are blank or missing. The diary is in fair but fragile condition. Written in cursive script, using pencil, it has survived frigid polar temperatures and ocean travel.

Allen C. Thomson, a Scottish sailor, traveled to Antarctica as part of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition of 1910-1914, and his diary reveals a new and exciting "from below" perspective on this significant polar exploration. He served in the engine room of the expedition's steam yacht, the *S. Y. Aurora*, between April 29, 1912 (Sydney), and March 15, 1913 (Hobart), first as fireman and was later promoted to donkeyman. Part of the *Aurora's* mission was to pick up various teams, including that of the expedition's leader, the Australian geologist Douglas Mawson (1882-1958). Yet, while Mawson is referenced frequently in the diary, Thomson never got to meet him personally because Mawson's three-member "Far Eastern Party" ran into serious difficulties during their Antarctic exploration, resulting in the death of Mawson's two other team members (Xavier Mertz and Belgrave Ninnis) and in Mawson literally "missing the boat," the *Aurora*, whose captain, John King Davis (1884-1967), was forced to leave Commonwealth Bay (Antarctica) due to bad weather before Mawson could come aboard.

However, Thomson did get to experience and included in his diary many other aspects of the expedition, such as life aboard the *Aurora* - with comments about food, hygiene, and clashes among crew members (including himself); the beauty and terror of Antarctica - with references to its stunning whiteness, famed southern lights (*Aurora australis*), humongous ice bergs, and blinding storms; and scientific exploration - with notes on his fellow travelers that included a taxidermist, a bacteriologist, a cinematographer, and a wireless specialist. Tagged on at the end are two pages that reveal Thomson's 1922 move from Scotland to Beaumont (Riverside Co., California) where he made his home.

The transcription below preserves the spelling and capitalization of the original diary; [sic]” has been used very sparingly (and not when words are merely spelled phonetically), and “[?]” appears only when a word is unclear. Letters or text in [square brackets] denote the editors’ insertions to enhance readability; dashes in square brackets, i.e., [---], denote illegible letters, with each dash representing approximately one letter. Thomson included page numbers at the top of each page; and this edition follows his pagination. He used punctuation very sparingly, creating an impression of “stream of consciousness.” To preserve the “feel” of the original manuscript, his original punctuation (or lack thereof) has been preserved here. Reading the diary aloud is perhaps the best strategy to make syntactical sense of it. Headings have been added to provide structure to this edition.

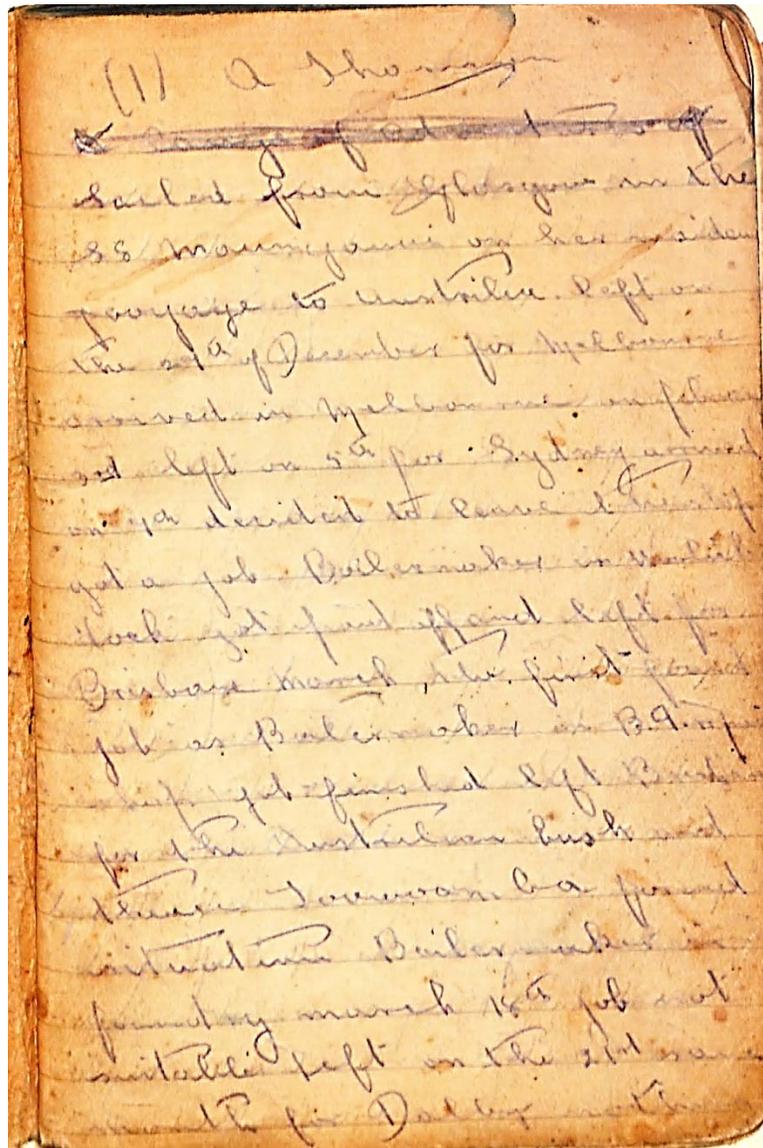


Figure 1: Allen C. Thomson, *Diary*, manuscript, page 1.

Edition:

Inside cover: [top of page, different hand] 573402 [bottom of page, different hand]
Library - Cal State Univ., Fullerton [left side, different hand] 4 - 7 - 78 gift - Lessing
[left side continued, different hand] Rare file 3

Mr. A[llen]. C. Thomson¹ on S Y Aurora² a. a. Melbourne³
life and adventures of Mr. A[llen]. C. Thomson in Austril~~ha~~ and aboard the S Y
Aurora Austrilian antar[c]tic Exploring ship⁴

Leaving for Australia/Antarctica (December 27, 1911)

(1) A[llen]. Thomson A ~~lounge [log] of adventures of~~ Sailed from Glasgow⁵ in the
S. S. Maunganui⁶ on her maiden Voyage to Austrilea. left on the 27th of December
[1911] for Melbourne arrived in Melbourne on February 3rd [1912] left on 5th for
Sydney⁷ arrived on the 7th decided to leave the ship got a job, Boilermaker⁸ in [---
---] dock got paid and left for Brisbane⁹ march the first found job as Boilermaker
in B. I [-----] ship job finished left Brisbane for the Austrelian bush and there
Toowoomba.¹⁰ and found situation Boilermaker in foundry¹¹ March 18th job not
suitable left on the 21st same month [i.e., March] for Dalby¹² north

(2) their [there] rode 50 miles on horseback to Tara¹³ bush started boundry [?] Rider on the Darling planes¹⁴ climment [climate] to[o] hot took ill with dingea¹⁵ fever on the 28th left for Brisbane I got job a repair B. I. paid up & left for Bulumba¹⁶ aimed for the Aberdeen White star liner Marathon¹⁷ for London. refused to work

¹ Whenever the diary's author spells his last name, it is clearly "Thomson." He sometimes refers to himself by his position (boilermaker, fireman, donkeyman) and once as "Scottie" (manuscript page 19) which is what his fellow crewmembers may have called him.

² Steam yacht; built 1876 in Scotland; reported missing on January 2, 1918.

³ City (southeastern Australia).

⁴ Australasian Antarctic Expedition (1911-1914); led by Douglas Mawson (1882-1958).

⁵ City (Scotland).

⁶ Passenger ship; built 1911 in Scotland; in use until 1957.

⁷ City (southeastern Australia).

⁸ Occupation (building, installing, maintaining boilers).

⁹ City (eastern Australia).

¹⁰ City (eastern Australia, about 80 miles west of Brisbane).

¹¹ Metal-casting workshop/factory.

¹² Town (eastern Australia, about 130 miles west/northwest of Brisbane).

¹³ Town (eastern Australia, about 190 miles west of Brisbane).

¹⁴ River basin (southeastern Australia).

¹⁵ Dengue (tropical disease).

¹⁶ Bulimba (suburb, just east of Brisbane, on the Brisbane River).

¹⁷ Steamship; built 1903; rebuilt 1912.

under the articles¹⁸ left for Pinkenbarr¹⁹ took on job coaling on the Bremmen German liner²⁰ job finished left for Sydney on the 26th of April arrived on the 29th April. si[g]ned as fireman²¹ in the Austrilean Antarctic Exploring ship S. Y. Aurora. Cockatoo Island²²

(3) on the second day of May, left Sydney on the 16th for Port Kembley²³ left same for the South of Macquarry Island²⁴ Antarctic Ocean. 23rd heavy weather, kneedeep in stockhold Ship leaking pumps refused to work May 24th and 26 very heavy seas. fireman not well 30th of[f] Tasmanian shores²⁵ heading for the south. on the 31st texedermist caught Albertross seven feet from tip to tip of wings takeing soundings²⁶ same day found water three miles deep 1st 2nd June weather very heavy ship searching for unknown Islands in sub Antarctic ocean june 3rd temp[era]ture 14 Deg[rees] still falling

(4) June the fourth 1 Degree south of Cape Horn²⁷ June 4th Blew a hurricay[ne] of wind and snow seas verochious [ferocious] take charge of ship engines no controll Captain²⁸ says likely to get worse on June 8th arrived at Macquarry Island Daylight at 9.30 A.M. Dark at 3. P.M. could not find a landing owing to the boi[s]trous seas drifted about for 18 hours temp[era]ture 23 Degrees very cold sailors have trouble with the cook found him standing on the foreyard head with a knife waiting to kill the sailor on the lookout june 9th 10.30 P.M. June 10th leave for a sail round the Island trawling²⁹ for the wonders of the Southern

(5) seas which resulted in a loss of a lot of gear sounding wires side lights carried over bo[a]rd and a lot of damage 1 sailor got foot broke on ~~May~~ June 11th dropped anchor at Luceatamina bay³⁰ 12th Boswan³¹ has trouble with cook strikes boswan on fore head with a hammer cheif [chief] of[f]icer and several of the crew pootes [puts] cook in irons crew proposes to shoot the cook and throw him over board

¹⁸ Contract between captain and crew.

¹⁹ Pinkenba (suburb, east of Brisbane, on the Brisbane River).

²⁰ S. S. Bremen, ocean liner; built 1896; scrapped 1929.

²¹ Occupation (charged with maintaining the fires in a ship's boilers); Thomson's initial charge.

²² Island (Sydney harbor); shipyard 1857-1991.

²³ Port Kembla; port town (southeastern Australia, south of Sydney).

²⁴ Macquarie Island (southwestern Pacific Ocean, between New Zealand and Antarctica).

²⁵ Tasmania (Australian island state, south of the Australian mainland).

²⁶ Measuring ocean depth.

²⁷ Southernmost tip of the South American continent (Tierra del Fuego, Chile).

²⁸ Captain John King Davis (1884-1967).

²⁹ Fishing.

³⁰ Lusitania Bay (eastern coast of Macquarie Island, Australia).

³¹ Boatswain/bosun; officer in charge of equipment and crew.

Captain asks to give him another chance and if there be any more trouble will fill his body with lead Sunday 15th ship drages [drags] her anchor near on the rocks

(6) wind and sea still blows strong on 21st leaves for Auc[k]land Islands³² arrived on the 24th not a day could one get a rest nothing but heavy weather Isles uninhabited nothing would be seen but wild cattel [cattle?] sea lions & seals and wild birds hovering round the ship. Captain gives orders to point the ship from starboard³³ to stern.³⁴ Photos taken of all the crew sunday 31 all go ashore in moter [motor] boat Taxedermist³⁵ & white³⁶ cueriator [curator] shoots seal sea lion wild goat and birds for museums in Canterbury.³⁷ arrived in Littleton³⁸ New Zealing [Zealand]

(7) On 1 November fireman promoted to donkeyman³⁹ Mr. A[l]len. C. Thomson - Cook gets the jail and out on bail for £2 till he is tried. He got fined £2 and to leave the country Aug 7th Crew gets drunk. refused to turn to. fireman & steward⁴⁰ got paid off [---] Ship leaves Littleton for Melbourne ship drives 8 ½ to 9 ½ [k]nots⁴¹ under sails fair wind all the way arrived in Melbourne on the 16th of August for repairs many visitors expareal [?] many visits to the ship & governor general of Victoria⁴² October 2nd Aurora plays cricket match with naval officers in South Melbourne cricket grounds Naval officers win by 50 runs

(8) On 11th Nov Tailor measures crew for heavy clothing for the south leaves Melbourne on Saturd[ay] the 2nd of November for Hobart⁴³ & Port Kenbla arrived in Hobart on the 10th Nov[ember]. leaves on the 12th for a Trawling cru[i]se to Macquarry Islands & mainland isles with Profes[so]r Thomson of Tasmania⁴⁴ and his assistant on the 13th Trawl poot [put] overboard Take soundings finds wat[e]r 3 ~~hundred~~ th[o]us[and]s fathoms⁴⁵ deep Trawl Heaved abo[a]red empty Thursday 14th Novem[ber] ship delayed circulation p[u]mp valves renewed at 6 P.M.

³² Archipelago (south of New Zealand).

³³ Right side of the ship.

³⁴ Back or aft part of the ship.

³⁵ Probably Charles Francis Laseron (1887-1959).

³⁶ Perhaps a name.

³⁷ Canterbury Museum (Christchurch, New Zealand); established 1867.

³⁸ Lyttelton (port town, close to Christchurch, New Zealand).

³⁹ Occupation (responsible for a ship's engine room). Thomson's new charge.

⁴⁰ Officer (in charge of a ship's meal planning and provisions' inventory).

⁴¹ Unit of speed: one nautical mile per hour (1.852 km/h).

⁴² State (southeastern Australia).

⁴³ City (southern coast of the Australian island state of Tasmania).

⁴⁴ Probably Theodore Thomson Flynn (1883-1968); Australian marine biologist.

⁴⁵ Unit of measurement: 6 feet (1.8288 m).

Takeing sounding and observations. 16th Bad weather ship makes 20 k[nots] in 24 Hours 17th seas verochious [ferocious] lost valuable gear & 2000 fathoms⁴⁶

(9) 10,000 cigreets [cigarettes?]⁴⁷ given to the crew - of sounding wire 18th getting worse sailors quarters fludded a wash chief steward Boswan & a sailor thrown out of their bunk sailor found sleeping in a seabag sunday quarrell with Toswan [boatswain?] and cheif officer. Takeing soundings at 1.30 P.M. 1700 Fathoms sounding rod carried away. Captain gives the search for the reported royal Islands up 19th heading South East for the Macquarry Islands 20th sailing East by East takeing Soundings water 1,720 fathoms lost 3,000 fathoms of sounding wire and a plunger, Captain gets angry tell Bowsan and sailor crew they are only in the way, bowsan gets angry and tells Captain⁴⁸

(10) one bottle of stout given to each of the crew every sunday - he is only in the way. Captain cleares out and did not come back till the next day Gramofone stands to play wee [we] parted on the shore at 6.15 PM in Firemans room, on the 21st Nov[ember]. at 6.20 PM si[gh]ted Macquarry Island on front to starbo[a]rd, arrived on 22nd at 6.30 P.M. Trawling same day fish found in the net, trawl comes up damaged three inch cross bar bent to a complete circle, water calm very cold. ~~at~~ 7.30 heavy swell on port⁴⁹ [----] Professor passed a remark to me my word she can rool [roll?] my reply was for you doo [do] not know anything about it yet you have not seen

(11) her rool yet; he looked at me for moment and then, got into his room while I got to my own for the night. tempe[ra]ture was atmsp[h]ere 27 Degrees just got to bed when some voise was heard all hands stand by the anchor. Takeing full advantage of the rest slept sound for 13 hours, 6 men pushed off[f] the shore to board the Aurora the welcome visitor to the deserted Island of the subAntarctic Ocean. 23rd Nov[ember]. all have a jolly good time p[i]ano & Gra[mo]phones playing all singing several bottles of Russhian stout⁵⁰ given to the crew as they as a

(12) rule get in cold weather twice a week 3 is sufficient to knock a man drunk it is very strong. news by werekers [workers] to the Macquarry, war finished⁵¹ & Cit. [etc.?] 24 of Nov[ember] ship leaves anchorage at 10 A.M. for a cru[i]se round the island takeing soundings every hour up till five O. C[lock]. Evening dropes [drops] anchor to stay the night and to finish up the cat falls overbo[a]rd but managed to

⁴⁶ Sentence continues on page 9: "of sounding wire."

⁴⁷ With a crew of at least 90 persons, this comes to little more than 100 cigarettes per person.

⁴⁸ Sentence continues on page 10: "he is only in the way."

⁴⁹ Left side of the ship.

⁵⁰ Russian Imperial Stout; brewed by Anchor Brewery London since the eighteenth century.

⁵¹ Perhaps the Italo-Turkish War (September 29, 1911, to October 18, 1912).

save him the boys of the island and there [their] men come abo[a]rd with many tusks & penwings [penguins] as presents for the crew, 25th Nov[ember].

(13) leaves Macquarries for Auckland Isles at 10. am. Order given to stop engines every 2 hours takeing soundings all the way first at[t]empt 3,000 fathoms & not at the bottom, seek second lost two 2,720 fathoms of a wire and patent sinker, crew disco[u]nted cold winds almost unb[e]arable 7.30 PM. Making headway through a snow storm, 26th takeing soundings atmo[s]p[h]ere 34 Degrees steering North, 30 East at 4 PM. 24 Nov[ember] steering North. 35. East atmo[s]p[h]ere mild high sea. 28th Nov[ember] steering 55 North 55 West. trawl p[ut] off the star[board]

(14) into 1,900 fathoms and comes up empty. Captain discouraged Auckland isles in sight Captain decides not to stop, with fair winds south East, starts up for Tasmania steering North 30 East. 29th Nov[ember] steering North 56. West very heavy ship leaking hole discovered in Engineroom shell all hands swere [swear] to have the cooks life for makeing the tea with salt water, professor quarells with Captain, four of the crew suffering from nurelga,⁵² 30th Nov[ember] steering South 85 West nothing doing allswell [all's well]. Sunday 1st Dec[ember] Sighted Stewart Island⁵³ off New Zealine [Zealand] coast, fine

(15) Weather 5.00 P.M take my Soundings 2,710 fathoms toward [?] sounding photos taken of several of the crew standing at sounding machine donkeyman⁵⁴ decided to preserve a penwing [penguin] he got for a cureo [curio] after spending some time skinning and cleaning it poots [puts] it in a tin and mistakeing the boiled linseed oil⁵⁵ for Methelated⁵⁶ sprities [spirits] spoiled the bird and being so disgusted with himself threw the lot over board. at 8 PM steering south by 85 West. for tea Tinned kippers,⁵⁷ good night

(16) 2nd Nov[ember]⁵⁸ Allswell 3rd everything quiet steering Nor[th] 83 East fine we[a]ther. 4th takeing sounding finds waters 2,700 fathoms Tea ox Tongue & boiled eggs 5th takeing soundings finds water 1,700 fathoms deep. Heavy weather Captain has enspeckion [inspection] finds fault with Sail[or]s & donkeyman⁵⁹ and room not clean enough sail[or]s told him he was tired trying and had give it up he comes to me the donkeyman I told him I had no time to wash out rooms, and

⁵² Neuralgia; nerve pain.

⁵³ Island (south of New Zealand's South Island).

⁵⁴ Thomson referring to himself.

⁵⁵ Flaxseed oil.

⁵⁶ Methylated spirits (denatured alcohol); used in taxidermy.

⁵⁷ Herrings.

⁵⁸ Read: "December." Thomson had started his entries pertaining to November 1912 on manuscript page 7 and reached November 30/December 1 on manuscript page 14.

⁵⁹ Thomson referring to himself.

owing to us refusing he ordered the sailors to do it just what wee were trying to work

(17) out unknown to the skipper⁶⁰ 6th Nov[ember]⁶¹ still heavy weather up the New Zeelin [Zealand] coast, crew declairs breakfast and dinner is on the bum,⁶² and the cook is dirty swears he will have to clear out in Hobart, at tea time while I was releaving the second Engineer⁶³ as usual for supper on his return he told me when I went up to my room to turn in as the supper was on the bum, as I myself found it, so not pleased with the supper I proposed to make toast. sail[or]s and boswan sides with me so going aft⁶⁴ for a loaf of bread only to be refused by the steward

(18) which caused a bit of a quarell in the saloon⁶⁵ with myself and the steward so after all being disgusted with the ship and all in it, I went to my bunk and turned in soundings for the 6th was 725 fathoms deep sounding plunger brings to the surface chalk white clay temp[er]ature rising. sailing Nor-West with fair wind cook kills a sheep fresh mutton for tomorrow. 7th heavy weather every thing upset 3 feet of water on the deck the ship going half speed cheaf [chief] officer declairs ship is in the same place as on the previous day

(19) at 12 O C[lock] noon, on the 8th all hands called aft to get a sailors uniform before going to Hobart the following week Scottie⁶⁶ the donkeyman in trouble again refused to weare the clothe[s]. when they asked my reasons I said I was no man o war⁶⁷ sailor nor was I proud of the fact I was a sea man and if they did not like me as I stood to pay me off otherwise give me a petty officers uniform and to finish the argument the[y] decided to do so, which they knew full well I was entitled to wee ~~were~~ are steering Sout[h] 34 East

(20) at 6.30 PM all hand called aft to si[g]ne for the last money got in the Hobart and as a rule petty officers first name call A[l]len]. Thomson hear [here] Sir steps forward and stated I did not think I could write as a joke cheif officer asked why I said my nerves were done up owing to the food I had been getting. which caused a great laugh to those who took of it that way - on the, Well in 9th fair weather trawl dropped overboard at 5 AM. which came up a surprise to all only to see nothing in it owing to a rocky bottom after decides to poot it over

⁶⁰ Captain (master of the ship).

⁶¹ Read: "December." Thomson had started his entries pertaining to November 1912 on manuscript page 7 and reached November 30/December 1 on manuscript page 14.

⁶² On the bum: informal, like a vagrant, on the go.

⁶³ Perhaps Percival Gray.

⁶⁴ Back or stern part of the ship.

⁶⁵ Officers' mess, dining room.

⁶⁶ Thomson referring to himself.

⁶⁷ Warship.

(21) again at 1. O. C[lock]. which proved more succesful bringing to the surface with a fine specemen of sea life which gave the proff[e]s[s]er something to do that he did not expect some of the speicemens but the worlds records on the 14th of December wee arrived in Hobart to find many people waiting ffor our arrival. 15th 16th 17th all quiet many visitors on the 18th trouble with boswan gets locked up and fined an £ with a caushion⁶⁸ 19th Captain gathers crew together gives them a lecture about there [their] beheaveaur which was non[e] to[o] good on 20th quarrel

(22) with cheif Engineer⁶⁹ & cheif officer⁷⁰ about Engine Room affairs. at one O. C[lock]. Captain sends boswan along to ask all the crew if they will be his guests at a big dinner given on Christmas day as a farewell befor[e] wee sail for the south however all was agreeable. on Sunday the 22nd all went on a ~~euses~~ crues [cruise] to Browns⁷¹ river us all being seamen tired of sailing hired vesseails [vessels] and rode home which on the way all kinds of took place which earned some commochion with people passing to and fro when arrived at the ship a quarrell got up with the stewart and the crew the

(23) latter not being satisfied with the tea which consisted of water cress, sitrus, sardense [sardines] cold pork and tea or Cacao [cocoa] however crew proposes to go to the captain on the next morning wheather very clear rain in the evening. On the 23rd crew determined that things should be made right, all line up a[t] the saloon to meet the Captain the latter seeing his crew wanted to know what was the matter. one man stept forward and said that they wanted better quallity a[nd] more quantiteey & cook & Stewart paid off. other wise the crew wanted paid off. Captain gets into a

(24) great state calls officers and crew together and finds that things were not what he thought or should be. However he promises that he will see things wright and there will be no distinchion with officer and crew as wee all si[g]ned on the same articles, so the crew returns to work quite satisified on the 24th several of the crew goes to see the Dentest [dentist] who scores a record pulled fortyeight teeth for the crew of the Aurora in one afternoon. Captain gives the crew a present of two boxes of binnas [bananas?] for Xmas on the 25th crew goes to a dinner in Hotel Oriental⁷² present at the dinner

⁶⁸ Caution: a formal warning.

⁶⁹ Probably F. J. Gillies.

⁷⁰ Frank D. Fletcher.

⁷¹ River (southern part of the Australian island state of Tasmania, south of Hobart).

⁷² Hadley's Orient Hotel (Hobart, Tasmania); established 1834; still operating (2020).

(25) was Captain J[ohn]. K[ing]. Davis⁷³ & Mr. Esiel Secretery.⁷⁴ Professor Watershoot⁷⁵ from Holland, wireless⁷⁶ Mawsons man. Captain C. Davise⁷⁷ & Captain Fletcher,⁷⁸ & all the crew spent a jolly good time on Christmas day. However the 26 Boxing day 10. O. C[lock]. ship leaves on her third voyage to the Antartic ami[d]st great cheers bands playing all ship flying flags nothing but excitement seemed to be the lounge [?] of the day but the ship sailed out with Captain and crew in good spirits to bring back the partie who are some way near the Poal [Pole] However the ship had not⁷⁹

(26) 29th crew got fitted out for cold weather - gone far when she had to stop and take 24 Sibearien dogs which was left for us by Captain Manson [Mawson?]⁸⁰ who claims he has discovered the Poal. up till the 30th wee n had boist[e]rous weather which is nothing new to the Aurora & her crew on one occasion wee lost three sheep. to walk the decks of the lively ship was an impossib[i]lity 1st. 2. 3. blowing a hurracane seamen quarters awash Captain J[ohn]. K[ing] Davise & Cap. C. Davise⁸¹ scared tells the man at the wheel to be careful and steer for the best [?]. lost other five sheep and boulwarks stove in [?] on the 3rd January 1913 salt water gets

(27) into the tanks and wee became aware there was no fresh water abo[a]rd, the crew afraid of getting scurvie,⁸² at 5.30 PM, Captain pivots [?] the ship about 90 Deg[rees]. to Wes[t]ward which resulted in Captain & Cheif officer having a roudy quarrell the ship near cap[s]ised all hands loose heart dont care what becomes of the ship in the terrible storm. temp[er]ature 32 Degrees atmsp[h]ere. On the 4th & 5th fine weather sea smooth ship making for the ice on the 5th great comochien [commotion] seen in the heavens at 12.30 mid night known as Aurora bathora⁸³ great lights different c[o]lours I may say the finest sight I have ever seen in all my life

(28) stearing South 11 Deg[rees] East but temp[er]ature atmsp[h]ere 11 Deg[rees]. our bearings are 57 South 11 East. Captain gives orders to have a sharp lookout for ice. still 10 sheep alive out of 60. on the 6th & 7th Seas choppy blowing an Easterely gale Captain decides to take a sounding finds it 2,750 fathoms with a snow white

⁷³ (1884-1967).

⁷⁴ Perhaps Conrad Constantine Eitel (1880-1947); the expedition's secretary.

⁷⁵ Joseph Nicolaas Maria Theodorus van Waterschoot van der Gracht (1880-1959); artist.

⁷⁶ The expedition's wireless man until February 1913 was Walter Henry Hannam (1885-1965).

⁷⁷ Probably Captain James Davis, a whaling expert.

⁷⁸ Frank D. Fletcher; First (Chief) Officer of the S. Y. Aurora.

⁷⁹ Sentence continues on page 26: "gone far when."

⁸⁰ Probably Douglas Mawson, the expedition's leader.

⁸¹ Probably Captain James Davis, a whaling expert.

⁸² Scurvy (disease caused by Vitamin-C deficiency).

⁸³ Aurora australis: southern lights; southern equivalent to the Aurora borealis.

sand at the bottom on the 8th weather getting very cold all hands ordered to wear heavy clothes. 9th one case of beer containing 8 Dozen and a box of figs and a box of dates for each of the crew, on the 10th sighted the ice several [ice]bergs past on the port bough [bow] temp[era]ture atmo[s]p[h]ere 19 Deg[rees]

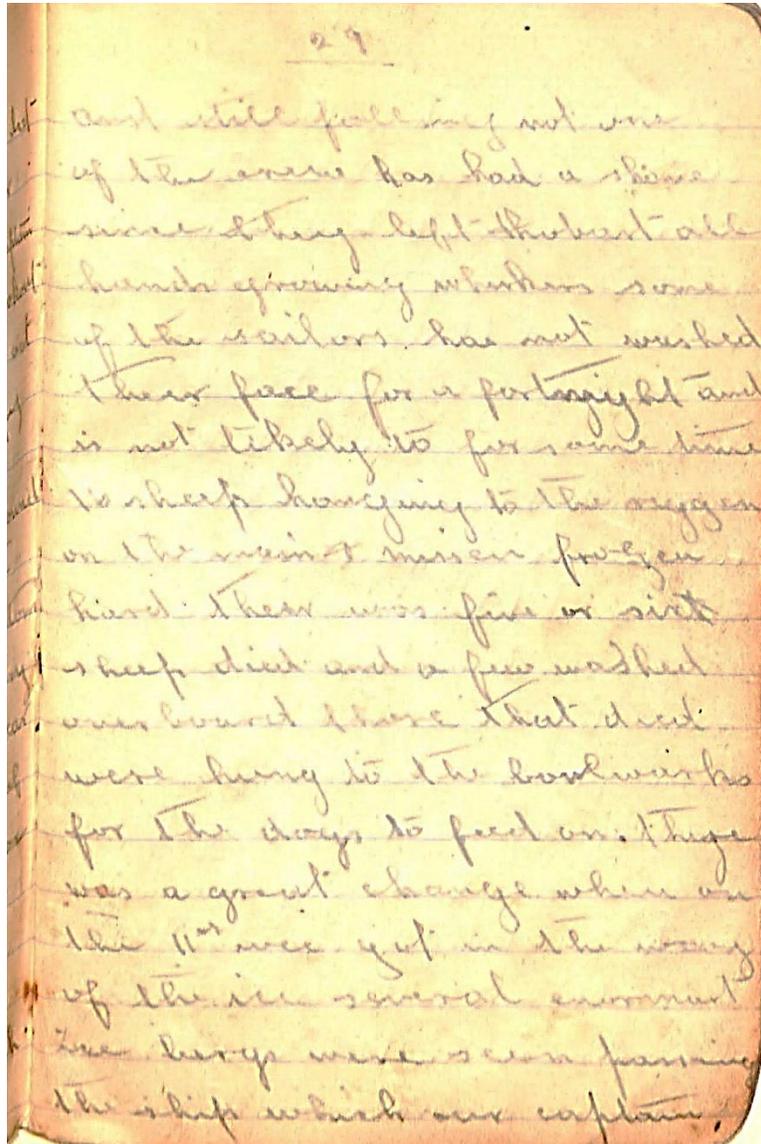


Figure 2: Allen C. Thomson, *Diary, manuscript, page 29.*

(29) and still falling not one of the crew has had a shave since they left Hobart all hands growing whiskers some of the sailors has not washed their face for a fortnight and is not likely to for some time 16 sheep hanging to the riggen [rigging] on the main & missen⁸⁴ frozen hard their [there] was five or six sheep died and a few washed over board those that died were hung to the bouldwarks for the dogs

⁸⁴ Stern mast.

to feed on. There was a great change when on the 11th wee got in the way of the ice several enormant [enormous] ice bergs were seen passing the ship which our captain [gave]

(30) a wide berth and several small ones. at three O. C[lock]. after noon wee were s[ur]rounded by pack ice that is several feet thick but almost covers the surrou[n]ding seas well there was nothing for it but to pum[m]el it and make a way which wee did but the ship proceeding slowly our great danger anxiening [?] the clearence of the propeller from the ice the temp[era]ture was below freeze[n] [freezing] point 4 Deg[rees] when wee got clear wee made great speed in open water during the night but it must be under stood that in Southern latitudites [latitudes] in summer it is never dark sunset and sun rise occures in the same

Arriving at Commonwealth Bay (January 12, 1913)

(31) hour what I think winter is a long night and summer a long day next day 12th found us again in the ice which was much heavier so running no risks our captain changed his course and chanced being lighter and just as I say it was but as before wee got through there again into clear water and serching food wee made the land named Addlie⁸⁵ land and the bay named by our leader Doctor D[o]uglas Mawson commonwe[a]lth bay⁸⁶ where wee dropped our anchor at 2.30. A.M. wee had not been at rest long when it started to blow a tremendo[u]s gale which took

(32) charge of hour [our] ship and the strain on the anchor snapped the chain and the ship drifted fast in the gale. the donkeyman thats myself happened to be on watch all night with a fireman hearing the noise and moshion [motion] of the ship [k]new she was a drift got ready when the telegraph rung full speed ahead 5 minutes later and although wee wer[e] going ahead the storm blowing so strong wee were not makeing no headway she was still drifting astern slowly our navigation officer reckoned by the glase [?] the wind was trav[e]ling 110 miles Per Hour

(33) in the morning nothing could be done the temp[era]ture was 20% below zero and the ship pure white with drift snow blown of[f] the glasier [glacier] or ice barrier about a hundred & fifty yards away on 14th the gale was moderate but to[o] strong to venture on the ice nothing could be done that day on the 15th all was calm so wee got the motor boat under way and made for the shore without any trouble here wee found the first depo[t] with only t[w]o men in it a land survayor and one of the partie the latter being blind so on returning to the ship wee brought

(34) with us and some ice wee melted down to fresh water which wee needed badly on the 16th the captain asked them about the rest of the part[y] they said the

⁸⁵ Adélie Land (Antarctica); discovered 1840 by French naval officer and explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842) and named after his spouse, Adèle Dorothee Pepin (1798–1842).

⁸⁶ Bay between Point Alden and Cape Gray (Antarctica); discovered 1912 by Douglas Mawson.

Doctor⁸⁷ left with three men and 60 days proveshuns [provisions] a sledge and a team of dogs for the Magneetich [Magnetic] Pole⁸⁸ saying he would return on the 14th day of January from December the 3rd and there is no si[g]ngs of him yet. and all are very anchious, the other partie left with 3 men and an airoplane⁸⁹ going south 20% west but they were not due till the 17th the foll[ow]ing day, and the other partie

(35) with four men, they were waiting on there [their] arrival every minute. at three o clock on the morning of the 17th the last partie I mensioned just came over an ice glassier [glacier] with the sledge after a departure of 22 days on a wilderness of ice wee could v[i]ew them from the ship and a be[au]tifull picture it was a sight in a lifetime and in a reallitie I will never forget, both man and dogs seem to be done out with exposure, as but they seemed to be overjoyed as they waved at the first sight of the ship and not sorry to see it

(36) on the 17th at 5.30 AM the partie of four men with the aeroplan[e] were comming in the same direchion as the former one and they no doubt have had a hard time of it on giving an account of their selves they said they broke down on their way back and had to pool [pull] it a hundred & fiftey miles over ice and the seen [scene?] was really a syenfitach [scientific] one, however their obvercashuns [observations] and syentifick [scientific] work proved very successful, now every hope is that the doctor will turn up next and let us push off threw [through] the ice⁹⁰

(37) wireless mashines takeing down this day the 17th - as quick as possible wee have thirteen hundred miles to go farther to Gosburg⁹¹ land to pick up another partie of Doctor Mawsons and wee must leave before the beginning of March to avoide being frozen in for the comming winter. 18th wweather fine sun shinning [shining] Captain leads to grapell for the lost anchor and 40 fathoms of cable that wee lost owing to owing to [sic] a previous storm that set the ship adrift and snapped her cable, however wee were not succesfull the first day the men had just got on board

(38) when about 3 hours later a great fall of ice from the ice barrier to the water with a noise of thunder, I am sure there would be hundreds of tons, although hour [our] captain was aware of these dangers one would think that he had been judging from apparence you could never amagnine [imagine] that such a[n] enormas amount of ice should fall from what appe[a]red to the eye a solid mass to

⁸⁷ Douglas Mawson, the expedition's leader.

⁸⁸ South Magnetic Pole.

⁸⁹ Actually a dismantled airplane used as a motor sledge or air-tractor.

⁹⁰ Sentence continues on page 37: "as quickly as possible."

⁹¹ Gaussberg: extinct volcanic cone (Antarctica).

give you the ~~milage~~ demenctions of it I could not say but how ever looking at it from hour [our] ship whether I am looking at its

(39) brea[d]th or berth I don't know I cant see the north end of it and the South end seemed to be annex[a]ted to the land it[s] height is about 3 hundred feet High this is the most importened one I speak of the place is perched with smaller ones all the land that is to be seen is near the coast it is almost white weather beaten with the sea and storms of great vellositey [velocity] it is quite a common thing for the wind to blow at a villositey [velocity] of two hundred miles an hour a hurricane torrent is 260. to 280.

(40) our wireless operator⁹² is bussy [busy] checking a station for the time being trying to break his own rekords as he has broke the world records at Macquarry Island sending messages to Add[e]l[a]id⁹³ & Honnolou[l]a⁹⁴ Fu Ga Island⁹⁵ and several other places he is now trying to send these from the frozen south or Antarctica 20th January wee have a great variety of specimenes wee have a box placed in the engine room by Doctor A[rchibald] L[ang]. McL[e]ane⁹⁶ it is divided into two parts. one with a large sized Par[affin] lamp the other contains gerems [germs]

(41) of the sea, Gerems [germs] of the snow or ice and gerems [germs] of the earth all alive ~~they ar~~ it is impossible to view them with the naked eye and having a look [a]round I see the taxedermist⁹⁷ quite bussy [busy] skinning and stuffing birds snow peterals⁹⁸ and Emperor penwings [penguins] and other pollar [polar] birds the 21st all going as usual several of the crew engaged in bringing ice to the ship filling all the tanks. 22 a partie leaves with the airoplane and ten days food in search for doctor Mawson as all hands beginning

(42) to get anchious [anxious] about the missing partie, the captain says he will be forced to leave at the end of the month he cant allow himself to be frozen in, the coals and food is not sufficient for another year on the 24th 25 & 26th it blew a tremendas storm the ship snapped her cable and went adrift this is the second time but every thing was ready in the engine room wee were able to hold our own the captain lements [laments] about the loss of the two anchors and a hundred and twenty fathoms

⁹² Walter Henry Hannam (1885-1965). The expedition established the first wireless contact between Antarctica and Australia via a wireless station on Macquarie Island.

⁹³ Adelaide (southern Australia, 2214 miles from Commonwealth Bay).

⁹⁴ Honolulu (Hawaii, 6804 miles from Commonwealth Bay).

⁹⁵ Either Tierra del Fuego (Chile, 3873 miles from Commonwealth Bay) or Fuga Island (Philippines, 6023 miles miles from Commonwealth Bay).

⁹⁶ Archibald Lang McLean (1885-1922); bacteriologist.

⁹⁷ Probably Charles Francis Laseron.

⁹⁸ Snow petrels: a species of Antarctic bird.

(43) cable the second one had such a strain on it smashed the windless [windows] the storm reged [raged] to a phiositee [velocity] of 200 miles an hour carrying hundreds of tons of ice into the water which made our phersition [position] very dangerous, however there is nothing else for it but to dudge [dodge] about in the openx as best wee could which wee did till the 28th when all was still again wee ventured in to our old position the captain decides to drop another anchor which is only half the size

(44) of the former and all the cable wee have left trusting it will hold till wee try to grap[p]le for our last ones this is our only hope if wee loose [lose] this one wee may poot to sea again on the 29th the partie on the shore asks the captain to go a hundred & fifty miles to the Eastward of Addlie land that wee may come on the doctor⁹⁹ knowink this was the way he would come back which the¹⁰⁰ admitted to so at 6 A.M. wee steamed out and the creus [cruise] proved unsuccessfull on our way

(45) wee got mixed with a lot of ice and it took us 3 ½ days to get back to the first base, and I may say there wee explained came on several ice bergs and on one occasion wee had to take a passage between two of them one of them was I believe the greatest I have ever seen I swear it be would be 50 miles broad for the length wee could not see the end of it wee sailed along side for 28 Hours at a speed of 4 miles Per hour but could not see the end of it and in h[e]ight it would be

(46) 200 feet high with arches on the sides of it some of them big enough to hold our little ship, wee had a box kite flying in the air at such a h[e]ight it could been seen by anyone on the shore and every half hour a gun was fired from the ship to draw the attension of any one that should be ashore but there was no reply on February the first wee got back to our former place, and it was blowing a fresh breese so wee had to dudge [dodge] about for our anchor could

(47) not hold us, however the Chief engineer¹⁰¹ gets anchious [anxious] about the coals he is afraid their [there] is not enough to take us home, and all over things are getting pretty hard no more fresh food nothing but tinned food I will give an idea what I have had for one day rashions on comming of watch at 6. A.M. I had a cup of cocoa at 8. A.M. breakfast goes to the Gailey [galley] gets a tinn of preserved herring and buridge [porridge?], dinner tinned beef tinned potatoes preserves peas bread pudding, 5 P.M. Tea 1 tin sardens [sardines], bread

(48) their [there] is no doupt one to read this, would think it alwright - but you get real[l]y tired of it and it is not long till all our blood gets out of order and wee are all compla[i]nning with with [sic] boiles even the Doctors & Professors of the partie could not prevent them no doupt it is misirable and all hands wishes they were

⁹⁹ Douglas Mawson, the expedition's leader.

¹⁰⁰ Captain John King Davis.

¹⁰¹ Probably F. J. Gillies.

finished and no one any more than myself., on the x 2nd of February at 2 A.M. the wind rose to a hurricane and I have been in some pretty strong blows but never anything to compare

(49) with the blow that morning I think I will never forget it, it ranged to a philositie [velocity] rekored [record] gauge over one hundred miles per hour it carried away the monkey gaff¹⁰² from the missen¹⁰³ the engines were in mochion slow a H[ea].D. but she was drifting a[s] S[oon?] [a]s. the captain rings full speed, well I poot the engines to what wee reckon [reckon] full speed but he rung again for more, she stuck at that for an hour he comes down him self and asked if wee would open her for all she was worth, and she went at

(50) that till it eased down about mid day and still she was making little head way it was a great sight to see the ship after the blow she was pure white with the spraes [sprays?] washing over her and frozen as they landed on the rigging and the deck their [there] was nothing but a mass of icicals the temp[era]ture was about 12 Degrees or 16% below freezing point, wee were in latitude 72%, South the Squall continued every day some days blowing harder than another

(51) it was verochious [ferocious] the ship is able to speed at 9 [k]nots Per hour, and at present they have been going fool [full] belt since the second of February till the Eighth and wee are still going but slowly wee cant even hold our own the look of the ship is really a great one a sight that one would remember a[nd] will be by all on board the riggings is about 6" thick with solid ice right up to the fore yard, and tons of it hanging to the ships side all

(52) over she is a mas[s] of icacals [icicles], on the 9th it calmed a little but still blowing 50 miles per hour and it was impossible to launch a boat to get ashore or them to come to the ship but still wee were in commune[c]ation with the search partie by wireless wee dodged about all day thinking it would die off but no it rose again blew still worse, well our captain seeing the phicesion [position] of the ship was dangerous and the fear of getting frozen in at

(53) the second base Gossburgh¹⁰⁴ land 1,300 miles to westward where the other half of the partie was to be picked up, called all hands and held conference the verdick [verdict] being set sail for second base so wee sailed and on the 10th with 6 of the partie leaving four to search for ~~for~~ the missing three the Doctor¹⁰⁵ is one of them. however wee were not long gone till wee got calm water in the shelter of the great barriers of ice althrough the glass way

(54) low it was really a treat to find our selves in calm water on the 12th wee got ~~an~~ a wireless message that the doctor had returned alone the other two ~~had~~ were

¹⁰² Stick for the display of signals; affixed to the missen (stern mast).

¹⁰³ Stern mast.

¹⁰⁴ Gaussberg: extinct volcanic cone (Antarctica).

¹⁰⁵ Douglas Mawson, the expedition's leader.

dead how they met their death wee do not know yet one of them is a Mr. Merts¹⁰⁶ the other a Mr. Ninniss,¹⁰⁷ our orders were to turn at once which the captain was unwilling to do so, But he obeyed order put the ship about and on the 13th wee arrived at midnight and wee noticed the flag flying halfmast high

Leaving Antarctica (February 14, 1913)

(55) on the wireless pole ashore but just as before the wind was blowing so strong it made it impossible to reach the shore and after dog[d]ing about all day the captain gave it up knowing he had no time to loose [lose] signeled ashore hove the blue ensi[g]ne¹⁰⁸ and sailed up it was no doupt pitifull to go and leave them in such a place for another year however on the 14th wee got well under way The out side sea was very calm with a slight breese on our starboard

(56) and I am sure I could have counted half a dozen whales blowing on the surface of the water, and the sun shinning [shining] for a few hours made it cheerey [cheery] on the 15th wee got into a big stretch of pack ice that gave us all something to do, in the Engine room as as usual gets the worst of it, engines going full Ah[ea]d one minute next stop and so on all the time however she got through slowly then clear water again with monsters of ice bergs floating around us, with steam and sail

(57) a fair wind wee got along it a speed of 11 [k]nots Per Hour on the 16th seemed to be a day of corrueption [corruption] our 2nd Engineer¹⁰⁹ quarreled with the firemen for leaving the stockhold¹¹⁰ [stoke hold] he struck the 4 to 8 fireman who returned the complimend and the second [engineer] being a a little man no doupt would have got the worst of it had it not been for the dunkeyman¹¹¹ who was on the seen [scene] at the time, however determined that his word would be law he lifted a buttom [bottom] end spanner¹¹² to kill the fireman which the latter was

(58) quick enough to clear out but this was only a start to matters, the 8 to 12 firemen quareled with him to[o] and swore to sweep the stoke Hould [hold] with him and set the 2nd [engineer] in great rage the firemen told the donkeyman about somethings tricks he was playing by screwing up glands five minutes before he came on watch the donkeyman said he thought there was something like that going on and on turning struck the second [engineer] I was taken to the skipper to be boyed¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Xavier Mertz (1882-1913).

¹⁰⁷ Belgrave Edward Sutton Ninniss (1887-1912).

¹⁰⁸ Blue ensign: blue flag with England's St. George's Cross (Union Jack) in the canton.

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps Percival Gray.

¹¹⁰ The room where the ship's furnaces are fired.

¹¹¹ Thomson referring to himself.

¹¹² Tool (type of wrench).

¹¹³ To be boyed: disciplined.

(59) and by good luck the captain refused to do when he heard the right way of it, and the chief Engineer¹¹⁴ tells the second [engineer] off, but it is allright it will soon blow over like all the rest, on the 17th still blowing a fair wind all sails set a steam wee are makeing a record passage keeping well north to clear the ice, however this continued till the 20th and a quarrel arose with the boswan and a sail[o]r who was a Dane a few blows ~~wea~~ were given and received till the chief officer stop[p]ed

(60) the fight, the cause of the fight, wee understood the boswan sending the sailor Aloft to do an an unne[ce]ssery job or another ways working points, for their [there] is no such thing a[s] working aloft in a ship in so h[e]ight latitudes south. at midnight the ~~sky~~ heavens was of a ink black with a long zig zag streak of many colours yellowish read [red] being the most, real[l]y a wonderful sight it is known as Aurora Austrilishia¹¹⁵ the first part of the name I may menchon [mention] our ship is called after

(61) on the 21st the weather was real[l]y be[au]tiful, the ship gets mixed up in heavy pack ice, she did not go far till she stuck and had to go back and again it was too heavy the only thing was to change the course and look for an opening which wee found not far off, however at 8.30 P.M. the ship stopped for the night in open waters for it would be dangerous. the water perched with bergs of all sisies [sizes]. during the day all those with cammers [cameras] were taking snaps of the ice as wee went along

(62) and the cinematograph photographer¹¹⁶ had his machine working automatically on the missen¹¹⁷ cros[s]trees¹¹⁸ takeing everything as wee went along. The next day was not favourable a thick fog rested on the waters at the hour of 6.30. A.M. the ship makeing head way at speed of about 2 miles per hour takeing chances for wee must reach our second base as soon as possible and get to the norther[n] of the antarctic Circle or wee may content ourselves and get frozen in for the winter

(63) which is the fear of our captain it at present, wee must leave the South before the end of February [...] ¹¹⁹ stopped on the 22nd and sighted the great barrier¹²⁰ which extends 2 hundred miles long and about 3 hundred feet high. their [there] was a small berg passed on our port of peculiar shape hollow in the centre, with great arches and a deep blue colour above the water mark and in the hollow their [there]

¹¹⁴ Probably F. J. Gillies.

¹¹⁵ Aurora australis: southern lights; southern equivalent to the Aurora borealis.

¹¹⁶ James Francis "Frank" Hurley (1885-1962).

¹¹⁷ Stern mast.

¹¹⁸ Pair of horizontal beams at the top of a mast.

¹¹⁹ Two lines of illegible text, perhaps erased.

¹²⁰ Probably the Ross Ice Shelf (Antarctica).

(64) lay 16 silver seals it was a be[au]tifull sight however wee are still getting along and steering close into the barrier getting clear of a fresh breese that sprung up from the S[outh]. E[ast]. wee reached our second base on the 23d at ten O. C[lock]. A.M. and found 8 men all sound all well over joyed at the sight of the ship wee found their provishions pretty well down and they have not had a smoek smoke for three months

(65) and they did enjoy one that day no doupt about it, will [we all?] doing a bit of steadying wee managed by the help of the dogs to get their stores aboard with out any trouble their shack was about 2 miles off on the ice barrier, however after getting all on board killed several penwings [penguins] wee took our anchors on board and sailed out the evening of the same day the captain delaid no time in getting clear of the ice on the 24th & 25th we got clear water

(66) although their [there] were plenty of ice bergs of all sizes passing at a distance, the weather was really good with a light westerly breese the atemosphere temperat[ure] 48% wee were steering Nor[th]. 69% E[east]. however next day were the 26th wee met with heavy pack ice and that day was spent battling and bashin[g] and making very little headway and no doupt it is sickening to look around you and see youre [your] ship in a mass of ice and only on the move and the engines going for all their

(67) worth and about 20 to 40 miles to go before getting clear and perhaps only for a day and maybe clear for good and what made it more monotonous [monotonous] was wee were homeward bound and looking forward for a jolly good time in some part of Austrilesia [Australasia] and I with all the rest will not be sorry, on the 27th the weather was much the same the captain hearing the fireman grumbling split up the partie poot [put] 3 or 4 on each watch to trimm [trim] coals for the¹²¹

(68) however the men were willing to obey orders from the captain who is in full comand owing to the absence of the Doctor.¹²² it no doupt sounds funny to hear a fire man say his trimming¹²³ consisted of a Doctor a land survayor and a Wireless marine [?] man, I know my attendant in the engineroom was a taxedermist.¹²⁴ the next day was the end of the month 28th wee got into loose flow ice but managed to make a passage by dodging the ice the spaces between wee got clear about 1 O. C[lock]. Mid day & started to blow ~~forwar~~

(69) so with all yards braced up sails set and steam wee were running down an easterly wind traveling at a speed of 12 [k]nots This continued for about 8 days [i.e., March 8, 1913] wee were all beginning to feel the warmeth of the air and

¹²¹ Thomson's phrase ends abruptly here.

¹²² Douglas Mawson, the expedition's leader.

¹²³ Trimming: outfit, team.

¹²⁴ Probably Charles Francis Laseron.

enjoying the sail packing our bags & as wee knew wee were all to be paid off at Hobart¹²⁵ Tasmania what after that we did not know¹²⁶

(70)-(77) manuscript pages are blank/missing.

(78) manuscript page merely contains three numbers: 6613, 66, and 6615.

(79) Left Glasgow for California on the 2nd of September 1922 on board S. S. Columbia¹²⁷ arrived at New York on 10th Sep[tember]. kept aboard ship till 12th passed doctor and left same day for California takes train to Neworleans arrived 14th at 11, A.M. leaves 11,30, PM. for Beaumont,¹²⁸ after a very trying time in the train with heat and sandstorms in the desert lasting three days arrives in Beaumont allwell on 17th day of Sept[ember] some time in the evening I dont remember where we were met by our friends¹²⁹

(80) manuscript page is erased and crossed out with a double-cross, but portions remain legible; illegible parts are denoted with [---]:

(80) it is to be remembered that partick [---] is not behind the times for seamen & Mr. A[llen]. Thomson of [---] is well known in partick & [---] I will arrive in Glasgow early next week from Australlia after [---] in Antarctic voyages he is one of the crew of Doctor D[o]uglas Mawsons South Pole Exploring Ship who suffered so much with the v[i]olent hurracanes blew during their visits to the proper South.

(81) ½ Hour later arrived at the Arygl¹³⁰ ranch started next day 18th to pick Pruns [prunes] my wife and kid also on pricework 10. C[ents] Per lay and continued for the remainder of the pickering. walked about for one month visiting Los Angeles and different Cities in California and returning to the ranch.¹³¹ Lived for three months at the ranch then moved to Beaumont City rented a house for a short time.

(82)-(97) manuscript pages blank/missing.

(98)-(100) manuscript pages are not numbered, written in a different hand, and contain supply/price lists, presumably for a bicycle shop (e.g., steel spoke dies, armed nipple key, spoke screwing machine, pliers, pump clips, saddle springs, puncture proof bands).

Back cover: [ex libris plaque, printed, with the seal of California State University, Fullerton 1957] From the Collection of the Patrons of the Library

¹²⁵ The S. Y. Aurora returned to Hobart on March 15, 1913.

¹²⁶ The phrase "what after that we did not know" is written in a different hand.

¹²⁷ Passenger and cargo liner (Anchor Line); built 1896; scrapped 1929.

¹²⁸ City (Riverside Co., California); incorporated 1912.

¹²⁹ Sentence continues on page 81: "½ Hour later."

¹³⁰ Agricultural establishment in the vicinity of Beaumont.

¹³¹ The remainder of this manuscript page is written in a different hand.

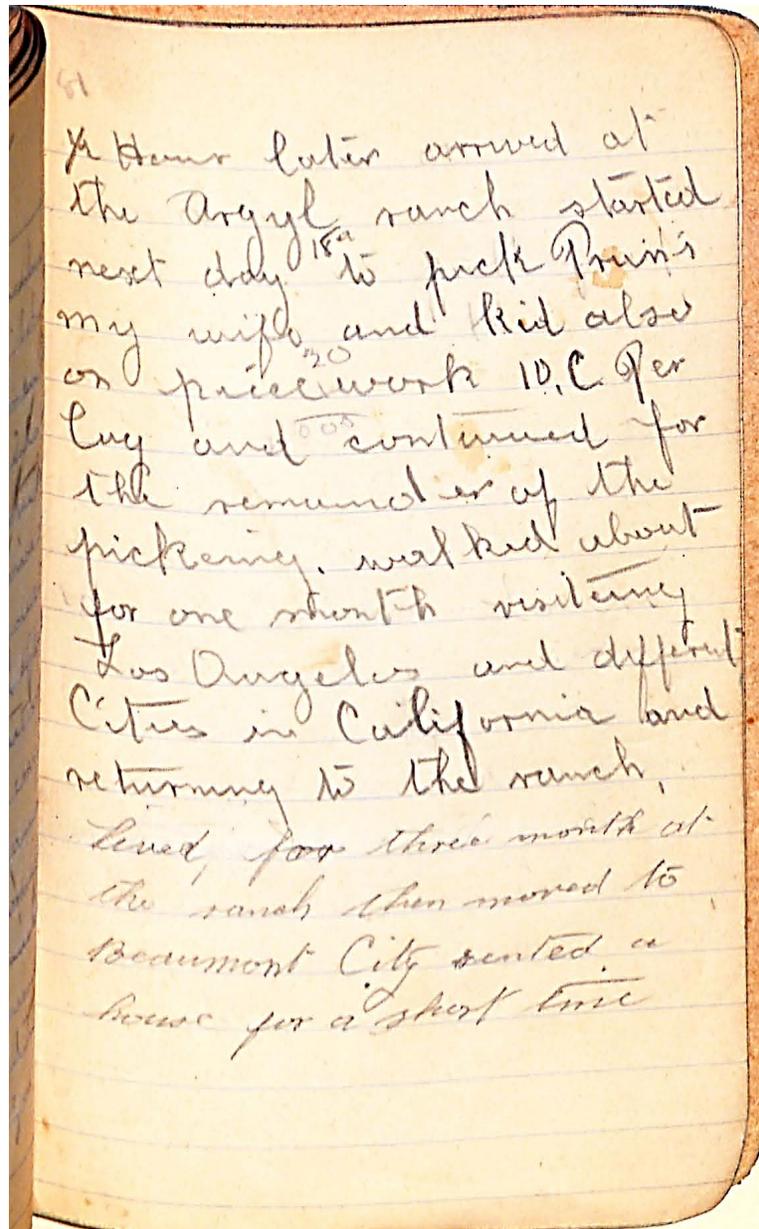


Figure 3: Allen C. Thomson, Diary, manuscript, page 81.

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Michael James Thomas and Christopher Braulio Saravia (editors)

*Letters from "Sid" Goldman:
A Tire Technician in World War II (1944-1945)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC-2018-08.

Sidney Goldman War Letters.
Selections from document boxes 1 and 2.
[February 15, 1944], to April 18, [1945].
Nineteen letters (numbered 1 to 19 below).

Introduction

The nineteen letters edited here are part of the "Sidney Goldman War Letters" collection held in CSUF'S University Archives and Special Collections (UA & SC). The letters were donated by the letter writer's daughter Rhoda Goldman in 2019 (after she had been referred to UA & SC by CSUF faculty member Arlene Ring). The letters were selected to provide an impression of their author's wartime experience from basic training to the end of World War II in the European theater. They are presented in chronological order, and an attempt has been made to integrate several undated letters into the sequence. The documents are well preserved and written in cursive, sometimes in pencil, sometimes in black ink, on yellow stationery or on military-issued paper. In some cases, the envelopes have been preserved as well.

Sidney "Sid" Goldman (1912-2008) was the son of Abraham Goldman and Rose Mesigal Goldman and grew up in Chicago, Illinois. His four siblings (Minnie, Frieda, Irving, and Shirley) all make appearances in the letters. Sid was married to Lillian "Lil" Weinberg, and their daughter Rhoda was born in 1939. They initially lived with Sid's parents in Chicago. After Sid enlisted in 1943, Lil and Rhoda moved to Revere, Massachusetts, to live with Lil's mother, a co-recipient of several letters. After the war, Sid continued his military service in Japan. Sid and Lil eventually retired in California. The letters selected here provide insights into a wide range of subject matters, such as Sid's disdain for military protocol, bureaucracy, and censorship (letter 1, 10, 17, 18, 19); his impressions of basic training and field training (letters 2, 3, 9, 10); his interest in practical education and work (letters 2, 4, 5, 14, 17); his experiences while on leave or off duty, including gambling (letters 3, 4), a trip with Lil to New York City (letters 3, 4), and dinner at Atlanta's famed Herren's restaurant (letter 8); impressions while serving overseas in Europe, especially attending Jewish religious services in a synagogue that had been damaged and desecrated by the Nazis (letter 11), seeing the destruction on both sides of the French-German

border (letter 12), witnessing French prisoners of war returning home (letter 14), hearing of the death of President Roosevelt (letter 16), and entertainment for the troops (letter 18); as well as his health (letters 4, 16, 17), financial and legal matters (letters 6, 13), and his affection for his wife and daughter (letters 5, 7, 12, 14, 15, 19). Sid Goldman was able to observe and reflect on the war without the immediate danger of the front lines, making these letters primary sources for World War II history from the perspective of a soldier who supported the war effort from behind the scenes.

The transcriptions below preserve the spelling and capitalization of the original correspondence. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

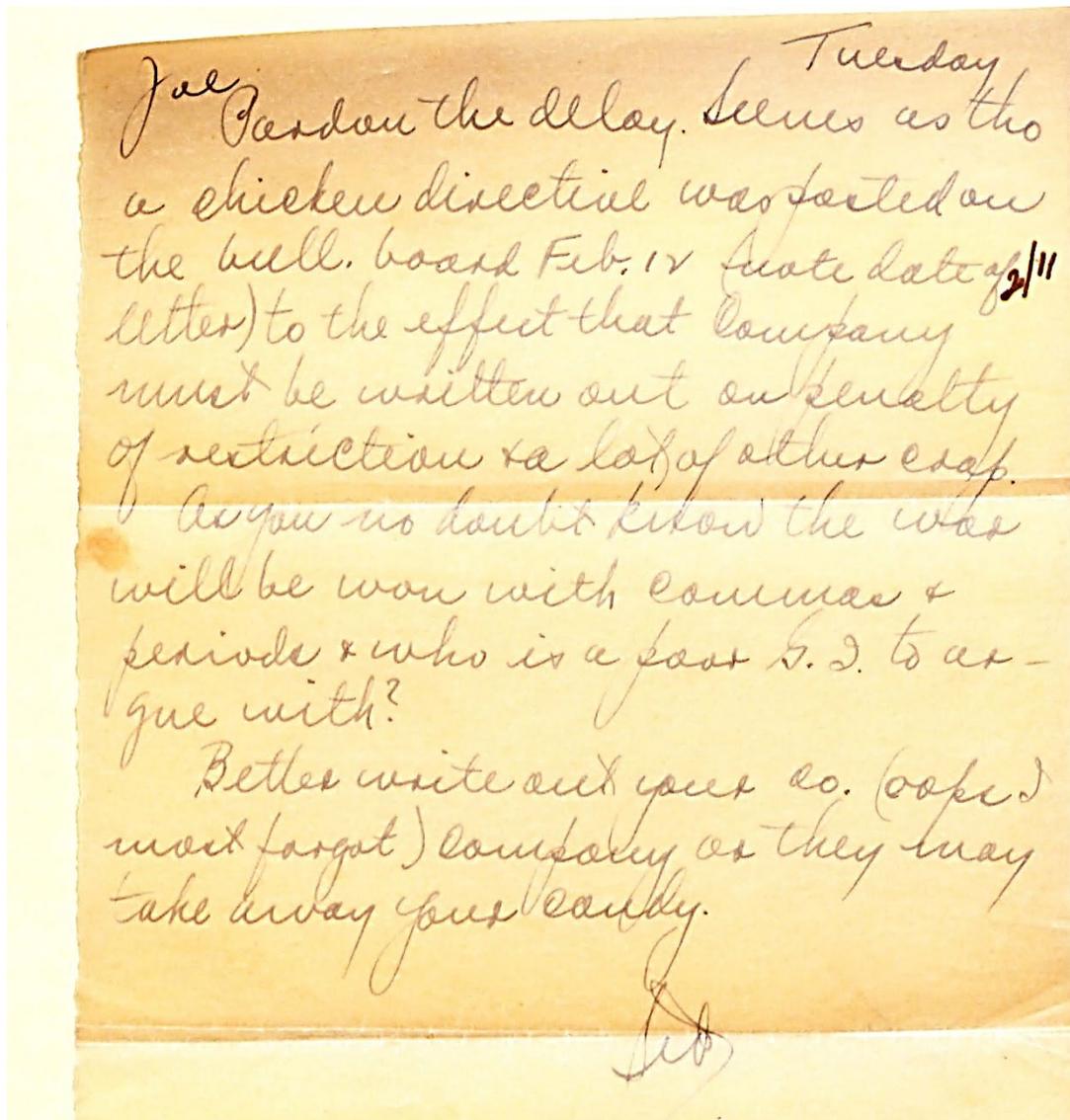


Figure 1: Letter 1 [undated; February 15, 1944], page 1 of 2.

*Edition: Letter 1, Sid Goldman to Joe [no last name given],
[undated; February 15, 1944], [no location given]*

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided):

Tuesday,¹

Joe,

Pardon the delay. Seems as tho a chicken directive² was posted on the bull[etin]. board Feb[ruary]. 12 (note date of 2/11³ letter) to the effect that Company must be written out on penalty of restriction & a lot of other crap.

As you no doubt know the war will be won with commas & periods & who is a poor G. I. to argue with?

Better write out your co. (oops I [al]most forgot) company, or they may take away your candy.

Sid

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided):

Tues.

This letter was delayed a couple days on a/c[count] it wasn't addressed properly. I forgot to write out "company" and you can't win wars like that.

We're getting a lot of chicken⁴ (unedible) in re[garding] our mail & even tho the letter was written a day before the order came⁵ out it doesn't count.

Probably get our candy taken away again⁶ but I don't have much of a sweet tooth anyway.

Hope you're the same.

Sid

¹ There is no date or location given, but the "Tuesday" (i.e., the day the letter was written) after "Feb[ruary]. 12," the date mentioned in the letter, was February 15, and the content and wording of the letter, when compared to Sid's other letters, suggests the year 1944, which is why we are tentatively dating this letter "February 15, 1944." The addressee's last name is unknown but he is probably identical with the "Joe" mentioned in the letter of June 22, 1944 (below).

² Slang for an official order.

³ "2/11" appears to be inserted later; apparently a reference to an earlier letter written by Sid and addressed to Joe.

⁴ Slang for an official order.

⁵ February 12, 1944.

⁶ Slang for the revoking of privileges.

*Edition: Letter 2, Sid Goldman to Leo [Young],
[undated; before February 27, 1944], [no location given]*

Front:

Sunday⁷

Dear Leo

Got your letter yesterday & you sure write an interesting letter. When you get into the Army (I hope not) you'll have to cut the size of your letters cause you won't have time to write such long ones. (While I think of it - send me Willies address.) I'll send you a picture as soon as I can get some film for my camera.

I'm in a basic training company for 2 more weeks & then I go to technical school for 8 weeks. I don't know yet what kind of tech[nical] training I'll get as yet. They have a tire school here but I understand its quite small & hard to get into. They pick you out

Back:

& you can't see the man or do anything about it. There isn't a hell of a lot to write about. It's pitching a hell of a blizzard outside & we go out on bivouac⁸ Monday. Give my best to Ruth & the family.

Regards

Sid

*Edition: Letter 3, Sid Goldman to Leo Young and Ruth,
February 27, 1944, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland*

Envelope: [sender] PVT. SID GOLDMAN 36783791, Co C. 1st ORD. TRG. REGT., ABERDEEN PROVING GROUND, MARYLAND [recipient] L. Young, 4851 No. Sawyer Ave., Chicago, Ill.⁹ [post mark] ABERDEEN TRAINING GROUND M. D., FEB 28, 1944, 3 PM [stamp field, hand-written] FREE

Front: [U.S. national coat of arms, letterhead] U.S. Army, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Md.

Sunday 2/27/44

Dear Leo & Ruth,

How is the family & how is everything in Chi[cago]? It's the nuts out here. I'm really enjoying myself except that I dont have much time to myself.

I met Lil & Rhoda in Baltimore last week end & hope to meet em in New York next week.

⁷ There is no date or location given, but since Sid states he is "in a basic training company" and is announcing a bivouac trip which appears to be completed by the time he writes his letter of February 27, 1944, we are tentatively dating this letter "before February 27, 1944." The addressee's last name is evident from the letter of February 27, 1944.

⁸ Camping without tents.

⁹ Address; built 1910; still standing (2020).

We were out on bivouac at the rifle range last week for 3 days & it was somethin. You ought to see me shoot. I was dirty as a pig. 3 days no wash, shave, or tooth brush then 100 y[ar]ds. on your belly thru mud under live machine gun fire.

Back:

When I got back here I was 31st in line for a shower but for 20¢ I bought 3rd place. It was worth it.

I've won 150 since I've been here. Just left the crap game¹⁰ after winning 50 & I've found 2 guys who play pinochle¹¹ worse than I do. Although just to keep the record clean I went bait last nite on a 400 spade hand by a point.

Hoping you're the same

Regards

Sid

Are you I A?¹² Hope not.

P.S. Where is Willie?

I'll send you a picture for your gallery soon.

*Edition: Letter 4, Sid Goldman to Leo [Young],
March 28, 1944, [hospital; Aberdeen Training Ground, Maryland?]*

Front:

March 28, 1944

Tuesday

Dear Leo

I finally got a chance to catch up on my correspondence. Had to catch the measles (B. 2. version, formerly known as German measles)¹³ to do it. Its nice here in the hospital¹⁴ tho. I'm not sick a bit.

I met Lil in N[ew]. Y[ork]. Sat[urday]. nite & we went nite clubbing. When I got up Sunday A.M. she noticed the rash so before I got back to camp I bought 2 handfull of 3/50 Perfecto Garcias¹⁵ & right now I'm sitting on a nice sun porch smoking one, eating Dutch Mill candy and writing letters. The only things I miss here are the crap games we used to have in my regular co[mpany]. They don't allow

¹⁰ Dice game.

¹¹ Card game.

¹² Highest classification for suitability for military service.

¹³ Rubella.

¹⁴ No location is given; perhaps at Aberdeen Training Ground, Maryland.

¹⁵ Cigars.

Back:

gambling here. However, I found a rummy¹⁶ player here that I can hold my own with.

I'm going to supply clerk school.¹⁷ Its a breeze for me & I hope to wind up with a good rating out of it. I tried to get tire school but finally found out that the only school they have here is just mounting & tube repair etc.

I met Lil Sat. nite as I said and we really had a time in New York. You'd like it there I think. I know I was fascinated by it. Its a live town & looks like a swell spot for a hustler with a little brains. Also took the rubberneck¹⁸ tour thru Radio City.¹⁹ Saw N[ew]. Y[ork]. and also the Statue of Liberty for the first time. Got quite a thrill. Are you in yet. Write me at hospital. It will be forwarded.

Sid



Figure 2: Sid, Lil, and Rhoda Goldman, Revere, Massachusetts, 1943/1944.

¹⁶ Card Game

¹⁷ Training program.

¹⁸ Sight-seeing.

¹⁹ Entertainment venue (New York City); opened 1932; still operating (2020).

*Edition: Letter 5, Sid Goldman to Rhoda [Goldman],
June 18, 1944, [Atlanta, Georgia?]*

Front:

Sunday

18 JUNE 1944

DEAREST RHODA,

It was nice of you to send me a card for father's day. Seems to me like they should have a daughters day so I could send you a card too.

Its very hot down here now.²⁰ From what you said to me over the phone its probably still cold in Revere.²¹ I would really like to see some snow right now.

Are you going to Sonny's party next week. I sure wish I could be there too. However as you get older you'll find that you can't always do the things you want to do.

Mother tells me you've been a very good girl.

Back:

I'm very glad to hear that. Please try & stay good & don't give Mom any trouble. I'm sorry I kept her away from you for 2 weeks but you see I get lonesome too sometimes.

The tire school is very nice & it smells just like our store used to. I only wish you were there too.

Maybe I'll be seeing you in a month or so.

Love

DADDY

P.S. I printed RHODA & DADDY cause I know she can read it.

*Edition: Letter 6, Sid Goldman to Lil [Goldman], Ma [Weinberg], and Rhoda [Goldman],
June 22, 1944, [Atlanta, Georgia?]*

Front:

22 June 1944

Dearest Lil, Ma, & Rhoda

Enclosed find the interest on the money you sent me. I didn't get the 25 yet. Spouse it'll be in tomorrows mail.

I got a lot of mail today. I really hit the jackpot. Joe,²² Jule, (preinvasion), Fritz,²³ Min,²⁴ & Paul Budney. None from you. As you can see I've got a nites writing cut out for me but I love it. I was going to go into town tonite but its too damn hot. I'll go tomorrow nite & get my laundry & a haircut.

²⁰ Letters 5 to 7 contain references to intense heat, and letters 7 and 8 were written in or near Atlanta, Georgia, which is why we are tentatively ascribing all June 1944 letters to that location.

²¹ Town (just north of Boston, Massachusetts).

²² See above, letter 1.

²³ Frieda, Sid's sister. "Fritz(i)" can be a female nickname for Fri(e)da and Fri(e)derike.

²⁴ Minnie, Sid's sister.

Looks like they're not getting too much to eat in Chi[cago] either as you can see by the enclosed clipping. I got a decent piece of beef last nite at the service

Back:

club much to my surprise. I'm waiting for Ray to get ready & we'll go up there again tonite. Damn this heat to hell.²⁵ The sweat is running off me onto the paper.

I'm writing Fritz²⁶ to have Arnold draw up a will & power of att[orne]y. in case I ship overseas. Maybe it might be a good idea for you to come down here for my 8th week in case I ship to Texarkana²⁷ after that? What do you think of the idea?

Can't think of anything else & Ray is ready.

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 7, Sid Goldman to Lil [Goldman], Ma [Weinberg], and Rhoda [Goldman], June 25, 1944, [Atlanta, Georgia]

Page 1 of 2, front:

Saturday

25 June 1944

Dear Lil, Ma & Rhoda

Its too damn hot to go to town²⁸ so I'm going to catch up on my mail. I've got about 6 letters to answer so maybe its just as well.

Got your letter today and I can't imagine what I wrote in Rhoda's letter that is so wonderful. If

you think it is well O.K.

Did you get bath hands? If I'm still able I'm going to town & buy a li[gh]ter Mon[day]. nite.

If Gerri is still there tell her she owes me a letter. I got mail from Jule & he does miss her. Thats a rough deal on that fraud. He'll have

Page 1 of 2, back:

to pay it too.

Looks like we're on the way. Beating the crap on the Jap[anese] navy,²⁹ Cherbourg³⁰ due to fall any hour, and Russia beating on the back door.³¹ Maybe I'll be home for Xmas?

²⁵ See above, note 20.

²⁶ Frieda, Sid's sister.

²⁷ City (eastern Texas, with a twin city across the state line in Arkansas).

²⁸ See above, note 20, and reference on page 2 of 2, back of this letter.

²⁹ Battle of the Philippine Sea (June 19-20, 1944).

³⁰ Battle of Cherbourg (June 6-30, 1944).

³¹ Operation Bagration (June 23, 1944, to August 19, 1944).

What kind of a fuss is a Oedipus Complex?³² I've heard the word before but don't know what it means.

Got a letter from Paul & he has very little to say. He's still waiting for orders. Also mail from Jerry Greenspace, Sue, George, Paul Budney & Min.³³ Since I've been writing so many letters I get so damn many answers its rough catching up.

Page 2 of 2, front:

(2) Pa³⁴ says he likes the slippers very well & Ma³⁵ is worried that if I get a furlough I won't want to spend any time at M[edical]. C[orps]. Wonder who told her that? God knows thats the last place I'd want to spend any time there (if I have any to spend)

I've been working quite hard the last 2 days. Fixing combat tires & they're rough. I finished one last nite tho and was quite proud of the job I turned out. Who knows? When this thing is over I may be able to get a job as a vulcanizer³⁶ for 22.50 a week.

Julie seems to want me to go to O[fficer]. C[andidate]. S[chool]. I don't

Page 2 of 2, back:

want to go tho 'cause I sure dont think its worth it. As you know at one time I did think so but I've changed my mind. He says the wimmin³⁷ in England are friendly & willing but thats observation not research. Same thing goes for Atlanta & that too is observation. Guess Jule & I both can't find anything to compare even remotely to what we have.

Hope you're the same.

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 8, Sid Goldman to Lil [Goldman], Ma [Weinberg], and Rhoda [Goldman], June 27, 1944, [Atlanta, Georgia]

Front:

Tues[day]. 6:30 A.M.

27 June 1944

Dearest Lil, Ma & Rhoda

Up early this A.M. & had early chow. The rest of the co[mpany]. just went to chow so I've time to write.

³² Psychological theory concept.

³³ Minnie, Sid's sister.

³⁴ Probably a reference to Sid's father, Abraham Goldman.

³⁵ Probably a reference to Sid's mother, Rose Mesigal Goldman.

³⁶ Skilled occupation of someone who works with rubber (e.g., tires).

³⁷ Read: women.

Ray & I & another Jew Boy from Akron³⁸ went to town last nite & found a steak. We had dinner at Herrens³⁹ and it wasn't bad. I also got a haircut & a barber shave & my face feels fairly good. These Cracker⁴⁰ barbers are the same as everything else down here. They stink. Walked around the town looking for a decent show couldn't find one & came back at 10:30 P.M. Someone should write a book "A Night in Atlanta:" Don't know what they'd use

Back:

for filler after the first 2 pages.

I didn't get a single letter yesterday. Maybe tomorrow will be better (or today I should say.) Haven't heard from Shir⁴¹ for 2 weeks tho I did get mail from Fritz⁴² & Min.⁴³ I'm awaiting your decision on the trip down here. I still think it'll be rather foolish (tho I'd love it.)

Hope you're the same.

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 9, Sid Goldman to Lil [Goldman], Ma [Weinberg], and Rhoda [Goldman], June 28, 1944, [Atlanta, Georgia?]

Front:

Wed[nesday]. noon

28 June 1944

Dearest Lil, Ma & Rhoda

I'm enclosing a snap of Pa.⁴⁴ Not a very good one but Rhoda will probably enjoy it. The folks⁴⁵ leave Sunday for the summer. Write em huh? 1717 Lake Shore Drive Stop 11, Michigan City, Ind.⁴⁶ Fritz⁴⁷ also sent the enclosed clipping. [Ap]Pears to me they're wrong 'cause "phesterruse"⁴⁸ is an old auctioneers word meaning nothing. Its just used as fillin[g]

Heard a new rumor today from a supposedly good source. Seems like those of us who haven't had field training will go back to Aberdeen⁴⁹ & then go to Camp

³⁸ City (Ohio).

³⁹ Ye Olde Herren's Restaurant (Atlanta, Georgia); established 1934/1939; closed 1987.

⁴⁰ Slang for whites, especially poor whites, in the South.

⁴¹ Shirley, Sid's sister.

⁴² Frieda, Sid's sister.

⁴³ Minnie, Sid's sister.

⁴⁴ Sid referring to himself.

⁴⁵ Probably a reference to Sid's parents.

⁴⁶ Address; built 1919; still standing (2020).

⁴⁷ Frieda, Sid's sister.

⁴⁸ Perhaps "festerous."

⁴⁹ Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland.

Pickett, V[irgini]a.⁵⁰ for 6 weeks of field training. Prior to now it was only 3 weeks. When

Back:

on field training (as I told you before I think) we're near Richmond, V[irgini]a. sleep in pup tents⁵¹ etc. no passes & if we had any we'd have nowhere to go. I'll know more about it 2 weeks from now.

Aunt Sara told the folks that Harold wrote he was on his tenth mission. Looks like he & Art have the combat duties in the family.

Going to town tonite to try & get a decent meal.

Till then.

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 10, Sid Goldman to [Lillian and Rhoda Goldman], [undated; spring/summer 1944], [no location given]

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided):

Mon. Nite⁵²

Dearest Pair,

Everything happens to us. Here I was planning on calling you tonite so they wake us at 5 A.M instead of 5:30, get us out to the depot at 6:30 to take inventory. Seems like the civilian help out here is piss poor & the Joes⁵³ have to take over. Its 9 P.M & we just got back. I haven't showered yet, stink like hell and my P. F. B. (poor -⁵⁴ back) is hanging down to my ankles. We catch it again tomorrow same time, same station so I won't be able to call then either. It really helps morale doesn't it? This crap is supposed to finish tomorrow & we go to the shop Wednesday (if nothing happens.) I go on the 3 P.M. to 11 P.M. shift so will try to call you Wed. A.M. IF I CAN. What a hell of a way to fite a war! As if that weren't enuf we get guard duty Wed. and Sun. nites. The morale in this outfit is really high. I was bitching

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided):

my brains out tonite as only I can & the Old Man was standing outside the barracks laughing fit to kill. I didn't know it till he walked in. Said he'd like to bitch too but his boss prevented him & that he was happy to hear us in that frame of mind. Showed we were happy. He should know how close his whole

⁵⁰ Military base (near Blackstone, Virginia); established 1941.

⁵¹ Small tent, shelter-half.

⁵² There is no date or location given, but it appears that Sid what still stateside because he talks about calling his wife and daughter, and the activities sound like basic training or field training, which is why we are tentatively dating this letter "spring/summer 1944."

⁵³ Joes: the "G[overnment]. I[ssue]. Joes," i.e., soldiers.

⁵⁴ Expletive.

co[mpany]. is to going over the hill (or maybe he shouldn't.) Yeah, I know, you're not the chaplain & don't have any T. S. slips.⁵⁵ I s'pose after I shower & shave & gripe some more I'll get it all out of my system. Really I don't mind it too much.

Been getting your mail regularly. They did us a favor & brought it out to the depot on the chow truck. How's mine coming?

Lil - please don't write me how Rhoda looks when she sleeps & when going to sleep. Nuff Sed? I'm sure you can find other things to write about.

Love

Sid

*Edition: Letter 11, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
February 25, [1945], [Metz, France?]*

Front (single-sided):

Sunday

Feb[ruary]. 25

Dearest

Just got back from town and have quite a lot to tell you. [I t]hink I did tell you I was going to the synagogue.⁵⁶ It must have been a beautiful place. Marble pillars and marble memorial panels etc. The chaplain⁵⁷ who was right behind Patton⁵⁸ when they took the town tells us that it had been used as a medical supply depot & dump just before they got here. The civilians say that before that it was used as a gas & oil storage depot. The windows, all stained glass, are all broken & the inside was in terrible shape. To hear services in a place like that was an event I'll never forget. After the services we (the soldiers) pooled our candy & gum & distributed it among the children. Kibitized⁵⁹ with quite a few civilians and some of the stories we heard are really heartbreaking. We don't realize how lucky we are to be in the U.S. & that's not just idle talk. Went home with a man and his wife & they were eager to have us. They practically forced us to eat with them and we did, tho we ate very little. Most everything they have including bread, is rationed. They do have a radio tho and we listened to news & swing music. Except that it was cold it was [al]'most like an evening at home. They have no central heating and coal is scarce.

⁵⁵ Slang for (imaginary) "tough - [expletive]" paperwork. Soldiers would tell those complaining excessively to fill out a "T. S." slip and give it to the chaplain.

⁵⁶ Based on the Goldman family's memories that Sid was in Metz, the movements of the U.S. Third Army under General George S. Patton, and the description of the synagogue, this is possibly the synagogue in Metz, France (built 1850), where, after the city's liberation in late 1944, Jewish services resumed and the building was restored.

⁵⁷ Probably James Hugh O'Neill (1892-1972).

⁵⁸ General George S. Patton (1885-1945), U.S. Army.

⁵⁹ Yiddish for "chatting."

Not in the mood for writing and I couldn't fill another page very well. In addition to which I'm quite tired so

Love

Sid

*Edition: Letter 12, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
March 7, [1945], [near Saarlouis, Germany]*

Page 1 of 3 (single-sided):

Wed[nesday]. nite

March 7th

Dearest,

The basketball game is over and I've really got a long letter to write. Hope I have time to finish it before lights out. First of all we blew the game quite badly to a good team 39-15. The other team was much more [e]xperienced and have played together for some time. Of course there was a side bet about which the less said the better.

Now about yesterday - I was inside Germany proper. Not far to be sure but in the town of Saarlautern⁶⁰ (In another letter I'll tell you why we were there.) I'll try to describe what I can but there were so many things that I've probably forgotten some.

The first thing was a sign as we crossed the border. "You are now entering Germany courtesy of - Infantry Division."⁶¹ Got quite a kick out of that. You probably saw the picture of the sign in the papers. Our guns were constantly firing over our heads at Jerry⁶² and its a queer feeling especially when you have a quite large truck. The shells kind of whistle when they go over & its very comforting to know that they're going over & not at you. Closer up we heard some small arms fire. Needless to say we finished our job quickly & got the hell out of there. I'm sending you a few stamps & a Nazi flag which was 'bout all I had time to pick up. The enclosed picture from Stars & Stripes⁶³ is 'bout three days old.

The countryside is beautiful & just a bit more hilly than France. We passed the outer defenses of the Siegfried line⁶⁴ and you can certainly see that those -⁶⁵ were preparing for war

⁶⁰ Saarlouis; named Saarlautern 1936-1945

⁶¹ Popular World War II sign used by several U.S. Infantry Divisions.

⁶² Slang for a German (Jerry) or Germans (Jerries).

⁶³ Magazine distributed servicemen in the U.S. Military.

⁶⁴ German western defensive line along the length of the Rhine valley.

⁶⁵ The dash here probably takes the place of swear word or derogatory term.

Page 2 of 3 (single-sided):

(2) for a long, long time. Was in a few of the homes and it looked like the people left in a Hell of a hurry. Found dirty dishes in the sink and remains of meals on the table. There's nary a civilian to be found in or near the town. Learned something of their religious (?) doctrines too. In one home we found a wreath made of thin wood. Apparently it hung in the window at Christmastime. In the place where we would have a candle or light they have that damned eagle & swastika. In that particular home a shell apparently had come thru the roof into a children's room. Toys were strewn about but I couldn't bring myself to pick any up. Its a damned shame that kids have to be brought into this war but I guess it has to be. In another home (apparently a very religious family & well educated) we found bibles & other articles of a religious nature side by side with Nazi books & pamphlets. They really sell 'em some ideas. The furnishings in the homes we saw were mainly of the cheap (borax⁶⁶) variety with the exception of some grandfather clocks⁶⁷ one of which was still running. Most every house was pretty well torn up & seemed to be pretty well souveniered if you get what I mean. I'm sorry I got Rhoda's letter today requesting a Heinie⁶⁸ helmet. There were beaucoup⁶⁹ around there but I didn't take any. Mostly we didn't want to lift 'em up. We ate with a couple of combat outfits and they eat real good. Had real (not dehydrated) potatoes for the first time in a long time. The front line boys don't kick 'bout their chow. They get first pick & beaucoup cigarettes which is as it should be. There's nothing too good for

Page 3 of 3 (single-sided):

those boys. I could go on for hours & write reams about my impressions but for obvious reasons I can't. I don't think I've overstepped the bounds in what I've said & if I did censor will take care of it. I'm sending you a bunch of stamps which you can distribute as you wish & I wish you'd send Irv⁷⁰ a copy of this letter. Explain that I haven't too much time. There's another game tomorrow nite & Sat[urday]. nite & I have to go.

Now then - Our living quarters are almost home-like now & as to comforts I've acquired a bicycle (don't ask questions) so I have transportation. You know how I love to walk.

You have no idea how happy it makes me to read how much you loved the roses. If I hadn't though[t] so I'd never have sent 'em in the first place.

⁶⁶ Cheap but often showy furniture.

⁶⁷ Tall, freestanding floor clock.

⁶⁸ Slang for a German (Heini) or Germans (Heinies), derived from "Heinrich."

⁶⁹ French for "many" or "much."

⁷⁰ Irving, Sid's brother.

Smokey's D. S.⁷¹ is with another tire outfit near here. Haven't seen him for 'bout a week.

Had a hunch that you weren't too well. 18,000 white count is anemia⁷² isn't it? Thank God for Doc Meyer only don't tell him I said so. It is nice to have good relations & friends isn't it. [Re]Member how you used to squawk when I did someone a favor? It all comes back with interest. Didn't you get a hand to get pen set for 10 above. What else do you want. Nylons? Sorry.

I'm treasuring your letter of the 21st. Usually I throw 'em away after I answer 'em but I'll keep that one till I come home. First time we have an argument I'll show you how much you thought of me once. Aren't you afraid I'll get bigheaded? Anyway it works both ways and you too can keep my letters for evidence if you like.⁷³

*Edition: Letter 13, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
April 4, [1945], [France]*

Envelope: [sender] T/5 SID GOLDMAN 36783791, 232ND ORD. TIRE REPAIR CO, APO 667 c/o POSTMASTER, NEW YORK, N. Y. [recipient] Mrs. S. Goldman, 1636 No. Shore Road, Revere, 51, Mass⁷⁴ [post mark] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE 143, APR 10 [?], 194[5] [stamp field] red 6-cents U.S. Air Mail stamp [hand-written] Air Mail [additional stamp] PASSED BY US ARMY EXAMINER 48887 [signed, hand-written] A. S. Beelanski, 1 stpt.

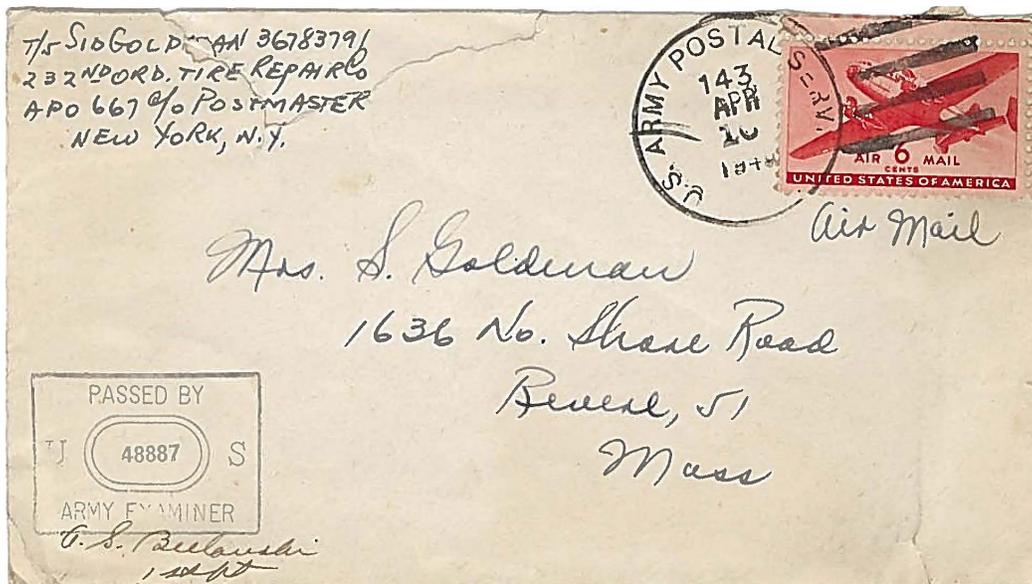


Figure 3: Letter 13, April 4, [1945], envelope with U.S. examiner's [censor's] stamp.

⁷¹ Perhaps "duty station."

⁷² Medical condition; hemoglobin deficiency.

⁷³ The fact that the usually sign-off ("Love, Sid") is missing suggests that there may have been a page 4 (either lost or censored).

⁷⁴ Address; built 1900; still standing (2020).

Dearest
 Enclosed find three money orders ^{April 4}
 that you sent me that I don't need on a/c
 its not nearly as rough as it was when I
 wrote you for it.
 Janis was the only letter I got today so I'm
 answering it before going to work. Its 2 P.M.
 and I just got up. Seems pretty cold out too &
 I'll probably have to dress more warmly. Looks
 like Spring comes to France in spurts.
 Today's Stass & Stripex says the boys are still
 moving into Germany but fast. A few of our
 boys were up there & brought back some wine for
 ten francs a liter (we pay 150-200 here) & also a tube
 for my bicycle. They say all the towns on both
 sides of the Rhine were really flattened. See also
 where Boston isn't so ~~so~~ either. A G.I. leaves a
 loaded grenade in So. Station and a fishing schoo-
 ner picks up a 375 lb. bomb in a net off New Bed-
 ford. Rough all over isn't it?
 By this time tomorrow you'll be an old lady. How
 it felt to be thirty two? I remember how I felt. It
 was pretty good.
 We're getting a little more of our
 daily aid and are getting more & more
 as we go along. Then too the Hermit's are prog-
 ressing quite rapidly. Guess they're anxious
 to get home too.
 Again - Happy birthday & you know the rest.
 Love Ted

Figure 4: Letter 13, April 4, [1945], with two lines (bottom right) cut out by U.S. examiner [censor].

Front (single-sided):

Wed.

April 4

Dearest

Enclosed find three money orders that you sent me that I don't need on a/c[count] its not nearly as rough as it was when I wrote you for it.

Yours was the only letter I got today so I'm answering it before going to work. Its 2 P.M and I just got up. Seems pretty cold out too & I'll probably have to dress more warmly. Looks like Spring comes to France in spurts.

Today's Stars & Stripes says the boys are still moving into Germany but fast. A few of our boys were up there & brought back some wine for ten francs⁷⁵ a liter (we pay 150-200 here) & also a tube for my bicycle. They say all the towns on both sides of the Rhine were really flattened. See also where Boston isn't so safe either. A G. I. leaves a loaded grenade in So. Station⁷⁶ and a fishing schooner⁷⁷ picks up a 325 lb. bomb in a net off New Bedford.⁷⁸ Rough all over isn't it?

By this time tomorrow you'll be an old lady. Hows it feel to be thirty two? I remember how I felt. It was pretty good.

We're getting a little more of our [censored]⁷⁹ daily and are getting more & more [censored]⁸⁰ as we go along. Then too the Heinies are progressing quite rapidly. Guess they're anxious to get home too.

Again - Happy birthday & you know the rest

Love - Sid

*Edition: Letter 14, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
April 10, [1945], [France]*

Front (single-sided):

Tues[day]. nite⁸¹

April 10th

Dearest,

Its [all]'most 2 A.M. but I can sleep late in the morning.⁸² Most of our boys came back and we've been telling & listening to stories & roasting a few selected

⁷⁵ French currency.

⁷⁶ South Station (Boston, Massachusetts); historic train terminal.

⁷⁷ Sailing vessel.

⁷⁸ Town (Massachusetts).

⁷⁹ Approximately one third of the line (two to four words) cut out by the U.S. army examiner/censor.

⁸⁰ Approximately one third of the line (two to four words) cut out by the U.S. army examiner/censor.

⁸¹ Since letter 13 (April 4) was apparently written in France and letter 19 (April 18) was explicitly written in France, we are tentatively ascribing all letters written in between these dates to that location.

people over the coals. Smokey sends his best and looks well. We should have almost a full crew in the shop now and should be able to turn out beaucoup tires if they leave us alone. That of course remains to be seen. I'm [al]most afraid to say it but I think Spring has come. It was warm & sunny today and really nice. Nothing much is happening. We're following the war play by play & our hearts are with the poor guys up front who are really doing a job. I saw a group of prisoners today (some civilians & some soldiers) just returned from prison camps liberated by our boys. It was a sight I'll never forget. They debarked from trucks here and the civilians poured out of the houses with bread & food from their own meager stores. I talked with one lad 26 years old who was a slave laborer for four years. Nuf sed.

On the brighter side - Spring is here (I hope), I've new tires & tubes on my bike & a horn & tail-light. Hope to have a headlight any day, my camera is being fixed, the chow hasn't been bad & I'm smelling buffing dust again. Only thing lacking is YOU & Love - Sid

*Edition: Letter 15, Sid Goldman to Rhoda [Goldman],
April 11, [1945], France*

Front (single-sided):

April 11

France

Dearest Rhoda

Wrote Mommy last nite & just afterward all of our men came back from Germany. Naturally they brought back souvenirs for those of us who didn't go. I probably would have gone but I guess I've been a bad boy or sompin. You know how that is. Guess you've had the same trouble now & then.

Anyhow - the money⁸³ is stuff that they printed after we beat 'em last time (or did we) and is absolutely worthless. The Hitler citation⁸⁴ is similar to our E award⁸⁵ I think but they pass 'em out like passes to the circus. The swastika pennant etc. speaks for itself and the boys up front are doing their level best to clean all the swastikas out of the world.

Spring is here & I got up early this A.M. had breakfast and went bike riding. I've a nice bike with two new tires & tubes, front & back brakes, a tail light & an old style "boop" horn. If & when my camera is fixed I'll send you pictures. How 'bout some new ones of you & Mommy?

⁸² Since letter 13 (April 4) was apparently written in France and letters 15 (April 11) and 19 (April 18) were explicitly written in France, we are tentatively ascribing all letters written in between these dates to that location.

⁸³ It appears Sid sent Rhoda German "Notgeld Banknoten" (hyperinflation paper money) from the late 1910s/early 1920s, as well as different kinds of Nazi memorabilia.

⁸⁴ Unspecified Nazi award/certificate.

⁸⁵ "Excellence in Production" award; an honor bestowed by the U.S. military on companies during World War II.

Love & kisses

Daddy

*Edition: Letter 16, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
April 13, [1945], [France]*

Front (single-sided):

Friday⁸⁶

the 13th

Dearest

And you laugh at my superstitious nature. One of the worst things I could imagine happened this A.M. One of the boys came in early this A.M. with the news that Pres[ident] Roosevelt⁸⁷ had passed away.⁸⁸ We all feel as badly as if one of our close relations had passed away. Our hope now is that the new President can carry on ½ as well as he did. We've been comparing his death with that of Lincoln⁸⁹ which if you remember your history came at an equally important moment.⁹⁰

On my way to town to chow so I won't have time to write much. Got a p[ac]k[a]g[e]. from you yesterday containing medicine which cured my cough almost immediately, salami, wash cloths and a lock & you didn't forget the key either. I feel another cough coming on tho. Can you do anything about it? In fact - I cough almost constantly, must be the weather. There was no mail so I'll probably get some today.

More later

Love

Sid

*Edition: Letter 17, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
April 16, [1945], [France]*

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided):

Monday nite⁹¹

April 16

Dearest,

⁸⁶ Since letter 13 (April 4) was apparently written in France and letters 15 (April 11) and 19 (April 18) were explicitly written in France, we are tentatively ascribing all letters written in between these dates to that location.

⁸⁷ Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945); U.S. President 1933-1945).

⁸⁸ April 12, 1945.

⁸⁹ Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865); U.S. President (1861-1865)

⁹⁰ April 15, 1865 (following his assassination the night before); toward the end of the American Civil War (1861-1865).

⁹¹ Since letter 13 (April 4) was apparently written in France and letters 15 (April 11) and 19 (April 18) were explicitly written in France, we are tentatively ascribing all letters written in between these dates to that location.

Spent the week end in bed & all day today. I've been trying to ward off a hell of a cold. My back, arms, legs & head have been hurting like hell. We finished work Sat[urday]. nite bout midnite & I drank a pint of whisky took aspirin and went to bed. I perspired all nite & stayed in bed all day Sunday. We changed shifts & I worked last nite. Spent today in bed with the rest of the whisky & I feel a bit better now. Settled in my throat.

I've got mail stacked up 'round my ears but this is the only letter I'm going to write tonite. Not in the mood.

The boys are supposed to be in near or around Berlin.⁹² We're trying to find out what its all about but noone seems to know. They've really been travelling.

That bit the censor cut out was aptly figured out by you.⁹³ Sometimes I wonder if censors have any "cense." If there's military information in P[risoners]. O[f]. W[ar]'s unloading tires its a new one on me. Guess they have to cut something out now & then to show that they're on the job.

I'm in the midst of trading my bike for a motorcycle. Much easier on the legs. Then too I'll be able to cover more ground. If they keep me here long enuf I'll wind up with an automobile.

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided):

(2) It's a shame none of the pictures of Rho[da]'s birthday party came out. I'd have been very happy to see 'em. I was certainly sorry to hear about Mike Brown. He ducked for a long time. Guess it was his turn.

Things are picking up a bit as far as the tire Q[ua]l[it]y is concerned. We hollered, yelled, & pleaded for equipment and finally the powers that be woke up to the fact that we have a job to do. They've been bringing tools & equipment as per our requests.

The weather is nice & springlike tho I've seen little of it the past few days. Baseball season opens officially tomorrow & I'd give a lot to be there. Have to sweat it out till next years I guess.

Planning on spending part of my birthday with Jule. We change shifts that week end & I'll have 48 hours. Let you know more about it later.

Love - Sid

*Edition: Letter 18, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],
April 17, [1945], [France]*

Front (single-sided):

Mar

Tues.⁹⁴

⁹² Battle of Berlin (April 16, 1945, to May 2, 1945).

⁹³ See above, letter 13 (April 4).

⁹⁴ Since letter 13 (April 4) was apparently written in France and letters 15 (April 11) and 19 (April 18) were explicitly written in France, we are tentatively ascribing all letters written in between these dates to that location.

Apr. 17

Dearest,

Since working on this [illegible deletion]⁹⁵ I don't know one day from the other. Its a screwy set up. Now that the end seems near it gets screwier by the hour. Back here its strictly a phony war. I don't think they're at all interested in turning out tires. They seem to be more worried about keeping the floor clean, shoes shined etc. Next week probably manicures. I'm feeling much better and am almost my old vitriolic self again.

Almost went to see Blithe Spirit⁹⁶ tonite. Annabella⁹⁷ & Peggy Wood⁹⁸ & an all star cast. It started to rain & Smoky & I wound up with some civilian friends in their house listening to Dinah Shore⁹⁹ & then Glenn Millers¹⁰⁰ orch[estra]. all courtesy of A. E. S.¹⁰¹ I'll write a few more letters & then to work. Invited to dinner tomorrow nite. Its the middle of the week but they've caught some pike somewhere & are going to make gefuillte¹⁰² fish. It'll be a real treat. Red & white wine, a little cognac & some salami (which we'll bring.) I'll let you know how it was.

The boys are still moving but it looks as if they want to flatten Berlin before they take it over. See you soon (?)

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 19, Sid Goldman to [Lillian Goldman],

April 18, [1945], France

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided):

Wed.

Apr. 18

France

Dearest,

Just came back from a tres bon¹⁰³ supper in town. "Gefuillte" fish and as the piece de resistance - believe it or not - a salami omelet. What a deal. Seems like

⁹⁵ Two words, probably inked out by out by the U.S. army examiner/censor to obscure Sid's specific military duty at that time.

⁹⁶ 1941 play by English author Noël Coward (1899-1973).

⁹⁷ Artist's name of Suzanne Georgette Charpentier (1907-1996); French actress.

⁹⁸ Artist's name of Mary Margaret Wood (1892-1978); American actress.

⁹⁹ Artist's name of Fannye Rose Shore (1916-1994); American singer and actress.

¹⁰⁰ (1904-1944); American big-band leader, trombonist, and composer.

¹⁰¹ Armed Forces Education Services.

¹⁰² Traditional Ashkenazi Jewish fish dish.

¹⁰³ French for "very good."

these people can't do enough for us. (Of course a double squeeze a la Charley Ross¹⁰⁴ does wonders now & then.)

My letters from now on will contain less & less. There's another new directive as to what we can write about the "phoney war." No info will be written as to hours of work and hours of operation etc. etc. ad infinitum¹⁰⁵ & I hope our censor doesn't interpret my Latin as code. There will probably be military info & the Heinies might win the war if I tell you that we play with tires for eight hours a day. Maybe some day we'll start to repair tires for eight hours a day. There are souvenir parties out daily scouting equipment with which to work. They are also hunting up mattresses which the powers that be won't let us use on a/c[count] they figure the hard boards are good for our backs. (Not for officers backs) I've got 'em beat on that one but I can't write

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided):

(2) about it. Some day I'll tell you I hope!! As you can see I'm in good health again: I'm my usual vitriolic self. bitching & beefing. I was feeling pretty low for a few days but am O.K. now. Only trouble is that I've gotten way behind on my correspondence & its hell to catch up.

Oh yes - Lest I forget - We will stand inspection Saturday A.M. Lockers, clean hands, combed hair (me too) & shined shoes ~~under severe~~ on a/c[count] the Jerries don't think much of us as soldiers cause of the way we look. Can't understand why they're scared to death of the unshaven Russky¹⁰⁶ soliders. Nuf of that -

In case this letter doesn't get to you for some reason or another, or in case this one gets there & the next ones don't remember that the censor can't stop me from thinking of & loving you,

Sid

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Michael James Thomas of Laguna Beach, California, earned his A.A. in Humanities and Languages at Irvine Valley College in Irvine, California (2010), and his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2012). He is currently pursuing an M.A in History at CSUF, focusing on British naval history. He is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and serves as one of its board members-at-large.

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¹⁰⁴ Charles Brewster "Charley" Ross (1870-1874?); victim of an unsolved kidnapping in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. "Double squeeze;" a play in bridge (card game). The exact meaning of the reference is unclear.

¹⁰⁵ Latin for "to infinity."

¹⁰⁶ Russian.

Ian Woodson Fisher (editor)

*“Magnificent degrees and permutations of variability”:
Letters between Frank Herbert and His Editors (1959-1968)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC-06-FH.

Frank Herbert Papers.

Document Box 10, Folder 6.

Nine letters, dated May 26, 1959, to October 15, 1968 (numbered 1 to 9 below).

Introduction

The correspondence edited below is a part of the “Frank Herbert Papers” held in CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections (UA & SC). The journalist and science fiction author Frank Herbert (1920-1986) is best known for his *Dune* book series which consists of six volumes with publication dates ranging from 1965 to 1985. The collection was obtained by one of CSUF’s professors of English, Willis E. McNelly (1920-2003), who became a member of the Science Fiction Writers of America (SFWA) after striking up a friendship with Herbert in San Francisco in 1969. The donation of the “Frank Herbert Papers” led to several other science fiction authors, such as Ray Bradbury (1920-2012) and Philip K. Dick (1928-1982), donating some of their materials to UA & SC. The nine letters in this edition, dated May 26, 1959, to October 15, 1968, are correspondence between Frank Herbert, his literary agent Lurton Blassingame (1904-1988), and John W. Campbell, Jr. (1910-1971), and range in length from one to five pages with occasional handwritten notes and insertions.

Campbell, the editor of *Astounding Science Fiction* and later *Analog Science Fiction and Fact*, published Herbert’s first novel, *The Dragon in the Sea*, known as *Under Pressure* during its 1955-1956 serialization. In this edition’s first correspondence (1959), Blassingame alerts Herbert to Campbell’s thoughts on an upcoming story. Letter 2, addressed by Herbert to Campbell (1959), concerns that story, a novella called “The Priests of Psi,” first published in 1960 and republished in a collection in 1980. Letters 3 to 6 (1963), revolve around Campbell’s detailed remarks on *Dune* and Herbert’s lengthy response to these comments (which he first ran by his agent to ensure the tone would be acceptable). Letter 7 and 8 (1964) are a brief exchange between Blassingame and Herbert concerning plans for an anthology dealing with E.S.P. (extrasensory perception). In the final letter (1968), Campbell details to Blassingame his rejection of the *Dune* sequel, called at the time *The Messiah* (published by Galaxy as *Dune Messiah* in 1969).

The storylines of *Dune* and *Dune Messiah* take center stage in the conversation between Herbert and Campbell. In *Dune*, the protagonist Paul Atreides and his

family, Duke Leto and the consort Jessica, are ordered to take control of the planet Arrakis, or “Dune,” which they find has been filled with saboteurs. Duke Leto is assassinated by his personal doctor, Yueh, who had been blackmailed by the evil Baron Vladimir Harkonnen. Paul and Jessica escape into the desert, where they are adopted into the tribes of the Fremen people who revere them as religious figures due to the Bene Gesserit sisterhood’s “Missionaria Protectiva.” Paul and Jessica both undergo transformations due to the spice drug “Melange,” granting Paul extraordinary powers of precognition. Jessica and Paul champion a Fremen uprising, which threatens to unbalance the universe’s supply of the spice and thereby draws the Spacing Guild and the Emperor Shaddam IV into the conflict. Paul uses the machinations and scheming of all these groups against them, becoming Emperor himself by the end of the first novel (the demand to finish and *Dune*’s increasing scope drove Herbert to make the ending more abrupt). Between the first and second novel, the Fremen uprising and Paul’s ascent to the throne lead to a universe-wide jihad of violence, and the second novel (*Dune Messiah*) revolves around the inescapable fate that Paul faces when he desperately tries to avoid the future in which all the forces he has overthrown plan to assassinate him but narrowly fail. He is unable to change his fate, eventually loses his wife Chani, and is cast out into the desert as a leper after a dirty nuclear device is set off.

The letters edited here offer a unique and personal insight into both the traditional boundaries of the science fiction genre and Herbert’s contribution to bucking that trend. Campbell and Herbert both shared an interest in world building, as well as pseudo-science and E.S.P., which proved to be fertile ground for the “soft science fiction” style that Herbert promoted. As revolutionary as Campbell was as an editor in the genre, Herbert’s complexity of thought and the non-traditional structure of *Dune* and its sequel *Dune Messiah* proved to be too much for Campbell, as we can see in his rejection of *Messiah* for publication. These letters reveal that, while the initial scope of Herbert’s story quickly exploded (*Dune*-as-trilogy becoming “*Dune* as part 1 of a trilogy” and eventually six books), the public reception of *Dune* by itself can sometimes miss out on the thoughtful commentary on human nature that thematically ties the series together, themes that are present in Herbert’s correspondence even as far back as 1959. All participants in this conversation – Herbert, Campbell, and Blassingame – were involved in the science fiction and fantasy renaissance of the 1950s and 1960s and the transformation of these genres from “pulp” fiction to genres featuring many works of considerable cultural value.

The transcriptions below preserve the spelling and capitalization of the original correspondence. Obvious corrections (whether done by typewriter or by hand) have been implemented and are not indicated in the edition below.

*Edition: Letter 1, Lurton Blassingame to Frank Herbert,
May 26, 1959, New York, New York*

Front (single-sided): [header] Cable: LUBLAME,¹ MUrray Hill² 7-7491-2 [letterhead] LURTON BLASSINGAME, TEN EAST FORTY-THIRD STREET,³ NEW YORK 17, N.Y. [footer] Representatives in Hollywood, Paris, London, Oslo, Stockholm, Buenos Aires, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Helsinki [text typewritten; signature "Lurton" in blue pen]

May 26, 1959

Dear Frank:

John Campbell says he will be glad to see the story⁴ again. He makes suggestions to let you see what is wrong with a story but he very seldom asks for revision because he doesn't want you to make revision unless you agree with his viewpoint. If you think that his suggestions will improve the story -- fine. He'll be very glad to read it again and buy it if it comes off, but he won't guarantee to buy it since he feels that you may not agree with him but would simply make changes because he had asked for them.

This isn't very clear but it's the best I can get out of John.

Hastily

Lurton

Mr. Frank Herbert
2380 Hall Avenue⁵
Stockton, California

*Edition: Letter 2, Frank Herbert to John W. Campbell,
June 12, 1959, Stockton, California*

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided): [text typewritten; left margin, handwritten: "a thin veneer of words over a primitive psyche"]

Frank Herbert
2380 Hall Ave.
Stockton, Calif.
6/12/59

Mr. John W. Campbell, Jr.,
Editor, Astounding S-F,⁶

¹ Lurton Blassingame.

² Neighborhood (Manhattan, New York).

³ Address (near Grand Central Terminal, Murray Hill neighborhood, New York); built 1956; still in use (2020).

⁴ "The Priests of Psi," novella by Frank Herbert (first published 1960).

⁵ Address (Stockton, California); built 1953; still in use (2020).

⁶ American science fiction magazine with changing titles; published since 1930.

304 East 45th St.,⁷
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Enclosed is virtually a complete rewrite of "Priests of Psi." I found your criticisms much to the point...and much to my chagrin! No excuses offered. I guess this can happen to any writer.

What hit me strongest was the thought that Orne⁸ had to have a more logical reason for siding with the Abbod.⁹ (How did I miss that?) Now, he has the strongest of reasons: their purposes coincide.

One of the major difficulties with this story, as I see it, is that anything touching religion must immediately be suspected of mysticism. My aim was to show a logical function for religion in an advanced society.

If you accept this one, I want to do a further story on "religious engineering." The thought being that the religions could be shaped and geared to the particular needs of new worlds. (Harking back to the ways Catholicism was fitted to the Mexican Indians, for example.)

Religion is always a touchy subject, and must be even more so in S-F where mechanistic "science can solve anything" bias is always suspected. (If "science can solve anything," perhaps that's a Faith, too.) But we do have in such a subject something that goes to the very core of the finest in human aspirations -- leaving aside for now how those aspirations are sometimes deflected into baser activities. The writer (and the editor and his readers, too, I suspect) must continually ask when dealing with

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided): [text typewritten; left margin, hand-drawn bracket for the text paragraph starting with "There's also the question;" unsigned]

- 2 -

such a story: "Why do I have my particular reaction toward religion? Is there more in my reaction than meets my conscious eye?"

At least, that's one of the problems I found in writing this story. And my first answers didn't always ring true!

There's also the question of the matrix and the object, where the matrix is our trained way of looking at the universe, and the object is the universe. I think we are too often prone to mistake clear reasoning for correct reasoning. Logic, after

⁷ Address (Manhattan, New York); built 1929; still in use (2020).

⁸ Main character in "The Priests of Psi;" employee of the Investigation and Adjustment Agency.

⁹ One of the Priests of Psi of the planet Amel.

all, is an arbitrary extension of the matrix. If the original starting point is distorted, what does that do to the logic?

When we remove the matrix, it's plain that we're dealing with an enormous, mysterious interacting complex. But one interacting complex nonetheless. (This is what is known as the grand view!) What I'm driving at is Tao,¹⁰ which in its original concept was neither a mystical nor religious idea. Tao was a cousin of Maya,¹¹ which when divested of the religious gimcrackery (all, by the way, added later) was a remarkably clear and scientific concept of how a human being looks at (measures) the universe (nature, to the writers in Sanskrit).¹² It's interesting to note that we still have the root "Ma" in so many matters dealing with science and measurement: matter, matrix, machine, the Greek macro-, magazine (out of Arabic: "to store up a measured amount"), mathematics, etc. etc. etc.

I enjoyed your comment that the nature of science is "explaining things in terms of their results." How true! Lest I get into that field now, I'm going to sign off because the major explaining that now interests me is whether the "things" and "results" come out even for you in this rewrite.

Best regards,

Edition: Letter 3, John W. Campbell to Frank Herbert c/o Lurton Blassingame, June 3, 1963, New York, New York

Page 1 of 4 (single-sided): [letterhead] analog: SCIENCE FACT - SCIENCE FICTION, 420 LEXINGTON AVENUE,¹³ NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK, MURRAY HILL 9-5900, John W. Campbell, Editor [footer] A CONDE NAST PUBLICATION [text typewritten]

June 3, 1963

Mr. Frank Herbert
c/o Lurton Blassingame
10 East 43rd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Frank:

Congratulations! You are now the father of a 15-year -old superman!

But I betcha you aren't gonna like it...

¹⁰ Chinese for "the way"/"the path" (i.e., the natural order of the universe which must be accepted for human intuition to reach its full potential).

¹¹ Hindu and Buddhist belief; posits that human perception of reality is far removed from what reality actually is.

¹² Language of ancient India; primary language for most works of Hindu philosophy.

¹³ Address (Manhattan, New York); known as the "Graybar Building;" built 1925-1927 in the Art Deco style; still in use (2020).

This is a grand yarn; I like it, and I'm going to buy it. But I have some comments that may make you want to make a slight change in the ending.

As the father---and/or step-father!---of several literary supermen, I've learned something about their care and upbringing. They're very recalcitrant. Also hard to live with.

You can't think like a superman. You can't imagine his motivations. He's altruistic--and superman. Which means he will sacrifice the highest good you can imagine, for the sake of something you couldn't understand even if he explained it to you. He is gentle---which, when properly defined, means that he is kindly, but absolutely ruthless. Like the man who loves horses, and sorrowfully shoots the stallion with a broken leg. I doubt that the stallion would approve of that action.

No human being can write about the thoughts, philosophy, motivations, or evaluations of a superman.

There are two ways that supermen have been handled successfully in science-fiction; Method 1 is that van Vogt¹⁴ used in "Slan!"¹⁵... and is what you've got here, so far. You don't talk about the superman, don't try to portray the superman, but show a superboy, who hasn't yet developed his powers out and beyond your ability to conceive of them. Method 2 is that used by Norvel W. Page¹⁶ in "But Without Horns"¹⁷ in the old UNKOWN.¹⁸ The superman never appears on stage at all---you encounter only people who have met him, and the results of action he's taken. You never meet him, and never do understand what his motivations are.

Page 2 of 4 (single-sided): [header typewritten] Mr. Frank Herbert, - 2 -, June 3, 1963
[text typewritten]

If "Dune"¹⁹ is to be the first of three, and you're planning on using Paul²⁰ in the future ones...oh, man! You've set yourself one hell of a problem!

You might make the next one somewhat more plottable if you didn't give Paul quite so much of the super-duper.

You'd have someone exceedingly hard to defeat, and yet having certain definite limitations, if you gave him just one talent; the ability of transtemporal clairvoyance.

¹⁴ Alfred Elton van Vogt (1912-2000); Canadian-born science fiction author.

¹⁵ Science fiction novel by Alfred Elton van Vogt; serialized 1940 in *Astounding Science Fiction* (edited by John W. Campbell); published as a novel 1946.

¹⁶ (1904-1961); pulp fiction writer and journalist.

¹⁷ Novella by Norvel W. Page; published 1940 in *Unknown* magazine.

¹⁸ American pulp fantasy fiction magazine; published 1939-1943; edited by John W. Campbell.

¹⁹ See introduction.

²⁰ Paul Atreides; protagonist of *Dune* and *Dune Messiah*.

Now that could work like this: a man remembers the past he has experienced, but nobody knows how that's done. Suppose it's done by a faculty which any remembering entity actually has, of being able to "see" across time, and perceive the actual original event. When you "remember" going to the beach for a swim last summer, you perceive-across-time the actual event.

Now this time-scanning would, inherently, allow you to perceive anything anywhen anywhere. Which could simply drive you completely nuts. Data is useless, unless you can organize and relate it. Unlimited access to unlimited data would require infinite time to scan it all! And until you've scanned nearly all of it, you wouldn't know what data went with what.

So normal people use as an index-mark, as a guide-line, the "I was there" factor in using their transtemporal clairvoyance. You can remember what you heard, saw, felt, tasted, thought, and your mood.

Once in a while, somebody slips a bit...and gets somebody else's "I" as a guide-line; then you have Joe Blow "remembering" somebody else's life-track...and we have "proof" of reincarnation.

Now if Paul has as his new talent the ability to use someone else's "I was there" guide-line---if he can remember anyone else's memories---he would be very hard to defeat.

Notice: If I could remember what you remembered, I would, in effect, have telepathy! I would not know what you are-now-thinking, but I would be able to "remember" what you were thinking a millisecond ago...which amounts to the same thing.

If, before he can "remember" someone else's memories, he must identify their "I-track"---if it is essential that he first have a take-off point of direct contact---then the only way an enemy could keep Paul from knowing his plans would be to make sure Paul never

Page 3 of 4 (single-sided): [header typewritten] Mr. Frank Herbert, - 3 -, June 3, 1963
[text typewritten]

encountered him. To find the I-track of one individual among the n-billion people in the Galaxy would be impossible without a contact point.

If you wind up this yarn with Paul acquiring that talent, all the present explanations can come out of it. I.e., he can remember back along Baron

Harkomen's²¹ line, Yeuh's²² Kynes,²³ the Fremmen²⁴ he encountered, etc., to get the whole present background.

BUT...he doesn't have so much precognition that you can't build a workable plot for the next yarn.

You know the trouble with time-travel stories; if the guy has a time-travel machine, and the villain doesn't, and the villain kidnaps the heroine, there's no sweat. The hero doesn't chase the villain; he looks annoyed, steps into the time machine, goes back 30 seconds before the villain's villainy, and tells the heroine, "Hey, honey--- that stupid louse, Rudolph the Villain is about to kidnap you. He's making a nuisance of himself, isn't he. Let's go somewhere else."

Give your hero precognition that works, and it's sort of like old-fashioned Presbyterian Predestination.²⁵ There's no use trying, because he already knows what has to come. And everybody else is stuck with it, whether they like it or not.

However, with all the data-sources he gets with everybody's memories...he still doesn't know the future. He knows what they think the future is, and what he thinks it'll be...but not what it will be.

Incidentally, I find that the following is a useful analogy describing the process of Time. Imagine an immensely tall glass cylinder filled with water. The bottom of the thing is sitting in a tank of liquid air; naturally the water in the bottom is frozen solid, and as heat drains out to the liquid air, the surface of crystallization advances steadily up the column of water. The interface between still-liquid water and solidified ice is the instant Now; the frozen ice is the Past, and the free liquid water is Future.

Now when a substance crystalizes, there are intermolecular forces at work that reach out from the already-solid crystal to drag in and align free molecules of the liquid, forcing each new molecule added to the crystal to fall into a precise alignment with the already-crystalized molecules. The interface, in other words, is not a no-thickness geometrical surface---it's a volume. Liquid well away from the interface is really pretty free, but liquid molecules near

²¹ Baron Vladimir Harkonnen; antagonist in *Dune*; ultimate mastermind behind the misfortunes of House Atreides.

²² Wellington Yueh, the Suk; character in *Dune*; (imperialy trained) doctor; being blackmailed to assassinate Duke Leto Atreides

²³ Liet-Kynes; character in *Dune* (originally scoped to be the protagonist); imperial planetologist sent to observe the planet Arrakis ("Dune"); father of Chani, Paul's eventual love interest.

²⁴ "Native" inhabitants of the planet Arrakis ("Dune") after the Scattering of the Butlerian Jihad.

²⁵ Doctrine developed by French Protestant theologian John Calvin (1509-1564).

Page 4 of 4 (single-sided): [header typewritten] Mr. Frank Herbert, - 4 -, June 3, 1963
[text typewritten; signature "John W. Campbell" in blue pen]

the interface are already subjected to the alignment forces, and are being dragged into place.

Moreover, some crystals manage to grow faster than others; there will be spikes of crystal reaching out well ahead of the slower-growing mass.

If you watch the way crystals grow---epsom salts²⁶ crystalizing when a solution is poured out on a pane of glass, for instance---it gives a remarkable mental picture of how alignment forces reach out from the past through the instant-Now, and into the Future...and yet do not completely determine the future, because there are liquid zones among the out reaching crystal forces.

One other item that makes supermen such nasty people to live with, when they're 15-year-old supermen. They are adolescent demi-gods---and personally, I can't imagine anything more horrible. An adolescent, no matter how intelligent, is not wise; he's only smart. Furthermore, adolescents have the most ghastly-horrible tendency to be sure they have The Answers to all the world's problems, and it is only the stupid conservatism of the old foggies that makes them reject it.

And having all the knowledge in the world means nothing---because all knowledge is filtered through the individual's attitudes and beliefs.

Can you imagine a sincere, dedicated, enormously intelligent, practically omniscient teen-ager...with the typical teen-age tendency to be Sure He's Right about matters that only adult experience can make understandable?

Hitler²⁷ was Sure He Was Right. So was Torquemada.²⁸

The ordinary, every-day adolescent is something of a problem to live with. A genius-grade adolescent is much worse to live with, because he's just as certain he has the proper, logical, and righteous answers figured out, and being extremely smart, is very difficult to unconvince.

Want to try it with Paul---when he's decided, at age 16, How the Galaxy Should Be Rearranged And Right Away Quick?

God preserve us! No one else would be able to!

Regards,

John W. Campbell

JOHN W. CAMPBELL

²⁶ Magnesium sulfate.

²⁷ Adolf Hitler (1889-1945); leader of the Nazi Party; chancellor of Germany (1933-1945).

²⁸ Tomás de Torquemada (1420-1498); Spanish Dominican friar; first Grand Inquisitor of Spain.

Editor

JWC: ff

*Edition: Letter 4, Frank Herbert to John W. Campbell,
June 8, 1963, San Francisco, California*

Page 1 of 5 (single-sided): [text typewritten; bottom, following the words: "Like this;" a hand-drawing: six waves/troughs with seven crests, a chip floating atop the center crest, an arrow pointing left from the chip across the three crests to the left, the two waves/troughs furthest to the left shaded]

Frank Herbert

412 Mississippi St²⁹

San Francisco 7, Calif.

June 8, 1963

Mr. John W. Campbell

Editor - Analog

420 Lexington Ave.

New York 17, N. Y.

Dear John:

Sincere thanks for the two-edged congratulations.

As for your liking the new parenthood...let me put my reaction this way: the blessing appears not only to be mixed, but more on the order of a parfait that tangled with Mr. Waring's blender.³⁰ Out of the resultant mess, however, I still can distinguish two ingredients -- a sense of gratification that this long labor has been favored by someone whose judgement I admire...and a sort of small-mouse feeling in the face of the mountain of work I can still see ahead.

Perhaps it's naivete, but I'm flattered by the length of your letter. I have editing chores of my own in addition to writing and I know what happens to your time. (On second thought, what does happen to your time?)

So -- to the subject of Time...

Your analogy of an advancing surface of crystalization touched a particular chord of interest in me. With your permission, I may adapt it (or part of it) to my needs.

First, though, here's how I see the Time and plot problem for a sequel to Dune:

You will recall that Paul has a vision of Time as the surface of a gauze kerchief undulating in the wind. As far as it goes, this is accurate, but immature. It's the child-vision. Clarification is yet to come and he isn't going to like what he sees.

²⁹ Address (Potrero Hill neighborhood, San Francisco); built 1938; still in use (2020).

³⁰ Culinary tool; developed 1937 by Frederick Jacob Osius; named after and promoted by popular entertainer Fredrick Malcolm Waring, Sr. (1900-1984).

Think now of a coracle,³¹ a chip floating on a stormy sea. The man of vision is in the coracle. When it rises to a crest, he can see around him (provided he has his eyes open at the moment and it's light enough to see -- in other words, provided conditions are right). And what does he see? He sees the peaks of many waves. He sees troughs and flanks of his own wave complex. Troughs of subsequent waves are increasingly hidden from him.

Like this:

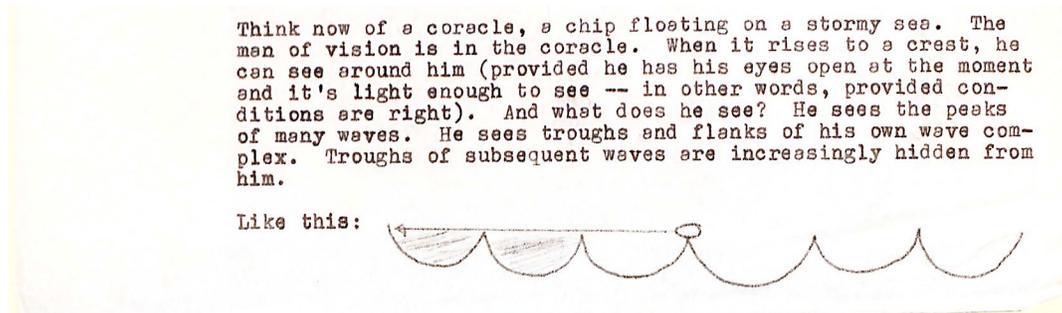


Figure 1: Letter 4, Frank Herbert to John W. Campbell, June 8, 1963, page 1.

Page 2 of 5 (single-sided): [header typewritten] Mr. John W. Campbell, - 2 -, June 3,³² 1963 [text typewritten]

Considered one way, your surface of crystalization is similar to this stormy-sea concept. If you could photograph that surface on movie film at one frame per minute and view it at 16 fps,³³ the surface would heave and undulate in a similar manner as it advanced. (It's the idea of an advancing surface that catches my interest.)

Now, consider Time as a system with its own form of obedience to its own form of entropy. What disrupts it? What causes Time storms? Among other things, a man of vision with his eyes open in good light and on the crest of the wave can cause Time storms. If you see that-which-is-not, that's hallucination. If you see that-which-is-not-yet, you give the not-yet a feed-back circuit for which it is not-yet prepared. You set up a channel for convection currents across regions delicately susceptible to the slightest deflection.

(Think of the region beyond your surface of crystalization. Within this region there's another barrier area within which the molecular tip-over toward one crystalizing system or another becomes extremely delicate.)

Prescience, then, shakes down to this:

³¹ Small round boat.

³² Should be "June 8."

³³ Frames per second; frequency rate.

Man of vision opens his inner yes. He may find it dark all around him. He may find himself in the trough of the wave...in which case he sees only the flanks of adjoining waves towering over him and a limited curve of his own trough. He may find himself on a crest in good light...in which case he QUICK looks all around.

Vision ends.

The Time he “saw” may maintain itself in similar motions for a period, but it is in motion, it is changing. And the very action of his looking has accelerated and twisted and distorted the directions of change. (Do you think John the Baptist³⁴ could predict all the outcomes of his prophecies?) Add the further complication that there are many men of vision with varying degrees of aptitude.

Most philosophies of Time I’ve encountered contain an unwritten convention that this “thing” is something ponderous (read juggernaut) and requires monstrous, universe-swaying forces to deflect it to any recognizable degree. Once set in motion, they say, Time tends to be orderly in its direction.

Obviously there is in mankind a profound desire for a universe which is orderly and logical. But the desire for a thing should be a clue to actualities. Local areas of order exist, but beyond is chaos. Time in the larger sense is a disorderly harridan.³⁵ (I’ll digress on this a bit later.)

We can still see the thumb upraised in the Roman arena,³⁶ yes. Its effects are all around us if we have the eyes for it, but we are looking backward here, not forward. While we’re looking backward, then, what of the Natufian³⁷ herdsman who carved himself a whistle from a twig to while away his hours on a hillside? Is there a

Page 3 of 5 (single-sided): [header typewritten] MR. John W. Campbell, - 3 -, June 3,³⁸
1963 [text typewritten]

line between him and a Greek herdsman playing the pan pipes near Athens...and between that herdsman and Bach?³⁹ What of the sidelines, then twisting away to...where?

And what of the Chellean⁴⁰ nomad crossing the site of the future Gursu-Babylon?⁴¹ Does the stone he accidentally kicks aside influence the future location of a temple? If this isn’t enough complication, consider the negative side -- the downturned

³⁴ New Testament figure; itinerant Jewish preacher and prophet; relative of Jesus.

³⁵ From the French “haridelle” (nag, horse); derogatory term for a bossy old woman.

³⁶ Thumb signal (*pollice verso*); used to determine the fate of a defeated gladiator.

³⁷ Ancient culture in the eastern Mediterranean region.

³⁸ Should be “June 8.”

³⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750); German Baroque composer.

⁴⁰ Early Stone Age (named after findings from Chelles, France).

⁴¹ Ancient Babylonian state (modern-day Iraq).

thumb, the uncarved whistle, the unkicked stone...what if...what if...what if...what if...

What if a wandering cow had distracted the Natufian gentleman and he'd left the whistle-building to another herdsman in another culture? The line might still wind its way to Bach, but over other hills and dales,⁴² and a person gifted with both views would hear a difference -- perhaps a profound difference.

We've narrowed our focus here down to a two-value system (on-off, yes-no), however. What we have in actuality is a multi-valued, extended-spectrum system -- magnificent degrees and permutations of variability. The Time surface is in a constant state of flux It's only when we look backward and isolate a line out of context that we perceive any degree of order. And if we take this order and project it into the future, the distance during which it will continue to hold true is distinctly limited. (Couldn't you visualize certain possible changes in conditions which would make some of our laws of physics inoperable?)

The Time surface is in a constant state of flux -- one of your crystal extrusions may project for ten million years ahead of the surround-surface in one cross-section instant only to be lopped off in the next. (There's a fascinating side consideration here if we continue viewing this as a "crystal." It exists one instant and is-not in the next instant. What happens to its components, if you give them substance? Do they enter the surrounding solution? If so, where?)

Let's isolate that cross-section (see above) idea for a moment. This is the abstraction process, the taking-out-of-context, the stopping, the isolation. You limit your knowledge of a subject when you do this with any flowing process. To understand a flowing process you have to get in with it, flow with it. This is the larger meaning within the gestalten⁴³ concept.

I promised a certain digression earlier (one among many) and this appears to be the moment for it. Time, the disorderly harridan...We are, of course, considering chaos vs. order. Within this there is always the unspoken judgement -- one thing is "right" and the opposite is "wrong." So lets look at the logical projection of completely orderly Time and a universe of absolute logic. Aren't we saying here that it's possible to "know" everything? Then doesn't this mean that the system of "knowing" will one day enclose itself? And isn't that a sort of prison?

For my part, I can conceive of infinite systems. I find this reassuring -- the chaos reassuring. It means there are no walls, no limits, no boundaries except those that man himself creates. Magnificent degrees and permutations of variability.

⁴² English expression; used, for example, in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (act 2, scene 1).

⁴³ *Gestalt* (German for "form") psychology; early twentieth-century concept arguing that we see entire patterns and configurations, not merely single components.

Page 4 of 5 (single-sided): [header typewritten] MR. John W. Campbell, - 4 -, June 8, 1963 [text typewritten; line above the fourth paragraph, left aligned, handwritten in blue pen: “* by impending accident,” to be inserted after “a split second from death;” in the bottom line, before “ORACLE,” hand-drawing of a printed C intersecting the top right corner of a square]

Now, of course we build walls and erect barriers and enclosed systems and we isolate and cut cross sections to study them. But if we ever forget that these are bubbles which we are blowing, we’re lost. If we ever lose sight of the possibility that a wall we’ve erected may someday have to be torn down, then we’ve bricked ourselves in with the amontillado⁴⁴ and we can yell “For the love of God, Montessor!”⁴⁵ all we like. There’ll be nobody listening outside who gives a fat damn.

We seem to have wandered somewhat off the Time track, but now you know some of the background which flows over into my stories and which I’m pouring right now into a sequel to Dune. You may understand now, also, why Time travel stories have always been somewhat disappointing to me. They may have excellent plotting, wonderful linearity. Tremendous sense of direction...but little or no elbow room.

Before winding this up, I’d like to take one more side trip in Time through the concept of “how long.” The length of an operation, of course, depends on the viewpoint and the field of operations.

e.g. Through a combination of circumstances too tedious to detail here, I found myself one morning a split second from death.*⁴⁶ During a period of time which could not possibly have been more than 1/25th of a second, I calmly considered at least eight distinct solutions, examining them in great detail, calling on memory aspects that wandered through a number of cross references that could only be referred to as enormous. Out of this and still within this shutter-blink of Time, I decided upon a solution which had its main inspiration in a circus trick I had seen just once, and I altered that circus trick to suit my needs. The solution worked precisely as I had visualized it. I could cover at least ten of these single-space pages with elements that went into that solution and still not exhaust them.

Obviously there are certain conditions under which our view of Time may be compressed to the point where, for all practical purposes, the process is instantaneous. (Consider the hours-long dream that occurs between the ringing of the alarm and the hand reaching out to shut the damn’ thing off.)

⁴⁴ Medium dry sherry; originally from Montilla, Spain.

⁴⁵ Line uttered by Fortunato in “The Cask of Amontillado” (1846), a story by Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), in which Fortunato is immured alive by Montresor in an act of revenge.

⁴⁶ Handwritten in blue pen: “* by impending accident,” to be inserted after “a split second from death.”

Another way of looking at this is to say that the Time it takes for a given event (a vision, for example) may be almost interminable for one person (the one with the vision) but practically instantaneous to an outside observer.

We can postulate, also, that External Time (in the larger sense) has different speeds and currents for different viewpoints, that not only is the course within a given locale variable, but also the local-speed-effect varies.

These ideas, then, form some of the boundaries (man-made) of Paul's prescience. He's in a situation where he must learn new ground rules. (There are rules, but he has to learn a shifting frame of reference to recognize them.) He's within the coracle. While on that word, I might add that I've been using the title "Muad 'Dib"⁴⁷ for the first draft of the sequel. I think, though, that this would be a better title:⁴⁸ ORACLE.⁴⁹

Page 5 of 5 (single-sided): [header typewritten] Mr. John W. Campbell, - 5 -, June 8, 1963 [text typewritten; signature "Frank Herbert"]

If I tell you any more now, I'll be giving away the sequel. It goes without saying, though, that your comments will be received with great interest and open mind. Tell if what I've said here meets your plot objections. If not, I'm perfectly willing to find some common ground for ending the first story that will hold up in subsequent ones.

Warmest regards,
Frank Herbert
Frank Herbert

P.S. I quite understand that what I've been discussing here is the subjective relationship between real time and time dilation. But this strikes me as a subject which deserves much greater exploration -- especially where it regards what we commonly refer to as "the speed of thought."

*Edition: Letter 5, Frank Herbert to Lurton Blassingame,
June 9, 1963, San Francisco, California*

Front (single-sided): [letterhead] from the desk of FRANK HERBERT [text typewritten; signature "Frank"]

412 Mississippi St.
San Francisco 7, Calif.

June 9, 1963

⁴⁷ Name chosen by Paul Atreides (in *Dune*) when he is finally accepted into his "sietch" or tribe; a reference to the fictional kangaroo mouse which is able to survive on Arrakis; Paul's other sietch name is Usul or "foundation of the pillar."

⁴⁸ Inserted here: hand-drawing of a printed C intersecting the top right corner of a square.

⁴⁹ From the Latin *oraculum*; a divine prophecy.

Mr. Lurton Blassingame
Ten East 43rd St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Lurton:

Here are the synopses and a long letter to John Campbell re the sequel. Sorry I couldn't provide you with a carbon, but I ran short of the right sized carbon paper over the weekend. If you think the letter is in order, please send it along to him. I'll leave that to your judgement.

The synopses, oddly enough, break the book into almost equal parts -- four of them. This doubtless comes from lavish use of cliff hangers.

A close line-count of the book's length shows that Campbell's count is correct -- 85,000 words, give or take a hundred or so.

The error came from a page count which didn't allow for the many chapter endings on short pages.

You'll have some more of the sequel shortly.

What's the word from Doubleday?⁵⁰

Regards,
Frank

*Edition: Letter 6, Lurton Blassingame to Frank Herbert,
June 11, 1963, New York, New York*

Front (single-sided): [header] Cable: LUBLAME, MURRAY HILL 7-7491-2 [letterhead, followed by a black triangle figure pointing down] LURTON BLASSINGAME, TEN EAST FORTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. [footer] REPRESENTATIVES IN HOLLYWOOD, PARIS, LONDON, OSLO, STOCKHOLM, HAMBURG, MILAN, ZURICH, TOKYO [text typewritten; signature "Lurton" in blue pen]

June 11, 1963

Dear Frank:

Thanks for the synopses, and also for letting me see your letter to Campbell. I think you did a brilliant job of defending your position. So far he has known of only two ways of handling supermen and I hope he will accept your arguments and say that in future he knows of three ways.

No word yet from Doubleday but I will be surprised if it is not favorable when it comes.

Cordially,
Lurton

⁵⁰ American publishing company; established 1897.

Mr. Frank Herbert
412 Mississippi St.
San Francisco 7, California

*Edition: Letter 7, Lurton Blassingame to Frank Herbert,
January 24, 1964, New York, New York*

Front (single-sided): [header] Cable: LUBLAME, MURRAY HILL 7-7491-2 [letterhead, followed by a black triangle figure pointing down] LURTON BLASSINGAME, TEN EAST FORTY-THIRD STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. [footer] REPRESENTATIVES IN HOLLYWOOD, PARIS, LONDON, OSLO, STOCKHOLM, HAMBURG, MILAN, ZURICH, TOKYO [text typewritten; signature "Lurton" in blue pen; handwritten insertion at the bottom: "Area Code - NY 212"]

Jan.24, 1964

Dear Frank:

I gather from DUNE that you are interested in ESP.⁵¹ Have you done a great deal of reading in this field? If so, would you be interested in editing an anthology of stories in this basic field? A publisher is thinking about such a selection for "young adults."

I had lunch with Peter Israel⁵² this week. He has not yet read DUNE but promised to get to it soon.

I hope you get straightened out on the job soon and finish your revisions for Campbell. I'm delighted that John plans to use all of this big and excellent novel.

Cordially,
Lurton

Mr. Frank Herbert
412 Mississippi St.
San Francisco 7, Calif.

*Edition: Letter 8, Frank Herbert to Lurton Blassingame,
January 29, 1964, San Francisco, California*

Front (single-sided): [text typewritten; signature "Frank"]

Frank Herbert
412 Mississippi St.
San Francisco 7, Calif.
1/29/64

Mr. Lurton Blassingame
10 East 43rd St.
New York 17, New York

⁵¹ Extrasensory perception.

⁵² (b. 1933); American editor; editor-in-chief at G. P. Putnam's Sons Publishers (1959-1965).

Dear Lurton:

ESP is one of my interests to the extent that I have done considerable reading on it in what I would call the quasi-scientific end of the field. This includes Rene Sudre's⁵³ *Para-Psychology*⁵⁴ and a considerable amount of J. B. Rhine⁵⁵ -- including *The Reach of The Mind* and *New World of The Mind*.⁵⁶ I've also dabbled in Puharich,⁵⁷ the "sacred Mushroom" writer.⁵⁸

I'm what you might refer to as an agnostic where ESP is concerned -- a "Doubting Thomas."⁵⁹ Some of the writers on this end of the field, such as Fodor⁶⁰ and Tassi,⁶¹ are too kookie for my tastes, and I have strong doubts as to the mathematical basis for the statistics in Rhine's tests.

Okay, I'm from Missouri. This does not, however, limit my enjoyment of a good ESP story or stay my imagination in exploring the "what ifs" of possible mental powers.

Now -- does your publisher want a fiction or "non-fiction" work? Or both? What's he willing to pay for such an editing job? Would he prefer someone whose eye might be less coldly critical?

I believe I could handle such an anthology and have some ideas about it.

What now, friend agent?

Received the Seldes note this morning and cannot decipher his chicken tracks at the bottom. The typed text appears clear enough, however.

I'll begin the revisions for Campbell next week -- these include bringing Alia⁶² back from the dead. John indicates he'd like a further story featuring her and possibly another on the Space Guild.⁶³ He also gave me some additional ideas for more stories on a galactic civilization. It's a go-go-go.

⁵³ (1880-1968); French journalist

⁵⁴ *Traité de Parapsychologie* (1956; translated into English 1960); work by René Sudre.

⁵⁵ Joseph Banks Rhine (1895-1980); American botanist; founder of parapsychology research.

⁵⁶ *The Reach of the Mind* (1947); *New World of the Mind* (1953); books by Joseph Banks Rhine.

⁵⁷ Andrija Puharich (1918-1995); medical and parapsychological researcher.

⁵⁸ *The Sacred Mushroom: Key to the Door of Eternity* (1959); book by Andrija Puharich.

⁵⁹ One of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus; initially doubted the Resurrection of Jesus. See Holy Bible, New Testament, John 20:24-29.

⁶⁰ Nandor Fodor (1895-1964); Hungarian spiritualist.

⁶¹ Dan Tassi; author of *The Mind in Time and Space* (1962).

⁶² Alia Atreides or "St. Alia of the Knife" (character in *Dune*); daughter of Jessica of the Bene Gesserit, who ingested the spice drug "Melange" while gestating Alia.

⁶³ Spacing Guild (organization in *Dune*); only source of interstellar travel in the early days of the *Dune* series, who use precognition (and not computers) to calculate trajectories.

Best regards,
Frank

*Edition: Letter 9, John W. Campbell to Lurton Blassingame,
October 15, 1968, New York, New York*

Page 1 of 2 (single-sided): [letterhead] John W. Campbell, Editor, analog: science fiction
- science fact [footer] The Conde Nast Publications Inc.,/420 Lexington Avenue, New
York, N.Y. 10017/MUrray Hill 9-5900 [text typewritten]

October 15, 1968

Mr. Lurton Blassingame
60 East 42nd Street⁶⁴
New York, New York 10017

Dear Lurton:

Herbert's revision of "The Messiah"⁶⁵ still didn't satisfy me, but it's taken about ten days of mulling to work out a way of expressing my feeling. It's usually a damn sight easier to say "I don't like it!" than to say "...because of...".

In essence, in "Dune", Duke Leto⁶⁶ was fated to fall, and did, before the forces of malign fate. A Greek Tragedy⁶⁷ set-up. But Paul, rising against all the cruel fates, overwhelming his enemies, triumphs---a true heroic saga.

In this one, it's Paul, our central character, who is a helpless pawn manipulated against his will, by a cruel, destructive fate.

And he falls; he is a Pawn of Fate. In this one he is not a Hero---he's simply a helpless Pawn of Fate. The anti-hero, showing that even seemingly mighty men of courage and ability are helpless---that the whole world is a hopeless, overwhelming place, wherein struggle and high purpose are useless and hopeless.

The reactions of the science-fictioneers, however, over the last few decades has persistently and quite explicitly been that they want heroes not anti-heroes. They want stories of strong men who exert themselves, inspire others, and make a monkey's uncle out of malign fates!

As Paul did in "Dune"---not as he fails completely to do in "The Messiah".

⁶⁴ Address (Midtown Manhattan, New York); Lincoln Building/Grand Central Place; completed 1930; still in use (2020).

⁶⁵ *Dune Messiah* (1969); sequel to *Dune*.

⁶⁶ Duke Leto Atrides (character in *Dune*); appointed to rule the planet Arrakis by the Padishah (a Turkic-Iranian word) Emperor Shaddam IV, which the Emperor hoped would weaken and diminish his foe.

⁶⁷ Greek tragedies (dramas) usually involve elements of oracle prophecies which are unintentionally fulfilled. See *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles.

Our readers simply do not want to be told “It’s all hopeless---struggle avaieth nothing!”⁶⁸

But they liked “Dune” a great deal.

Item: If Paul can’t “see” where other oracles have muddied the waters of Time---then neither can they “see” where he is working. Because of what he does, responding to his vision of the future, alters that

Page 2 of 2 (single-sided): [header] 2-Blassingame [text typewritten; signature “John W. Campbell” in blue pen]

future to indeterminacy---the future is unstabilized; it is not determinate.

In other words, Paul can have and use free will---if he has the courage to blind himself to future vision by acting against the probable stream of Time. And in doing so, of course, blinding all other oracles!

That’s the essence of how he forced the Guild to submit in “Dune”, remember. So acting as to blind all oracles was, and remains, advantageous to him, for he’s dynamically active, whereas the Guild navigators seek to be essentially passive---they seek only to maintain the status quo.

There are ways, within the framework of the logic of the series, whereby Paul could have been the Hero, overcoming malign fate to triumph.

Item: a Hero leader who cuts and runs from the Climactic Battle is not a Messiah---even though, or particularly if, his side actually wins. Neither is he a martyr, nor a Victim of Fate.

It would leave his magnificently victorious forces in unarguable domination of the field of battle, the enemy totally crushed---but with the problem of totally reorganizing leadership on a totally different basis, since their God-King has just demonstrated unforgivable cowardice in the face of the enemy, betaking himself and his family beyond reach.

There are unquestionable ways in which his essential goals---which do not include any burning desire to rule the galaxy himself---can be attained.

The two Bene⁶⁹ groups may think to trap him on the basis that he cannot turn against his own nature, but they can be totally defeated if they think that his nature is to rule, to control---as their own is!

⁶⁸ Possible reference to “Say Not the Struggle Nought Avaieth,” by Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-1861).

⁶⁹ Groups in the *Dune* universe. The Bene Gesserit are super-human by training and genetics; use the spice drug “Melange” to become “Reverend Mothers” and see the memories of their ancestors; and control “breeding programs” intended to produce the Kwisatz Haderach, a male who can withstand the spice drug’s effects (Paul becomes the Kwisatz Haderach). The Bene Tleilax

Regards,
John W Campbell
John W. Campbell
Editor

Re: "The Messiah", by Frank Herbert
JWX;jn

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Ian Woodson Fisher of Brea, California, earned his B.M. in Music Composition and his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2020), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is active as a writer of avant-garde contemporary music. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History." The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.

are a secretive group who use genetic engineering to produce clone "gholas" and Face Dancers who can shapeshift; they prize genetics and keep samples from important people.

Amr Mohamed Riched and Nicholas Duy Nguyen (editors)

*The Black Question in America and the Pan-African Movement:
An Interview with Trinidadian Intellectual C. L. R. James (1901-1989)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: African American Collection.

O.H. 1690.

Oral Interview with C. L. R. James, conducted by Joan V. Feeney,
August 4, 1976, Washington, DC.

Introduction

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "African American Collection." The interview with C. L. R. James was conducted by Joan V. Feeney, on August 4, 1976, in Washington, DC. The interview lasted 1 hour, 1 minute, and 19 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2019 by Amr Mohamed Riched and Nicholas Duy Nguyen.

C. L. R. (Cyril Lionel Robert) James was born on January 4, 1901, in Tunapuna, Trinidad and Tobago, and he died on May 31, 1989, in London. He was an eminent cultural critic, a socialist activist, a journalist, an avid cricketer, and a Pan-Africanist. In his early years, he taught History and English. He moved to London in 1933 and to the U.S. in 1938. He was expelled from the U.S. in 1952/1953 during the McCarthy era but allowed to return in 1970 when he received an appointment at Federal City College in Washington, DC. His publications (mentioned in this interview) include *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938); *A History of Negro Revolt* (1938), republished as *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (1969); and his memoir, *Beyond a Boundary* (1963).

Over the course of his career (and discussed in the interview) James interacted with Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, Trinidadian Civil Rights activist Stokely Carmichael, Ghanaian politician Kwame Nkrumah, communist activist George Breitman, African American sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois, Trinidadian journalist George Padmore, African American author Richard Wright, Marxist author Martin Glaberman, American activist Grace (Chin) Lee Boggs, French anarchist writer Daniel Guérin, African American author LeRoi Jones Amiri Baraka, and others. James was impressed by the Montgomery bus boycott, by African American Civil Rights activist Malcolm X, and by Bermudan Civil Rights activist Roosevelt Brown/Pauulu Kamarakafego. James helped facilitate a 1941 sharecroppers' strike in southeast Missouri, and he took a leading role in a number of socialist groups and publication efforts. C. L. R. James's story reveals the varied

experiences of people of ethnic African descent around the world during the mid-twentieth century (1930s-1970s) and how leaders of the Black movement in the U.S. and the Pan-African movement globally battled discrimination and prejudice.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Amr Mohamed Riched of Anaheim, California, earned his B.A. in History (2017) and his M.A. in History (2020) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1690)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: C. L. R. James [CJ]

INTERVIEWER: Joan V. Feeney [JF]

DATE: August 4, 1976

LOCATION: Washington, DC

PROJECT: African American Collection

TRANSCRIBERS: Amr Mohamed Riched and Nicholas Duy Nguyen

JF: This is an interview on August the 4th, 1976, with Mr. C. L. R. James in Washington, DC, conducted by Joan Feeney.

CJ: Now, strictly speaking, we have part one, which gives the Trotskyite movement¹ its, really, incapacity to handle the question, up to 1939, when I arrived from Great Britain. (pauses) Part two. Is it working? Part two (pauses) deals with the discussion with Trotsky² in 1939 and should be fairly comprehensive. (pauses) At the same time, I think I have said, that before we go to part two in 1939, you give a br – introductory sketch about my previous work in the Trotskyite movement. And the important thing about that is to refer to the fact that I have written both "The Black Jacobins,"³ a story of a Black revolt, and number two, before I had come to

¹ Movement supporting Leon Trotsky's interpretation of Marxism.

² Leon Trotsky (1879-1940); Russian revolutionary; opponent of Joseph Stalin.

³ *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*; 1938 book.

the United States, I had written the “History of Negro Revolt.”⁴ So, I was fairly well set when I came here. Now, I came in 1939, and an important part of your discussion, of what you’re doing, is what happened in 1939 when I went down with some of us, and we held an interview with Trotsky.

JF: Why did you come in 1938? There’s a question in my mind why you came –

CJ: – the question is that Cannon⁵ ‘ad⁶ told me he had come to Britain, and he said that the – it – Trotsky’s international movement had been functioning here as an international movement for years, but they had never had anybody to come from Europe or Asia or elsewhere to go around the United States and be a living embodiment of international Trotskyism. He’d thought he asked me if I would come, and I said that I would. I was glad to see the United States and to know something about the movement. So I came and it’s important – that, to have a clear view of what happened at the discussions in 1939 in Coyoacan⁷ with Trotsky. And when we came back, in theory, we all agreed. And this is important: the movement split in 1941 between the Cannonites⁸ and the Shachtmanites⁹ who called themselves the Workers Party.¹⁰ I went with the Workers Party. (coughs) But in reality, I wasn’t satisfied with the Workers Party and kept on fighting with them on all sorts of issues, which me and you needn’t go into, until 1947. And in 1947, the International Center in Paris¹¹ sent someone here to work out (pauses) a unity of the two groups. (pauses) The two groups consisted of the Cannonite party and the Shachtmanite party. And I was looked upon as no member, as nobody else, but a member of the Shachtmanite party, although everybody knew that these disputes used to go on between us. However, this – the man from (inaudible) from – from Paris proposed unity of the various parties. (pauses) Cannon said he was for unity. Shachtman then began to find a lot of reasons why he was not for unity. And I said I’m for unity. So it was on the question of unity that I went back to the, uh, to the Socialist Workers Party¹² because the party on the whole said, “You three in – in the United States should join together, you shouldn’t carry on these disputes,” and Shachtman refused to go. Now, that was in 1947. Then in 1948 (pauses) comes a very important passage. Ca – Cannon said, “We shall deal with the Black question,” which we have more or less accepted in

⁴ A *History of Negro Revolt*; 1938 book.

⁵ James P. Cannon (1890-1974); American leader in the Trotskyite movement.

⁶ Read: “had.”

⁷ Municipality (near Mexico City, Mexico); Leon Trotsky’s residence 1937-1940.

⁸ Trotskyite faction; named after James P. Cannon (see above, note 5).

⁹ Marxist faction; named after American Marxist Max Shachtman (1904-1972).

¹⁰ Founded 1940.

¹¹ Fourth International; Trotskyite organization; founded 1938.

¹² A communist party in the U.S.; founded 1938.

the doctrines that took part in the discussion in 1939 in Coyoacan, but we have done nothing since then, and in 1948 they – there was introduced into the Cannonite convention a resolution on the Negro question. Most of which I wrote and submitted it to the committee. And on the day of the convention, I introduced that movement with a speech, and both of those have been republished by Stokely Carmichael.¹³ (pauses) But, in any case, the Cannonites have reproduced them, I think in 1967. (pauses) And there you find elaborated to the full (pauses) my position on the Black question, the clear outline of which had been stated in 1939 in Mexico but which are only now fully developed in the Trotskyite movement in 1948. So, the two periods that you have to be concerned about are 1939 and 1948. Now, I left the Trotskyite movement in 1951. (pauses)

JF: Why?

CJ: Because I was dissatisfied (coughs) with them on the whole. (pauses) But still, let us stick to the question. Now it depends on, uh, how far you are proposed to go, I don't know. The position was clarified and remains clear from in 1948 and remains clear up to today. Now, how far you want to go with this I don't know. (pauses)

JF: Well, I am more interested in, actually, what you did after 1951 as it pertained to the Black movement in America.

CJ: Well, in 1951, (pauses) I, with – I was – formed – formed a movement. It was called the Johnson-Forest Movement.¹⁴

JF: Um-hm.

CJ: And we did some work (pauses), and we published a journal called – it was called, uh, (pauses) "Facing Reality." We published a paper, called "Facing Reality." And in that – in that pamphlet, you will find a development on the Black question, because in that pamphlet we dealt with everything, and you will find what we did on the Black question in that. And – and I don't know that there is much more that you can find.

[00:10:01]

JF: Well. What is the journal that's called "Speak Out?"

CJ: Now – "Speak" – those of us who were part of the Johnson-Forest (coughs) we split, split up into various groups because these groups are always splitting. That's why I will have nothing more to do with any of them. But some of us remained together and began to publish a journal called "Speak Out." And in this journal, you will find some essays (coughs) on – and the death of Nkrumah,¹⁵ (pauses) and I don't know – there may be something

¹³ (1941-1998); Trinidadian Civil Rights activist.

¹⁴ Trotskyite movement; founded 1945 by C. L. R. James (using the pseudonym "J. R. Johnson"), and Russian American activist Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987; using the pseudonym "Freddie Forest"), and others; dissolved in 1962.

¹⁵ Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972); first president of Ghana (1960-1966); pan-Africanist.

else on the Black question. But what is important to remember is, may I add just this, in 1941, I went down to southeast Missouri to have a look at the Black question in its absolute rawness. And there I was – (inaudible) – be – became the organizer and was involved in a movement which turned out into a big strike,¹⁶ but had about 5000 people, shook up southeast Missouri tremendously, and I had to come back to get out of trouble there. So that’s southeast Missouri’s story. It’s worthwhile paying attention to, particularly because of the pamphlet which we published.

JF: That was “Starvation Wages?”¹⁷

CJ: Yes. That—that is a pamphlet we published in full. Because that tells the story of our attitude to the – to the Blacks – um. (pauses) What is important about that 1941 struggle is this: we went around from place to place in Missouri, getting Blacks and Whites to agree to join on the particular day when the strike would begin, and what’s happened was, when the time came near, three or four of the leaders and I sat down together to prepare this pamphlet. Now, the pamphlet is worth careful reading. So, they said, “Well, Brother Williams,” that’s what I used to call myself—I would call myself all sorts of names.

JF: What did you call yourself then?

CJ: “Brother Williams,” any—any name. I said, “Bro-,” they said, “Brother Williams, what about the pamphlet?” I told them, “What about the pamphlet?” They said, “What are you going to put in it?” I said, “I am not going to put anything in it. The pamphlet is a pamphlet about what you all have done, and why, and what you intend to do.” They said, “Well, we have never written any pamphlet before.” I said, “Well, you are going to write one now.” So—there were five or six of them around—I said, “What have you got to say? What do you think is important?” And he told me, and I wrote it down. “And you,” I said, “what next?” And he said, “Well, I think we shouldn’t leave out that,” so in the end that pamphlet consists of six or eight (coughs) passages which are the direct statements of Miss—Missouri sharecroppers, which I put together and polished up. It has become a—quite a famous pamphlet, but people don’t understand: it was a pamphlet that came from them. “Well,” I said, “well, what you have to say?” And he said his piece, and the other one added something, and –

JF: You just put it together.

CJ: –I—I—I just copied it down, and then put them together. Put stops and full stops and so on, and that was the pamphlet. I didn’t write the pamphlet. I had nothing ded – def – de – def – definite to say in that pamphlet so that

¹⁶ There had already been a “Sharecroppers Roadside Demonstration” in Missouri in early 1939, so there was a certain tradition of protest there.

¹⁷ “Down with Starvation Wages;” 1941 pamphlet.

- is dif—that is part of the Black question. Though I don't know what you would want to say else.
- JF: Well, you mentioned that, uh, you got in trouble over that. How did you get in trouble over that?
- CJ: I was—
- JF: I know very little of your career there in southeast Missouri other than the pamphlet itself.
- CJ: Now, you have to get a—there's a—there are copies to be had of the, uh, "The Militant,"¹⁸ the paper of this—of the Workers Party, (pauses) and in it there are steady accounts of all that we did down there. And you will find everything is there because as it happened I wrote it and sent it to the paper
- JF: And you were still calling yourself "Brother Williams?"
- CJ: No I called, I'd—some other name, I don't know—but it was very clear. I was writing it, and I was in charge. And you, you—there—there, and in the pamphlet, you will find everything else. And after that there is a statement you will find in "Facing Reality," but I don't think there is much else. Then what I will suggest is that you start—you—the final part of the pamphlet is what happened when Malcolm X¹⁹ begins his agitation because the Trotskyite movement, particularly led by a man who you ought to know his name, he came from Newark. His name begins with a B. (pauses) He took up Malcolm X, and he published the writings of Malcolm X and the Trotskyite movement—
- JF: Breitman?²⁰ Are You talking of Breitman?
- CJ: Breitman! Yes. Breitman. Now, Breitman and I worked very close together in the Trotskyite movement. And Breitman always insisted that James²¹ was erratic on this and that and other point. But he understood the Black question properly. So that there—they remained uncertain of what they were doing. And when Malcolm X emerged with a genuine Black movement, Breitman published what Malcolm X had to say, and once more the Trotskyite movement began to publish the—that material which they had published in '39, and which they had published as party documents in '48. They published a genuinely new pamphlet which they called, um, "The Troskyines;" they published everything—so that is all. Because I—when I left in 1953, and then I was—I had nothing to say. So your last chapter would be, I would suggest, how Malcolm X and Martin Luther King²² and

¹⁸ Subtitled "A Socialist Newsweekly Published in the Interest of Working People;" founded 1928.

¹⁹ (1925-1965); African American Muslim minister and Civil Rights activist.

²⁰ (1916-1986); Amercian communist activist; co-founder member of the Socialist Workers Party (1938); editor of *The Militant*.

²¹ C. L. R. James regularly refers to himself in the third person.

²² (1929-1968); African American Christian minister and Civil Rights activist.

- the rest of them began to do what I had insisted that should be the policy of the Trotsky's position. That the Blacks—Breitman—and then when they saw that, they were prepared because I had educated them to that degree. And Breitman in particular made a very close association with Malcolm X.
- JF: Now right here is where I start having questions, because I asked Breitman specifically, when did he first meet Malcolm X. He said he had never met him.
- CJ: I dare say. But nevertheless he published a—a list of, uh—
- JF: I realize that he published a list of Malcolm X's (speaking over each other) speeches.²³
- CJ: —speeches. Well, in fact, well, he never met him, so he never met him. What would that matter? The point is he understood his significance, and he—
- JF: How did he get his speeches?
- CJ: I don't know. But I don't think that is very important. I never heard that Malcolm X complained that what Breitman had printed as his speeches were not what he had said. So, somehow or other, Breitman had got hold of the speeches, and he printed them, and he associated them with the Trotskyite movement although he made it clear that Malcolm X—and Malcolm X himself made it clear—that he was never a Trotskyite. But the Trotskyites was one White movement that Malcolm X was prepared to work with, right from early. And (inaudible)—
- JF: (talking over each other) —that he left the Nation of Islam.²⁴
- CJ: —and could feel at home with.

[00:19:58]

- JF: However, Breitman did say the day that I interviewed him, that he had shown your work on the Negro question—he had shown it to Malcolm X's brother²⁵ who was a preacher in Detroit. And that the brother had shown it to Malcolm X. (pauses) But, why—
- CJ: What had Malcolm X said?
- JF: Well, he said he had never met Malcolm X. But that Malcolm X had approved of what you had written.
- CJ: But more than that: Stokely Carmichael after, uh, after being very, um, militant and, um-um-um, working in a widespread manner on the Black question, a year ago, came and asked me permission to publish those two—the speech and the resolution. And I told him, "Yes." And he has published them and is selling them in thousands of copies. Although they were done in 1948, he published them in 1974, I believe. And says in them that—that

²³ *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*; 1965 anthology edited by George Breitman.

²⁴ African American political and alternative religious movement; founded 1930 by Wallace D. Fard Muhammad (ca. 1877-ca. 1934).

²⁵ Reginald Richard Little (1927-2001); Malcolm X's younger brother.

- James, um, is not a Black question—that, that James—he is not a socialist, but James’s position on the Black question is something worthy of discussion. So Stokely has taken that up and is publishing it widely, and I see some of his people every now and then, we come and talk. (pauses) So, um, you will know this—you will—you will be rather—I mean, not in too much detail, as to what happened after ’51, but the two passages that matter are ’38, ’39, the discussion with Trotsky, and then when I took the question up again in ’48.
- JF: Alright. You’re out of the country – after 1952.
- CJ: ’52 (inaudible) – yes.
- JF: And you don’t come back until 1967.
- CJ: No, I come back in ’60. And I co—come—they—they allow me back in ’60.
- JF: Oh, they do?
- CJ: Yes. I come for a period. And I come back to teach about ’67. But when I come back to teach I don’t publish very much on the Bla—
- JF: But where are you in this country in 1960? (pauses)
- CJ: Going around. Seeing about the publication of my book. Ah—word ab—about “The Black Jacobins,” the republication. And meeting my friends and learning what I can. But I don’t take any practical part in politics. I talked to a lot of—
- JF: Did you meet Malcolm X at that time?
- CJ: No, I didn’t—I didn’t meet anybody. I was very careful. Because I was here on a visa. And at any time the American government can say, “Well, James, you ought to go home,” and refuse to give me a visa again. So, I have had visas ev—ever since, because I am very careful, but I say what I please. Although I don’t join anybody.
- JF: Alright. What, in your opinion, made Malcolm X leave the Nation of Islam? (pauses)
- CJ: Now, that is a question which I—Is the tape going?
- JF: The tape is going. Do you want it stopped?
- CJ: No, not at all! That is a question I can answer only with extreme caution. I was never a member of the Nation of Israel.²⁶ I never met Malcolm X, although I have read his autobiography.²⁷ And I find that one of the most remarkable books in the United States published after World War II. And not only I, but the book is still selling, I think, thousands of copies every month. And Black people do not buy thousands of copies of books every month. And so on. I was immensely impressed with him, and although he (inaudible)—uh, I (pauses), I rarely got hold of him after the autobiography was published. By that time he had been shot. But I didn’t think very much of the fact that he had been shot, or he had left. I was immensely struck by

²⁶ James says “Nation of Israel” but means “Nation of Islam.”

²⁷ *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*; 1965 book by Alex Haley.

- the range and power of his politics be—even while he was a member of the—of Elijah Mohammed’s²⁸ movement. Malcolm was still—was a very powerful man. And if you ask me, why he left them, I can only give you my opinion. He was too powerful and was seeing too clearly into the realities of modern politics to stay with those people. But that is not an answer that is of any value to you. It’s just what I think. Because I never met him.
- JF: Yet your friend Nkrumah met him.
- CJ: He met Nkrumah and met a lot of them around. But I never talked with Nkrumah about Malcolm X, but all of those who met him, and Breitman and all, realized—and they read his writing and heard his speeches—that here was a man of an exceptional power and a dynamic leader of the Black people. And, uh, I—if I—I do not mistake myself, (inaudible) this (pauses)—Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and (inaudible) Brown,²⁹ and the rest of them—are the people I was talking about in 1939 and 1948 when I was saying: They don’t need to depend on the Marxist movement. They don’t need to depend on the trade union movement. They haven’t to follow the working-class movement. They have enough dynamic and powerful leaders and sufficient hostility to what the system is doing to them to do something, and that is what took place in the ’60s. Beginning with (inaudible) Mo—Mo—Mohammed, uh-uh-uh, Martin Luther King—what was the place? (pauses)
- JF: Martin Luther King where?
- CJ: Down in, uh—
- JF: Atlanta.
- CJ: —Atlanta. No, wait. Where was it? Where, where does—where?
- JF: Montgomery, Alabama.³⁰
- CJ: Montgomery, Alabama! That the movement began there.
- JF: Well, again, you have some action though by the Socialist Workers Party down there in Montgomery.
- CJ: Yeah, but—that does not matter—matter very much. What matters is the Black people picked up themselves. Started to organize. And hit the American people with one of the most powerful movements it has ever been struck by. And that is what I was talking about in 1939 and in 1948. (pauses) So, if you want to do a study, that is—you have to make up your mind about the various chapters and sections. And I’ll bring them to you.
- JF: Um-hm.
- CJ: So, I will repeat here just for the sake of chap—the opening chapter, the American situation, the Black situation from, say, about 1896—

²⁸ (1897-1975); African American leader of the Nation of Islam (1934-1975).

²⁹ Possibly Roosevelt Brown/Pauulu Kamarakafego (1932-2007); Bermudan Civil Rights activist.

³⁰ Montgomery bus boycott (1955-1956); Civil Rights event.

JF: You wrote something rather interesting. I can't quite recall the name of it. It was written around 1963, possibly 1962. And, it was a fairly large pamphlet. And in it, you were mentioning, you were interested in the beginning of this Black movement that was taking place in the 1960s. The Black liberation movement. And you were mentioning about a leader for the movement. And that the leader should become known internationally. You don't name who the leader is.

CJ: I have no—I don't remember the pamphlet. What is the name of it?

JF: Well, I would have to look at my bibliography but, um, (adjusts microphone) you definitely make mention of, uh, the American movement and the interest that you have in following the American movement. I don't really know who you are writing this to, this pamphlet—

[00:30:02]

CJ: I was in close touch with the "Facing Reality" group for many years.

JF: Um-hm.

CJ: We continued, until a few years ago we decided—they decided to break up. But they still publish my work. And (inaudible) things are being (inaudible)—

JF: Well, I just wondered if at that time, you know, you were aware in a certain way—that you might be aware of Malcolm X. And, uh, interested in Malcolm X

CJ: Oh, I would not have been merely aware. I would have told them to pay concentrated attention on Malcolm X. But not to be aware too particularly of what were his deviations from Marxism, but here was obviously a Black leader who would be able to take the Black people around places. I wouldn't be surprised—it would be very strange if I hadn't said that.

JF: Uh, well, you did not mention him by name but it seemed to me—

CJ: —I know—I may, uh, I may—I may have mentioned him—I may have mentioned him but with the caution that would come from me particularly as I hadn't met him personally.

JF: It seemed—it just seemed a strange coincidence that, uh, your words would fit this emerging Black leader, and then shortly after that, within the next year, this man did decide—Malcolm X—to go and, uh, meet various international leaders.

CJ: And also to state clearly that while he didn't want Black—White people in a Black movement, he was ready to collaborate with them on any issues on which they both agreed. Malcolm X wrote that. (pauses)

JF: Well, I cannot find what I'm thinking of right now, but it was a fairly large work of yours. It was not, you know, a small, ten-page pamphlet. And, uh, it was written in the early 1960s.

- CJ: Was it called “The Negroes Take the Lead?”³¹
- JF: Might have been. (pauses)
- CJ: Because I was in England when the Black movement started here. And I wrote that pamphlet. I was the chief person writing that pamphlet because the others made me. To “The Negro” –I said (inaudible)–I said, in this struggle that is taking place, the United States is picking up itself. Black people are once more taking the lead.
- JF: Um-hm.
- CJ: Because the movement that broke out later came—started with Montgomery, Alabama. And I pointed that out in a pamphlet, named “The Negroes Take the Lead.” That is—that—but that was written away, from away. From talking with (inaudible). So, I don’t take—the two things that matter are, number one, (pauses)—we are (pauses)—you are concerned with my concern with the Black question and with the Pan-African question.
- JF: Right.
- CJ: You want to know about the Pan-African question?³²
- JF: Yes.
- CJ: Well, I joined a pan—pardon—I, in—dunno³³—in Britain, I found an organization—by the way, you will find in a pamphlet called, (pauses) “The History of Pan-African Revolt.”³⁴ There, I review the question. You will find what I thought about the question up to 1938, when I left the United States. And then I reviewed the question from 1938 to 1969. The last chapter gives my view of the Black question from 1938 to 1969: “The Pan-African Struggle.” And then in “Speak Out,” and in “The Black World,” I have two essays on Nkrumah.
- JF: Right.
- CJ: And that—that would about cover everything, I think.
- JF: Uh. Okay. (pauses)
- CJ: What I’ve been after is that you get things—in d—in—in—in a certain disciplined order.
- JF: Uh. Right. Did you ever meet Du Bois?³⁵
- CJ: Ah, yes, I met Du Bois. I came to America here in 1938, and I used to meet Du Bois. I would meet him at meetings or in, uh, private houses. There

³¹ “Negro Americans Take the Lead: A Statement of the Crisis in American Civilization,” 1964 pamphlet.

³² Global Movement in support of solidarity between Indigenous and diaspora ethnic Africans.

³³ Sounds like: “dunno” (don’t know).

³⁴ James’s 1938 book *A History of Negro Revolt* was republished 1969 as *The History of Pan-African Revolt*.

³⁵ William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963); African American sociologist and Civil Rights activist.

- was—there would—a lot of us would be meeting, having a discussion. Now, you know friendliness and so forth. In Washington, DC, I met him, but there was no particularly close association. I met him again in—in—in Ghana. I was in Ghana in 1960, and Du Bois was in Ghana, and I heard him making speeches, and we met. But I—but there was no particularly close association. Although I learned a great deal of the Black struggle from his work on “Black Reconstruction,”³⁶ which is one of my standard works. That history book that he wrote. To me, that’s one of the finest examples of American history that you could think of. Not only Black history. But that—and in Du Bois’s work on the whole, there are many places, where you can see, he’s very familiar with the Black Jacobins.³⁷ (pauses)
- JF: I just want to check this. (pauses)—’cause, I think you should hold the microphone just a little bit closer. (adjusts microphone)
- CJ: (audibly louder) Yes, well, I think we have—
- JF: Um. Alright. (pauses) Did you—were you at all responsible for Du Bois attending the Fifth Pan-African Conference?³⁸
- CJ: No, George Padmore³⁹ was.
- JF: Uh-huh.
- CJ: Yes, but Pad—I was in America—uh, in England, uh—I was in America at the time.
- JF: Um-hm.
- CJ: But Padmore and I kept on working together—
- JF: Right.
- CJ: And I represented the movement here. And spoke about this here to many places. But I wasn’t responsible for Du Bois’s coming. That was Padmore’s work, although Padmore informed me of that, because Padmore was an extraordinary man who kept his close associates informed of everything of what he was doing.
- JF: Now what about Nkrumah? You met him here in this country—
- CJ: Yes.
- JF: —while he was a student.
- CJ: Yes, and I—when—when he was going to England, I wrote to Padmore to tell him that Nkrumah is coming.
- JF: Right.
- CJ: And Nkrumah is a very able man. And I also made a remark, and I don’t want it to be continued, I said, “He’s not very bright.” Which would seem to people quite stupid. Because Nkrumah was always a bright man. But

³⁶ *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*; 1935 book by W. E. B. Du Bois.

³⁷ Du Bois’s work on Reconstruction (1935) predates James’s book on the Black Jacobins (1938).

³⁸ International meeting; Manchester (United Kingdom); October 15-21, 1945.

³⁹ (1903-1959); Trinidadian journalist and political activist.

what I referred to was he—he used to talk about Marxism, surplus value, and the theories of Marx—and he used to talk a lot of nonsense. And that’s when I—I wrote to Padmore, and I told Padmore, “See to it that you can help,” and then Padmore helped to educate Nkrumah. And that—that—that was that communication. And periodically after that I would see Nkrumah. I went to Ghana, from Trinidad, and Nkrumah would come to the United States, and I would meet him here, or he would come to England, and I would meet him in England. And I don’t—that we kept up a steady communication all the time.

JF: But how did you meet him in the first place, though?

CJ: So, I met a girl, uh, who was a member—of the movement and who was always around there—some people who go around everywhere—went to a meeting at first Du Bois was speaking, and she saw this young African, and she said he looked bright and very revolutionary and went up to him and told him, (pauses) uh, “You know the work of C. L. R. James?” He said, “No, I’ve read his book, ‘The Black Jacobins’.” She says, “Would you like to meet him?” He said, “Yes.” He said—she said. “I will arrange it.” And she came and told me and brought Nkrumah to—to see me, and we became friends and close associates in the United States. And talked a lot about politics and activity in general. Oh, yes.

[00:40:16]

JF: Okay. Well, I already had more or less (pauses) that background. Um—I wanted to know a little bit about your friendship with Richard Wright.⁴⁰ Uh—

CJ: I have.

JF: —your friend, what the goal was.

CJ: I was very friendly with Richard Wright. And I have written (pauses) an essay somewhere on Richard Wright. But Wright and I became very friendly. He was a highly developed, literary person. And he broke with the Stalinists. That was no—that was no quarrel to me. But he and I—

JF: Did you influence him (talking over each other) in any way to break with them—

CJ: (talking over each other) No, not—not at all—not at all—not at all. But he knew that, and he and I continued to be friends. Undoubtedly, we talked about things, but his—he already had an orientation when we began to talk about it. And I didn’t—I didn’t influence him. By which I don’t mean to say that, without me, he would not have, uh, joined. But we talked a lot about it, and he told me a lot about them. (pauses)

⁴⁰ (1908-1960); African American author.

- JF: And what ever happened to the, um, why, you had a couple of literary endeavors that you were going to do. You and he together (CJ coughs loudly) were going to bring out a magazine at one time?
- CJ: He wanted to bring out a magazine.
- JF: No, wait! It was a book at first. It was a – an anthology type book.
- CJ: No. His wife – my wife⁴¹ got hold of some manuscripts by Richard Wright a while bef – before – before – before he left – and the book that became – what has, uh – what is the name of his second book? Not the first book, was –
- JF: Well –
- CJ: – what is the name of the second book?
- JF: By Richard Wright himself?
- CJ: Yes.
- JF: “Native Son,”⁴² is it not – that – that is his first.
- CJ: No – no – Native Son – is, he wrote “Black Voices”⁴³ –
- JF: “Black Voices.”
- CJ: – a series of essays. And then he wrote another book (pauses), uh, “Native Son.” After which he wrote an essay on his own life.⁴⁴ And he showed my – he – my wife that manuscript, and there were chapters in that book which did not appear in the book that was published by the American publisher, but which my wife published in an essay on him because he gave it to her. And then, later, she wrote another book about him.⁴⁵ But that would show you how close the association was. But, naturally, when he went abroad and I went abroad, we were away from the Black question. We could meet and talk in Paris, that was all.
- JF: Yet he did become very active, politically, when he went to Paris.
- CJ: He wasn’t so active politically. He would go to meetings.
- JF: Well he went to the Bandung Conference⁴⁶ and –
- CJ: But that was not being active politically. He went to the Bandung Conference to find out what was going on. As he took a trip to – to Ghana –
- JF: Well his works seem to take on a much more political tone such as “White Man Listen”⁴⁷ and “Black Power.”⁴⁸ (pauses)

⁴¹ Constance Webb (1918–2005); American model and author; James’s second wife (1946–1953).

⁴² *Native Son*; 1940 novel by Richard Wright.

⁴³ *Twelve Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States*; 1941 book by Richard Wright.

⁴⁴ *Black Boy*; 1945 memoir by Richard Wright.

⁴⁵ *Richard Wright: A Biography*; 1968 book by Constance Webb.

⁴⁶ International meeting; Bandung (Indonesia); April 18–24, 1955.

⁴⁷ *White Man, Listen!*; 1957 essay by Richard Wright.

⁴⁸ *Black Power*; 1954 book by Richard Wright.

- CJ: Yes, but that – that – that you could say, but he was not associated with any particular body of organization. (pauses) That's to say, he – when he went to the Bandung Conference, he wasn't a part of the conference.
- JF: No, that's right.
- CJ: And he went to Ghana, and they welcomed him there and took him around. But that was about all. He didn't get on very well with them. He didn't understand – he didn't understand what was going on in Ghana.
- JF: No, He admitted that in his book! (laughs)
- CJ: He had – he had no idea of what it was to be a member of an underdeveloped country. Wright didn't know that. He was – he had been educated in the advanced sections of the United States. And that was all.
- JF: We – I think we got away from the question originally. The question was not about something that Wright had written. That he gave your wife, Constance Webb.⁴⁹ The question was about something that was never written by you and other Black intellectuals at the time, that Wright wanted to get going. Now this was mentioned in your wife's book.
- CJ: We may have planned to do some work of the kind. If it's – if it's mentioned in my wife's book it is true because she had no need to put anything in that which was – but I suppose we split, and it was never done.
- JF: Um-hm. Well, I was just curious as to finding out exactly why it was never done.
- CJ: It was never done because we separated. He went to – to, uh – (pauses)
- JF: – to, well, he went to, uh, abroad.
- CJ: He went abroad, and I went abroad, and we never met. We both pursued our different paths of work, but I learned a great deal from – about Richard Wright.
- JF: Okay. Just real fast, can I ask you about some people that I think you were associated with? And you can say something about them or (laughs) say nothing about them. Okay, um – what about Martin Glaberman?⁵⁰ Who was he?
- CJ: He is – was a member of a – of the old Trotskyite organization that split away from Sha – Shachtman. He went with us. And he went back with us into the SWP,⁵¹ and became the center and organizer of material and meetings and groupings et cetera. Became an organizing center for the Trotsky – the – the – the Johnson-Forest organization.
- JF: Okay.
- CJ: That is – and is still to this day – is a person who can – is a person who must be approached for any work of that kind.
- JF: And where is he now? Is he still in Detroit?

⁴⁹ See above, note 41.

⁵⁰ (1918-2001); American Marxist author.

⁵¹ Socialist Workers Party; see above, note 12.

- CJ: He's still in Detroit.
- JF: And what is the name of his organization now? It was "Facing Reality." But what is the name of it now?
- CJ: It has no orga – there is no name now.
- JF: (chuckles)
- CJ: Simply, he has all the material there, and we print the booklets we need. And it has no nation – no name, and he calls it "Facing Reality." That is all.
- JF: Okay. Uh, what about, uh, Grace Chin Lee?⁵²
- CJ: Grace Chin Lee was a girl who joined us, a Chinese girl, very well educated. She'd taken an – a degree in philosophy at Bryn Mawr, and she joined the Trotskyite movement. And very soon joined the Johnson-Forest element in the Workers Party, and became one of the most powerful workers in the party until we split.
- JF: And now she's married to James Boggs.⁵³
- CJ: James Boggs joined the party – afterwards. But we were already well established when she married James Boggs. And now they work together.
- JF: Right. They – they write as a team.
- CJ: Yeah, they write as a team. But James – James Lee, uh, Grace Lee was a person with two extraordinary qualities. One, she had a tremendous capacity for hard work. And number two, she was utterly devoted to the information, gathering materials and such things necessary for the progress of the ideas that we had. And nothing can ever take away from the work that we've done. And I was the center of it. There was, uh, a girl called (inaudible), there was also, uh, Grace Lee, and there was another young man called William Grovan,⁵⁴ and the four of us were the – the center of, although, – ultimately, we had about seventy people. But that fell apart when I left, they began to break about – but we were a powerful organization while we were there. There were about seventy of us, but at the center of it was myself, the guiding person, and so, there was Grace Lee who knew German and had the training in philosophy that she needed, and had all the works of Hegel and the other German philosophers, and, uh, we assumed that she knew Russian and translated everything that she would find on Stalin and Lenin and Trotsky and the Russian president, and William Gorman⁵⁵ who didn't do so much work but had a – and still has – a very fine intellect and worked with us on the problems that we put forward. And you can still find – of many people today – are still reprinting and rereading the writings that we wrote some twenty or thirty years ago. This is a fantastic witness. They are still relevant. Oh, yes.

⁵² Grace (Chin) Lee Boggs (1915-2015); (Chinese) American author and activist.

⁵³ (1919-1993); African American political activist.

⁵⁴ Unidentified.

⁵⁵ Unidentified.

[00:50:46]

- JF: Um-hm. What about Daniel Guérin?⁵⁶ I think that's how you pronounce his name.
- CJ: Daniel Guérin is a good friend of mine. A man who is—is working in France. He has written a superb book on the French Revolution,⁵⁷ and that was never translated. But he came to the United States, and he went all over the United States, and he wrote a study of the United States,⁵⁸ and in this book he wrote a chapter on the Black question.
- JF: Yeah!
- CJ: And the Trotsky's movement published it. And, to this day, it is the finest analysis of the Black question published before the Black movement broke out. Because in that book, Guérin wrote, as if it was certain to come, and there were people who sneered at him but afterwards he could say, "I told you." Oh, yes.
- JF: Um-hm. And he was not allowed back into the United States.
- CJ: At one time, but recently he was allowed in.
- JF: (pauses) Uh-huh. Okay. Alright. I think the only other thing that I did want to ask you—
- CJ: (whispering a question to JF)
- JF: Okay, uh, it has to do with—
- CJ: (adjusts microphone) Do you want this now? (adjusts microphone)
- JF: Just—five minutes more.
- CJ: I say, of this?
- JF: Yes.
- CJ: (inaudible)
- JF: Okay. (laughs) Alright.
- CJ: Alright. (laughs)
- JF: Uh, this has to do with, uh, LeRoi Jones Amiri Baraka.⁵⁹ (pauses) And, um (pauses), the second time you were in the United States. I guess it's really the third time you were in the United States.
- CJ: Yes. I knew nothing about LeRoi Jones. He had written some verse. But I had paid little attention to it. But when I came back the second time, I realized that he was interested in the Black question in a political manner that I hadn't noticed before. But he was associated with Karenga⁶⁰ in some sort of Black conception of what the world was like and Blacks, and I paid

⁵⁶ (1904-1988); French anarchist and author.

⁵⁷ James is probably referring to *La Lutte des classes pendant la Première République*; 1947. Daniel Guérin subsequently published, on the subject of the French Revolution, *Bourgeois et bras nus: La guerre sociale sous la Révolution (1793-1795)*; 1973; and *La Révolution française et nous*; 1976.

⁵⁸ *Où va le peuple américain?*; 1950-1951 book by Daniel Guérin.

⁵⁹ (1934-2014); African American author.

⁶⁰ Maulana Karenga (b. 1941); African American academic; creator of Kwanzaa.

- little attention to it. Then one day, he came up to me and told me. "I am—I am goi—at San Diego, my organization is going to (pauses) hold a conference." He had an organization. I don't remember what it wa—
- JF: The Congress of African People.⁶¹
- CJ: Yes, he has—"and I want you to open the conference." I told him, "But that is impossible. I will be in England. Oh, who is going to pay that money to come here? And then I—as soon as I cou—I couldn't stay there for a day or two, because I have other work to do after." He told me, "That's alright." And I went down to San Diego, spoke for a—for fifty minutes, introducing the conference, and then left and went my way, besid—bu—since which time, Im—Imaku—Imamu Baraka and I have been always very friendly. I—w—he invited me to come to his party meeting in—in—in New Jersey—New—Newark.
- JF: Newark?
- CJ: Yes. And I went there and spoke to his party, found them very much alive, very alert, and pretty well educated—that he had seen after. And I am con—I am—consider him one of the liveliest and brightest of the young men who are interested in the Black question. Recently he has made a big swing towards Marxism—I—I—I say that's fine. (pauses) Oh, yes—but, uh, he invited me to that San Diego meeting and never insisted that I should say this or that. Told me I could say what I please. And I gave a general view of the Black question. That's happened to be printed in "Muhammad's Speech."⁶² You will find that total speech in that. (pauses)
- JF: In "Mohammed's Speech?"
- CJ: In "Mohammed's Speech." They pri—printed the whole speech. I'm sure they got it from a tape. (pauses) The complete speech.
- JF: Um-hm.
- CJ: And while I have not joined any organization in the United States, I have been to all sorts of universities and groups of people to speak. I've been to Harvard. I've been to Yale. I've been to Princeton. I've been to Madison, Wisconsin. I've been to Chicago. I've been to, uh, Sacramento. I have been to, eh, uh—Irvine in, uh, California twice, I've been—I've been—I've been all over the place. They've asked me, and I've gone and spoken. And nobody has ever told me anything—
- JF: What have you usually spoken on?
- CJ: On the Black question or the European question or the American question. I don't call names, such as Nixon⁶³ and Mitchell,⁶⁴ but everybody knows

⁶¹ Black nationalist organization; active in the 1970s.

⁶² Probably *Muhammad Speaks*; newspaper of the Nation of Islam (1960-1975).

⁶³ Richard Nixon (1913-1994); U.S. President (1969-1974).

⁶⁴ John N. Mitchell (1913-1988); U.S. Attorney General (1969-1972).

- what I'm speaking about. Oh, I've spoken with utmost freedom, and nobody has ever intervened in me –
- JF: Are you still connected with any of the universities here?
- CJ: I am teaching at Federal City College.⁶⁵
- JF: What are you teaching?
- CJ: History. I was in the History and Philosophy Department. They have split those, and I am now teaching in the History Department alone. And at Howard, I am attached to the African Institute – or the Institute for African Study, you know they have. And I've been there for two or three years, and I give a class or two per week up there on the African question because I've studied closely and I've been around in Africa a bit you know?
- JF: Um-hm.
- CJ: So, I've been in – in those, and all sorts of organizations ask me to come and speak, and I go, but at the present time, I am more concerned with getting myself in order for my autobiography.⁶⁶ I've been thrown off that by the film⁶⁷ which was – which appeared in London about a few weeks ago – and was a great success, I am told. And then I was invited to Jamaica, a few weeks ago, for the CARIFTA⁶⁸ festival. So, between the film and – which took me to Trinidad and to England and back (inaudible) – and the CARIFTA festival, the autobiography has suffered somewhat. But I'm getting back to it now. I'm going to get into it very soon.
- JF: When do you, uh, hope to publish it?
- CJ: Oh, it ought to be finished by about October. (pauses). Yes. And then I'm going to take a long rest – five years.
- JF: (laughs) And not get involved in any movements.
- CJ: I have been – I have had enough – I have done a lot of work. And they keep coming, asking me, they keep coming, always coming. What about this? What do you think about that? Have you read that? Could you tell us about that? They keep – it's a constant stream – morning, noon, and night – they come. (background voices)
- JF: Well, the only other question I have concerns something called the International Black Power Conference held in Bermuda in 1969.⁶⁹ That – I realize you were in charge of a series of, I think, four different workshops.
- CJ: I've worked – that was done by a man called Roosevelt Brown.⁷⁰ A man from Bermuda, very militant, a very revolutionary Black – he asked me to

⁶⁵ (1968-1978); college in Washington, DC; subsequently absorbed into the University of the District of Columbia.

⁶⁶ Perhaps a reference to the new edition (1983) of James's 1963 memoir, *Beyond a Boundary*.

⁶⁷ *Beyond a Boundary*; 1976 film directed by Mike Dibb (BBC TV series Omnibus).

⁶⁸ Caribbean Free Trade Association (1965-1972).

⁶⁹ First Regional International Black Power Conference; Bermuda; July 10-13, 1969.

⁷⁰ See above, note 29.

- come, and I went and took part in the workshops and told him what I thought, that I had a lot of experience. Both in the Carribean, in England, and in the United States, and I was pretty useful. But once he had another one, and I went back, and they wouldn't let me land.
- JF: Well, I understand that—that 1969 one—that very few of the American Blacks were able to get into the conference.
- CJ: No, but they were not—but some of them got there but, in any case, they went (inaudible).
- JF: So, there couldn't have been too many of them at your particular workshops.
- CJ: No, but there were a few of them.
- JF: There must have been, because a number of the things that were discussed at those workshops (CJ coughs) seems to have been put into practice the following year in the Black movement here.

[01:00:06]

- CJ: Yes. Where have you got the account of the workshop?
- JF: I have a xerox copy of it. I think I got it from the university in Washington. They were the ones with the, uh, account. And it, uh, contained the 1968 Third Black Power Conference in Philadelphia, the proceedings of that, as well as the 1969 Bermuda International Conference.
- CJ: Could you please make a note of that for me?
- JF: Sure!
- CJ: Just put it there. 19—
- JF: I—I would like to get a hold of the one that took place in 1967 in, uh, New Jersey. I haven't been able to—
- CJ: I know nothing about that.
- JF: Okay. (pauses) Alright. I think you're gonna have to get ready for your other appointment.
- CJ: No, that's alright. I won't be going—
- JF: That's alright?
- CJ: Yes
- JF: Okay. Let me just stop this for a moment. Alright. Thank you very much, Mr. James, for the interview.

[01:01:19]

END OF INTERVIEW

Andres Munoz-Ramirez and Giovanni D. Romero (editors)

*The Memories of Hortencia Martínez de Benítez (b. 1926):
Struggles and Repercussions of Repatriation to México in the 1930s*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Mexican American Community History Project [COPH OHP_21].
O.H. 1298.

Oral Interview with Hortencia Martínez de Benítez,
conducted by Christine Valenciana,
December 20, 1972, La Habra, California.

Introduction

The Spanish language oral history interview transcribed and translated into English below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Mexican American Oral History Project" (OHP_21). The project was informally launched in 1968 and became a formal project when Christine Valenciana conducted her interviews for the project between 1971 and 1976. As of 2020, approximately 90 interviews have been recorded with 87 narrators. The interview with Hortencia Martínez de Benítez was conducted by Christine Valenciana, at the time a CSUF student, on December 20, 1972, in La Habra, California. The interview lasted 33 minutes and 54 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below); its quality is fair but background noise/voices render some parts of the interview hard to hear or inaudible. The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2019 by Andres Munoz-Ramirez (who also provided the English language translation) and Giovanni D. Romero.

Hortencia Martínez de Benítez (born April 8, 1926) relates the struggles of her family when they repatriated to México in the 1930s. She includes memories of the train journey, first impressions of México, her father having to work the land on a little farm outside of town to provide for the family (Hortencia was one of fifteen siblings), getting sick with whooping cough, and her education (which could not be continued beyond third grade due to lack of funds). She also discusses the challenges of having family in both México and the U.S., the cultural differences – with México being more family-oriented but offering fewer opportunities, and the U.S. offering more opportunities but being stressful and expensive, and the lingering issue of remigration/immigration and family cohesion.

The interview is of considerable historical significance as it provides insight into the experience of those who repatriated to México during the Great Depression, and it was recently used in Daniel Morales's 2016 Columbia University Ph.D. dissertation ("The Making of Mexican America: Transnational

Networks in the Rise of Mass Migration, 1900-1940). Up to two million people (the majority of them birthright U.S. citizens) were deported/repatriated to México in an effort, championed by U.S. President Herbert C. Hoover (1929-1933) and others, to free up jobs for “real Americans.” Although U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) ended federal support when he took office, many state and local governments continued with their deportation/repatriation programs. This interview shows the experience of a young girl who viewed the effects of repatriation through the struggles of her family.

ABOUT THE EDITOR/TRANSLATOR: *Andres Munoz-Ramirez of Anaheim, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is a member of the University Honors Program and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship.*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Giovanni D. Romero of Ontario, California, is currently pursuing his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The primary-source edition published below originated in the “History and Editing” course offered by CSUF’s History Department.*

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1298)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Hortencia Martínez de Benítez [HM]

INTERVIEWER: Christine Valenciana [CV]

DATE: December 20, 1972

LOCATION: La Habra, California

PROJECT: Mexican American Community History Project [COPH OHP_21]

TRANSCRIBERS: Andres Munoz-Ramirez and Giovanni D. Romero

CV: This is an interview with Hortencia Martínez de Benítez for the Mexican American community history project. The interview is taking place at the home of Pedro Gomez at La Habra,¹ California. The time is five p.m. The day is December 20th, 1972. The interviewer is Christine Valenciana. Ya podemos empezar.

HM: De platicar.

¹ City (northwest Orange Co., California); incorporated 1925.

- CV: Sí, a platicar. Sí, eso es la idea. (voice/background: “¿No quieren algo para tomar?”) No, no, no. Está bien. (voice/background: “¿Oyez, quieren strawberry shake? Do you like strawberry shake?”) Okay. (voice/background: “Do you?”) Yeah, okay. (voice/background: “Ay jodido.”) (laughing)
- CV: Okay. ¿De dónde es usted?
- HM: De—
- CV: ¿Donde nació usted?
- HM: —de Casa Blanca,² California.
- CV: Uh-huh. ¿En qué año?
- HM: En el año mil nueve cientos veinte seis.
- CV: Uh-huh.
- HM: Ocho de abril.
- CV: Uh huh. ¿Y de donde eran sus padres?
- HM: De México.
- CV: ¿Qué parte de México?
- HM: Mi madre de Lerdo.³ Nació en Lerdo.
- CV: ¿Era de Lerdo? O sí—
- HM: Uh-huh, era de Lerdo. Mi papá en La Laguna.⁴
- CV: ¿Y sabe usted de casualidad de en qué año vinieron su mamá y su papá?
- HM: Yo pienso que no. No sé en qué año vinieron para acá.
- CV: ¿Y qué más? ¿Y de qué clase de trabajo hacia su papá?
- HM: Pues era trabaja el de manejando su caro, trabajando con un patrón que se llamaba el Penn Rob.⁵
- CV: Eh, oído de eso señor.
- HM: Sí, no. No sé yo en qué trabajaba, pero yo sé que ahí trabajara con él. No sé qué clase de trabajo. Pero no sé yo. Pero sé que con el trabajo.
- CV: Elisio me hablo que, que iban en un carro.
- HM: Sí, uh-huh.
- CV: Con trabajadores.
- HM: Sí, uh-huh, sí. Mi papá era como un administrador algo que le dicen en México. Verdad no sé aquí cómo se era.
- CV: Creo que “foreman.”⁶
- HM: Sí. (pauses)
- CV: ¿Um, y cuantos niños estaban en la familia?
- HM: Éramos — um — quince. Quince hermanos.
- CV: ¡Es mucho!

² Neighborhood/former unincorporated community (Riverside; Riverside Co., California).

³ City (northeastern state of Durango, México).

⁴ Region; Comarca Lagunera (northern states of Durango and Coahuila, México).

⁵ Unidentified

⁶ Supervisor of other workers.

HM: Um, sí. (pauses) Traía — Traía mi hermano mayor lo traía chiquito y — y la — la mayor murió en el paso cuando venía mi mamá de allá — de México. Traía dos, y la mayor se murió en el paso, y luego el otro le quedo vivo que fue él que trajo chiquito para acá.

CV: Entonces — (CV starts a new question but is interrupted by HM)

HM: El otro se nació en México.

CV: Oh, yo no sabía.

HM: Allá nació y la chica nena nació allá también. Cuando ya se fue mi mamá iba esperando a la niña chiquita que es la nena nació. El año en que nos fuimos nació ella — sí. Son dos de allá y todos acá. Así es que vendrían estando aquí vendríamos siendo catorce, trece, um, aquí al lado de mi papá antes de irnos para allá.

CV: Ah — ¿Estaba la familia muy pobre antes de ir? (speaking over each other)

HM: Yo pienso que no estábamos muy bien, pero, sí, estábamos un poco pobre porque mi papá él solito para tanto hermano, verdad, y pues tenemos que carecer de algo. Que no nos faltaba que comer, pero yo pienso que, sí, estábamos pobres.

CV: Hm.

HM: Y mi hermano Eulogio que fue el que vino chiquito era el que le ayudaba un poco a mi papá a trabajar porque era muy grande la familia. Y mi papá solito no podía él.

CV: ¿Y sabe usted qué clase de trabajo hacia Eulogio?

HM: No, pues el andaba con mi papá. No sé. Ellos salían juntos en su carro a trabajar él le ayudaba. Después yo el oyó que él trabajaba en la pisca de naranja, Eulogio, mi otro hermano mayor. Así es de qué pues no yo estaba chica, pero yo no más porque oigo, oía platicar a mi mamá y mi papá platicas así de la familia. Hm.

CV: Hm. ¿Recuerda usted o fue usted a, a la escuela?

HM: No, no. Yo no alcanze todavía a ir. La que si alcanzo fue Celia la mayor que yo apenas empezaba la escuela. Yo no, porque todavía iba muy chiquita. Me fui de cinco años.

CV: ¿En qué año fueron?

HM: En el treinta pues cuando lo repatriados.

CV: Sí.

HM: En el treinta y uno, me parece treinta o treinta y uno, fue cuando lo repatriados.

CV: Hm.

HM: Pero mi papá no iba como repatriado; él iba pagando su pasaje de todos.

CV: ¿Puede usted explicarme la diferencia entre uno que fue repatriado y uno que no más se fue — que no más se fue?

HM: Pues no, no me explico yo como será esa — (interrupted)

CV: Porque mucha gente me da la impresión que fue una diferencia.

HM: No, no me explico en que forma sería conmigo chiquita, verdad, no se —

CV: Hm.

HM: Yo no más eso oigo que lo repatriados y que lo repatriados, y mi papá él decía que él tenía que pagar el pasaje de todos para poder que sus hijos regresaran a California. (voices/background) Y él se fue por mas no se la causa que se aiga ido, pero él nos llevó a todos.

CV: Hm. (voices/background)

HM: Y la que se quedó aquí fue Carmen.

CV: ¿Y por qué quedo aquí?

HM: Pues ella quedo porque se casó, porque se casó; ella estaba poquito de casada estaba esperando su primer baby cuando nos fuimos, y ella no pudo irse. Que ella pues si decía que ella se quería ir, pero no pudo que ya estaba casada, y a mi papá le pudo mucho dejarla, pero el no pudo el hacer nada por motivo que ya estaba ajena, verdad. Fue la causa de que ella no se fue ella para allá. (pauses)

CV: ¿Y recuerda usted algo de ir a México la primera vez de Casa Blanca, como fueron – en tren?

HM: En tren, uh-huh, en tren. Nos fuimos – nos fuimos en tren.

CV: ¿Recuerda usted de los detalles – de los detalles?

HM: ¿Como detalles de qué?

CV: ¿Pues cómo fue la – la – el viaje?

HM: Pues nos – nos llevaron a la estación de aquí mismo de California y luego ya nos fuimos en el tren ya de ahí agarramos el tren de Juárez⁷ para allá. Era también el tren que era pues era lo único que corría por la vía que es aquí el tracke, ¿verdad? Es la vía. No había camino de carretera toda de eso no había ni esperanza de que hubiera nada; nada más era pedregal terregal todo aquello, todo esto rentado. No había caminos como ahora los hay. No. Ahorita es el número importante esa carretera de Juárez para allá, muy transitable y todo. Casi todo el turismo va para allá, por ahí por esa parte nos fuimos en tren – y a sufrir. (laughs) Llegamos a Torreón,⁸ ahí fue donde llegamos luego.

CV: ¿Y con quien vivieron?

HM: Con una hermanita de mi papá, una Antonia García, que era la mamá de Román. Y llegamos a un mesón⁹ que le dicen allá. Ella era la encargada de cuidar ese mesón; allí estábamos nosotros todos con ella. (pauses) Porque mi tía Teresa pues no se en que parte llego; ella llego a otra casa, no llego con nosotros. También ella iba junto con mi papá – la hermana de él.

CV: Oh.

HM: Mi tía Teresa que fue la que insistió en que se fueran a México.

CV: Oh.

⁷ Ciudad Juárez; city (state of Chihuahua, México); founded 1659; opposite El Paso, Texas.

⁸ City (state of Coahuila; México); established 1893.

⁹ A country inn.

HM: Porque mi papá no —

CV: (inaudible) la idea —

HM: Si ella tenía la idea de llevárselo a México: que México y que México, hermanito, y que hermanito, y se lo llevó. Y mi papá no tenía esa idea de irse por mi hermana que estaba ya casada aquí, pero pues insistió, y el cómo era muy obediente con ella, insistió y se fue.

CV: (inaudible) Era ella — era ella mayor que él?

HM: Sí, era la mayor, mi papá era el más chico de la familia. Y mi tío Chon aquí se quedó el otro hermano, que es el papá de los Christines [?] (inaudible) de aquí, de Casa Blanca — (pauses) pues no más a navegar la vida pues que otra cosa, y ya de ahí mi papá pues yo no sé a él cómo la pasaría, no se hace enfermó Eliseo y pues empezamos a sufrir un poco más porque se enfermó de fiebre, y mi papá tuvo que hechar bien — bien este sus cosas poquitas de valor que llevaba empezó a malbaratarlas, a venderlas para levantar a Eliseo de esa fiebre; todo lo poquito que llevaba bueno pues — pues, tú sabes, se hecho a perder todo se quedó perdido. Y ya después de allí pues ya nos llevó mi papá a un ranchito, que le habían facilitado ahí una casita ya nos llevó para allá porque no teníamos modos de vivir en el pueblo, y ya nos llevó allí y pues otra vez a sufrir un poco más — hasta que ya mi papá le facilitaron un terreno: empezó a sembrar maíz, frijol ya fue con un poquito empezamos a no sufrir tanto, pero sí sufrimos bastante. Ambres no, porque no nos faltaba, pero, tú sabes, pues allá medianamente la pasábamos un poco, porque éramos muchos todos chiquitos. El más grande era Eulogio, Eliseo, Enrique, Daniel, Teri¹⁰ — Oscar todavía lo cuento chico verdad porque todavía no era un muchacho de trabajar mucho, no, porque todavía estaban chicos, pero los grandes si como Eliseo, Eulogio, y Teri que salió ella pues aventurarles a los ranchitos cercanos por ahí a ver, dónde podía pasarla para ayudarnos; estábamos chiquitos.

CV: ¿Y ustedes no estaban acostumbrados — (CV does not finish the question as HM answers it early)

HM: A no, no que esperanzas por muy pobres que estuvimos en California no yo (inaudible) y luego yo me enferme, me enferme de una tos que ahora caigo en acuerdo que es tosferina: porque me enferme de una tos que me daba comía me daba tos no comía me daba tos dormía me daba tos todo vomitaba mi alimento que me daba mi mamá, yo pienso que era tosferina. Y sufrí porque desconocí el clima pienso yo pues iba chiquita; pero no que esperanza ni ya no quede igual. (pauses)

[00:10:24] Spanish

¹⁰ Teresa.

- HM: Porque pues siempre uno aquí en California por pobre que sea tiene un poquito más en que vivir y en que dormir y todo, verdad, más comodidades y en México también, pero – (voices/background)
- CV: ¿Que fue, que fueron sus primer – primeros impresiones al llegar allá? Yo sé que usted era muy chica y –
- HM: No, ero muy chica, chanza que no haya notado una. Pienso yo por la niñez, verdad, que no toma uno en cuenta si se va a sufrir o no, pero, sí, era una cosa pues muy triste aquello – para uno – por qué se veía muy diferente todo, porque poquito que llevara grabado de aquí no se parencia nunca a hasta allá en México lo que veía un poquito aquí que me acuerde yo, verdad. Es muy poco lo que puedo recordar pero, sí, era un poquito más impresionante pero no era igual, porque fuimos a un vil rancho, y entonces ese ranchito estaba completamente aislado de la ciudad se puede decir porque ni la ciudad está compuesta como está ahora, y luego el ranchito pues era como unas viviendas algunas seis viviendas nada más. Hey. Éramos poquitos ahí en vivir muy pobrecito el rancho completamente, no ahora ya se puede decir que el rancho es un pueblo porque ya está cerquita del pueblo, verdad, ya hay más movimiento y todo más habitantes. Hm.
- CV: Hm. (pauses; voices/background) Pero de todos modos es lejos de –
- HM: Oh, sí.
- CV: – la ciudad.
- HM: Oh sí, sí, está retirado.
- CV: Hm.
- HM: Sí, tiene una un poquito más problemas que la ciudad. Porque, tú sabes, que en el ranchito carece lo principal es el agua. El agua potable que le dice uno agua para alimento (inaudible) y no hay tiendas de ropa no hay tiendas, tú sabes, de mercancía para comer hasta que va uno al pueblo a comprarlo a pagar su pasaje o buscar en que ir a llevar comida para comer. El agua pues tiene uno que cómprala para tomarla limpia. Es la principal base en el rancho el agua – (pauses)
- CV: ¿Fue usted a la escuela en México?
- HM: Eh, hasta tercero, ahí mismo en el ranchito.
- CV: (inaudible) tercero que –
- HM: Ahí mismo, ahí mismo en el ranchito fue la – la primera escuela que tuve yo hasta tercer año, nada más, porque ya no pude estudiar más, porque mi papá ya no tuvo para darnos estudio.
- CV: ¡Oh! ¿Uno tenía que pagar?
- HM: ¡Ah! Sí, tenía uno que pagar para ir al pueblo a la escuela y yo ya no pude. Mi papá ya no pudo darnos para estudiar porque no tenía para los libros ni nada de eso –
- CV: Hm.

HM: Veces nos daba un cuaderno y aquel cuaderno se llenaba, pues una libreta — sí, teníamos que borrarla para hacer más porque ya no teníamos para el libro —

CV: Hm.

HM: Y ahí mismo en el ranchito había ahí mismo mi casa de mi papá era la maestra y ahí le prestaba mi papá un pedacito de un cuarto para que pudiera clase los niños en una casa. Después no después ya empezaron a levantar una escuela, y ya empezó, tú sabes—el maestro empezó a arrimarse maestros (inaudible) en el rancho, pero el, el levanta la escuela, pero yo ya en esa escuela ya nada más estudie un año mas que fue tercero. Hm. (pauses)

CV: ¿Era difícil existir?

HM: Era difícil, uh-huh.

CV: Puedo ver qué. (voices/background)

HM: Sí, sí, era difícil porque no se podía hubiera las facilidades que el gobierno da ahora; sería muy diferente el estudio que hubiéramos tenido nosotros, y no lo tuvimos y mi papá le podía mucho todo aquello porque no nos pudo dar estudio, no se podía, así es de que por su, su medio no le ayudaba. Hm. Porque entonces aque—aquel tiempo pues ganaban a veces cincuenta centavos diarios no más, para tanta familia como éramos. Hm. Y luego no había tanta posibilidad de estudiar. No sohoraya ya, no ya ahora, qué barbaridad. Es muy bonito toda la escuela muy bonita—en muchos— (15 seconds of silence, 00:14:35-00:14:50; voices/background)

CV: ¿Como trataron, como los trato sus (pauses), uh, pa—parientes?

HM: Pues—

CV: Por ejemplo, hm, los hermanos de—de su papá.

HM: Oh, no, muy bien.

CV: Hm.

HM: Mi tía, muy bien, la hermanita de que estaba en México muy bien que nos trató bendito sea dios que nos trató muy bien.

CV: Porque en realidad ustedes eran gringos.

HM: ¡Uh-huh! Sí, fuimos a pues, sí, porque estábamos nacidos aquí verdad todos nada más que él era mexicano. Pero llegamos a casa de mi tía no, no nos quejamos teníamos allí pues nos trataba muy bien mi tía. Y la causa que nos fuimos al ranchito pues era que era muy pesada la familia y mi tía no podía sostenernos a todos ahí, ya fue cuando ya mi papá nos llevó al ranchito ese. No está lejos son veinte minutos de ahí. Pero, de todos modos, uh, ya empezamos a pues hacer viaje para allá, porque no se puede estar allá en el pueblo.

CV: Hm.

HM: Y ya mi papá pues empezó a sembrar ese terrenito para el frijol y maíz; fue cuando ya nos empezamos pues ya a comer elotes con sal y nopalitos¹¹ con sal y todo lo que había verdad.

CV: Hm.

HM: Sí, yo creo que no teníamos hambre porque todavía estamos vivos (both laugh) todavía estamos vivos de hambre no nos morimos, pero sí, sí sufríamos poquito.

CV: ¿Usted se considera ciudadana de México o de los Estados Unidos?

HM: ¡Eh! Pues me considero de Estados Unidos porque aquí nací, pero mexicana pues mis padres eran mexicanos, chanza que yo estiro más a México, verdad, porque yo nada más vengo aquí por visita y luego allá esta toda mi familia y mi esposo así es me considero más mexicana que de aquí. De aquí porque nací, pero para criarme pues me crie en México, y luego allá esta mi familia y mi esposo y mis otros hermanos. Vengo aquí porque pues aquí están la mayoría de los hermanos, verdad, a dar mis vacaciones mi paseo. Pero yo me siento más mexicana que Americana ¡jaja! Sí— (pauses)

CV: ¿Ha pensado usted de venir a vivir aquí?

HM: Ah-ah.

CV: ¿Unos años con su familia?

HM: No, no me gusta para vivir con mi familia.

CV: ¿Porque no?

HM: No me gusta el ambiente de vivir aquí para la familia, porque lo principal es que en México tiene uno su energía con sus hijos, y allá el gobierno no anda amparando a la juventud que ya es mayor de edad, es el primer punto que veo; yo no sé si estará bien o estará mal, allá la familia tiene que ser obediente con sus padres siempre que se pueda, y aquí la edad de los niños pues ya hasta cierta edad ya los corrige uno ya después ya se sienten en la edad de mayor, verdad, y ya no quieren que los corrijan sus padres (inaudible; background noise) a poco que he visto, no sé si en realidad serán todos pero yo pienso que no todos, verdad, pero pienso yo que aquí pueden agarrar más libertad los hijos que en México. Que para agarrarla donde quiera, ¿verdad? Pero puede valer un poquito más la energía de uno según yo (inaudible) México. Porque aquí hay facilidad para muchas cosas y en México es un poquito más diferente todo.

CV: Sí.

HM: Sí, y para vivir, no. Sí, me gustaría que viniera mi familia a pues, pues a estar de vacaciones, a conocer, a pasar el rato así con su familia acá nosotros familiares, pero yo pienso que vivir, no (voices/background) ni ellos podrían, porque ya están acostumbrados vivir allá en México. Porque a mí también se me hace muy dura aquí la vida. Muy aguitada. (laughs)

CV: ¿En qué— en qué manera?

¹¹ Dish made with diced nopales (pads of the prickly pear cactus).

HM: En, por ejemplo, el trabajo que aquí todo lo que, el que está aquí tiene que trabajar para poder vivir, principal que para tener su casa es muy pesado, muy pesado sus compromisos el alimento muy caro, todo, todo les cuesta aquí, y yo pienso que si nos viniéramos no podríamos nosotros salvar compromisos de aquí, porque mi esposo y yo no podríamos salvar, mis hijos están muy chicos, tendríamos que mételos a estudio pues ya la más grande tiene dieciséis años, y el otro tiene quince y así de ocho que tengo.

CV: ¿Cuántos niños tienen?

HM: Ocho, el más chiquito tiene tres años, el otro tiene seis, el otro siete, el otro tiene diez, el otro doce, y el otro catorce, el otro quince, y la otra dieciséis. Todos chicos

CV: ¿Qué clase de trabajo hace su, su – su esposo?

HM: Mi esposo. Eh. Trabaja de chofer en una línea de camiones. (voices/background) Es un chofer.

CV: Sí, es muy duro.

HM: Sí es.

CV: Sí.

HM: Sí es.

CV: Mucha gente piensan que – (talking over each other)

HM: – que porque están en California están bien.

CV: – todos somos ricos

HM: Ah-ah aquí hay más –

CV: Sí, tenemos mucho, pero tenemos que trabajar por el (talking over each other)

HM: Hm, pero están, pero es que, sí, tienen mucho de que vivir pero a si están de drogas, billes yo me doy cuenta que los billes llegan al menos yo estuve con mi hermano ahora con Celso, ahí estoy y, y luego este yo veo que, pobrecito tiene muchos compromisos porque por todo llegan billes, por todo, y yo me pongo a pensar digo hay no, yo pienso que aquí no era vida para nosotros, quizás (voices/background) se podría pero sería muy pesado, para mi esposo pues porque pues él ya está también ya de edad grande y, no, pienso yo que no iba a librar el a pasarnos la bien, (clears throat) y que allá pues pobremente medianamente la pasamos con lo poco que el gana la pasamos un poco bien, (pauses) y, no, por eso pues quisiéramos estar un poquito mejor, pero no se puede, (voices/background) no se puede, porque es muy grande la familia. (pauses)

[00:20:39] Spanish

CV: Tenía otra pregunta, pero ya se me olvidó, uh. (inaudible; voices/background, 00:20:54-00:21:09)

CV: ¡Oh! ¿Piensa usted que entonces fue una buena cosa que la familia Martínez fueron a vivir en México?

HM: Hm. Pues bueno ellos iban un poco ya más grandes que yo, ellos sufrieron mucho allá, mis hermanos grandes sufrieron mucho, porque trabajaban mucho, verdad, también sufrieron sus pobrezas, no más que ya mi hermano el más chico que fue Celso; fue mi tío Chon hermano de mi papá y lo invito y mi papá pues le dijo, “pues hermano llévatelo,” verdad y—y luego ya empezaron así que aquí estaba Celso y él les decía que se vinieran y que y empezaron ellos a venirse, pero ellos, y ya estaban casados, y se empezaron a venir ellos a trabajar y quizás les gusto poquito el ambiente por acá, porque antes, no, (voices/background) estaba como está ahora, verdad, de tan dura la vida aquí en California. (voices/background) Y ya se vinieron pero —no, no me explico el motivo porque se aigan venido ya ellos, pero sí, sí, sufrieron ellos también allá; quizá ellos pensaron que no iban estar bien en México por los trabajos, verdad, también que son muy escasos, y poco que pagan; y quizás ellos aigan pensado venirse, y les gusto más y se vinieron, verdad, ya pues ya todos tienen aquí su familia. Si mi-inmigraron a su familia y todo pues como nacidos aquí, verdad, inmigraron a su familia, y también se vinieron a sufrir ellos poquito, porque de aquí a que hicieron ellos su, su residencia para su familia y todo, tuvieron que navegar. Como Oscar también, el pobrecito, sufrió mucho, cuando se vino porque allá dejó su familia, y era muy poco lo que el ganaba, entonces ganaba sesenta y cinco centavos la hora para pasarla el aquí y mandarle el a su familia en México; después ya pensó pues inmigrarlos, verdad, arreglar para inmigrarlos, y así se fueron viniendo. Ya después fueron por Pancho que es el otro que está aquí y ya nos quedamos allá cuatro, nos quedamos allá cuatro, pues que Eulogio pues se casó allá y el no, como era no, no era nacido aquí verdad, no se le hizo muy fácil venirse. Enrique pues no el allá, el veces viene en vacaciones, y yo igual pues ya van tres veces que vengo, pero así cada tres meses cada año me estoy tres meses, me voy, como ahora ya tengo tres meses aquí. (pauses) Mas el motivo muy grande que aiga sido de ellos pues sería por vivir aquí no me explico.

CV: ¿Tenía usted trabajo cuando estaba aquí de vacación?

HM: Eh, sí, sí, estuve trabajando, sí, en la nurseria, ahí donde estaba Oscar trabajando. Primer año que vine estaba Oscar ahí en la, en la—“Select;”¹² ahí estuve trabajando tres—tres meses si y pues decía yo bueno ya que vine porque no de hacer algo por mi familia, verdad. Y pensabo yo vine con la mira de inmigrarlos pero no pude, no pude porque necesitaba yo mandarles para allá para que se ayudarean—

CV: ¿Trato usted de hacer lo?

HM: Yo quise hacerlo, pero no lo hice, ¡pensé hacerlo, ey! pero no lo hice porque el hecho ahora de ver que iba a dar muchas molestias a mis hermanos para

¹² Unidentified; presumably the name of a business.

- que me anduvieran llevando a inmigración y esto y el otro y, se me hizo muy, muy penoso darles molestias.
- CV: No, es difícil así.
- HM: Sí, uh-huh. O dicen que no es difícil, pero para mí si era, porque yo no sé inglés, por eso se me hace un poquito más difícil, porque no puedo andar ni yo ni conozco muy bien aquí que andarme cruzando en Los Angeles y todo eso. Y el siguiente después ahora el año pasado volví a venir con la misma señora y se (voices/background) no lo volví hacer para que otra vez, tres meses también. Y ahora ya vi el ambiente muy diferente; ora si menos me anime hacerlo, porque ya no vi un poquito más descompuesto, porque, tú sabes, se ve unas cosas entre familia que —
- CV: Porque creo que mi mamá me dijo una vez que, que usted trataba de — de —
- HM: Uh-huh.
- CV: Traer su familia.
- HM: Sí, sí, yo si traía esos pensamientos de (inaudible; voices/background) sí, yo, sí, pensaba arreglar esto, siempre ambicionaba porque mi esposo siempre ha querido venir acá, y dice “arregla tus papeles, a tus hijos,” “deja,” dice, “porque te vas a morir y logramos ese papel dice muriéndote tu no nos va a servir de nada tu papel, ya emigras a tu familia,” dice, “están tus hermanos se quedan solitos se van con sus tíos o algo,” pero, Christine, no sé, será que Dios no quiere que arregle o se me ha hecho imposible todo, no sé, pues total que no me he animado hacerlo, verdad, y yo si aspiro que mi familia venga a conocer y que conozca (cough/background) a sus parientes, sus primos y todo pero es mucho dinero para mi sola el hecho de ver que no puedo porque ya la edad ya no me deja trabajar muy a gusto porque ya me canso mucho. (both voice agreement) Y por eso yo pienso que yo no, no puedo ya arreglarlos porque es mucho dinero todo, para arreglar uno los papeles, (pauses) y mucho tiempo y citas, y citas y yo no podría en donde estoy trabajando no podría estar pidiendo un permiso porque me quitarían el trabajo, verdad. Que mi esposo hubiera estado un poquito más cerca, siquiera en Mexicali¹³ o Tijuana¹⁴ ahí estaría mejor, pero está muy lejos (voices/background) son muchas horas.
- CV: Hm. Son como unos tres días.
- HM: ¡Uuy!
- CV: De aquí hasta — (inaudible; background noise)
- HM: Sí. Se hacen como tres días, yeah, son como tres días de camino viendo uno bien son tres días yo pienso completos, bueno con la noche, verdad.
- CV: Hm.
- HM: Por ejemplo, salirme una noche y has de cuenta de día, sí, son como tres días. No, sí, es retirado para dar citas que se presente tu familia tal tiempo,

¹³ City (state of Baja California, México), founded 1903.

¹⁴ City (state of Baja California, México); founded 1889; across from San Diego, California.

- cuando, con que movimiento de dinero, que sería muy fácil en el avión, pero hay cuesta mucho.
- CV: Sí, mi familia quieren ir pero (inaudible; voices/background) mi primer caso no tienen tiempo.
- HM: Exacto.
- CV: Y también no tienen dinero.
- HM: Dinero es la base; el dinero, es la base para moverse uno de, de una parte, a otra.
- CV: Porque siempre mi papá dice “¿Porque no vamos a México?” mi mamá le dice, “Pues no tenemos suficiente dinero.” (voices/background)
- HM: Sí, yo fíjate he venido seguido y puedo decirlo, vine antes del año porque yo me fui en Octubre con Eliseo, y me había venido yo con Celso, porque como van mis hermanos yo logro esa venida con ellos no pago mucho dinero; les gratifico, tú sabes, para ayudarnos en el camino con una cosa muy poca, y luego toca la suerte que fue Eliseo, y no fue gran cosa lo que pague de pasaje porque ellos, por muy necesitados que vengan, no me aceptarían mucho dinero porque soy su hermana, verdad. Ahora esa última vez fue Celso me vine con el otra vez y ahora va Oscar y me voy con él, eh, así es de que es un poquito fácil para mí, hm, me ha salido muy pesado mis, mis viajes. El primer año, sí, se me salió pesado porque fue cuando murió mi papá tuvimos que irnos, pues, tú sabes, de emergencia y nos fuimos de aquí al El Paso¹⁵ en el autobús, en el bus, y ya de Juárez para allá nos fuimos en el avión para enterrar a mi papá y ya de ahí fueron tres horas de camino nada más. Eso, sí, me salió pesado el, el pasaje. Pero últimamente, no, ya poquito que ya me he ido lejos ya les doy para que se ayuden en su camino, y me ayudan y — y se ayudan, verdad, porque yo lo poco que compro para mi familia lo que me regalan no lo llevo en el bus. No lo llevo porque allí en la pasada son muy ingratos; le cobran a uno mucho en la pasada; piensan que lleva uno contrabando, tú sabes, de ropa o alguna una cosita que llevan, y hecho de ver que iyendo en el bus no puedo llevar lo que puedo llevar con ellos, no mucho porque también lo poco que gano se lo mando a mi familia. Sí, sí, trabaje bastantito los tres meses pero le estaba mandando a mis hijos para allá, pues siempre, tú sabes, problemas de familia, verdad, porque mi esposo en su cosecha le fue un poco mal porque llovió mucho y le cayó una plaga a su algodón, y pues, tú sabes, perdieron lo que habían pedido prestado para su cosecha, perdieron un poco, y está un poquito atrasado ahí ahorita, que como te digo mi esposo trabaja de chofer; bueno no nos falta que comer pero, no, no, no tenemos posibilidad de dar todo lo que se necesita en la casa, pues el estudio de los chamacos es muy caro por allá, porque exigen uniformes (cough) y libros muy caros, tú sabes, lo en el

¹⁵ City (El Paso Co., Texas); settled (by Europeans) 1680; across from Ciudad Juárez (México).

- estudio los libros son lo que cuestan. (both voice agreement) Por ese problema, no, no se puede hacer un poco más.
- CV: Es como aquí nos dicen que podemos ganar educación gratis, pero son, son mentiras.
- HM: No, son mentiras.
- CV: Porque témenos que gastar dinero.
- HM: Son mentiras. El gobierno dice manden sus niños a estudiar que hay mejores posibilidades que les da el gobierno, pero si es que el maestro estira la mano para exigirle a un niño un libro, y si aquel niño no tiene un libro, no le dan su estudio lo sacan de la escuela. Sino lleva el aquel uniforme como es, es debido no lo dejan entrar a sus horas. Porque no va bien su uniforme o algo que les falte o que les falte un lápiz o algo no puede estudiar el. Y si aquel padre no tiene para darle que va hacer el sacrificio cuando se puede; pero no te creas, el estudio es muy caro.
- CV: ¿O es diferente en la primaria? Oh.
- HM: Pues como mi hijo es el que ya está estudiando en la secundaria.
- CV: Pero es – cuesta mucho para la universidad.
- HM: Sí, hm. Sí, yo pienso que, sí, mucho más.
- CV: Porque uno tiene que comprar sus libros y cuestan como unos setenta dólares.
- HM: ¡Uh!
- CV: Dos veces al año.
- HM: ¡Fíjate!
- CV: Y – (voices/background) es caro yo sé que es caro. (pauses)
- [00:30:28] *Spanish*
- HM: Así, fíjate, así, así está la cosa, acá la vida un poquito dura.
- CV: ¿Entonces usted no puede hablar inglés? (voices/background)
- HM: Ah-ah. Nada.
- CV: Porque mi mamá me pregunto si usted podía hablar inglés y le dije, “pues, no sé mamá, no sé.”
- HM: Nada, no. No yo – no hablo inglés. No, si hablara inglés yo no estaba tan tapada, no; no estuviera careciendo de trabajo porque con inglés, tú sabes donde quiera puede uno trabajar poquito ¿verdad? Pero yo no hablo nada inglés pues me fui muy chiquita y con que estudiar inglés no, no se podía – (inaudible; voices/background)
- CV: Ay. Pues yo ya no tengo preguntas. Le agradezco mucho la ayuda.
- HM: Pues ojalá que de eso te sirva, eso poquito que te contesto verdad porque, como te digo, yo era muy chica. No puedo describirte muchas cosas (voices/background) nada más lo poquito que, nada más lo poquito que me preguntes. Ojalá te sirva eso quisiera ayudarte más con mucha voluntad lo haría.
- CV: Yo sé, pero usted era chica.

- HM: Si muy chica por eso por la edad.
- CV: Mi mamá me podía hablar más porque ella vino a vivir aquí sola.
- HM: ¡Sí eso, uh-huh! Y luego ella se fue también mucho después que nosotros, y ella ya estudio ya pienso inglés poquito. Y Pancho, tu – tu tío, y ya después se vino y yo ya no me di cuenta quien con quien se vino no me di cuenta quien con quien se vino, ella otra vez que se quedó mi tío allá yo pienso ¿verdad? Se quedó mi tío, se vino ella solita ¿o con quien se vino ella?
- CV: Solita.
- HM: Hm. Para que veas, pues acá estaba la baby tu tía, hm, que yo me hubiera venido entonces que barbaridad otra hubiera sido. No me quejo, no me quejo, pero hubiera sido otra, otro ambiente.
- CV: ¡Oh! Yo tengo la pregunta. ¿Conocía usted a otros, uh, familias que es – que vinieron aquí en este país y en que se fueron a México como ustedes y como mi abuelo?
- HM: No, no. Yo nada más conocía a mi tía que era la hermana de mi papá que íbamos juntos. Conocí a unas personas que decían que habían vivido aquí que se habían ido también en ese tiempo, pero, sí, no nos juntábamos mucho que son de otro ranchito. Pero, no, casi esas personas no se mucho de su vida.
- CV: Hm, muchas familias hicieron la misma cosa.
- HM: Sí, hay – hay familias allá que se fueron de aquí, sí, hay – hay nada menos allá en el ranchito donde yo vivo esta una señora que dice que nació aquí, pero que tiene sus papeles extraviados nada más tiene creo su papel de fe de bautismo.¹⁶ Y ella, cada vez que van mis hermanos, va y les pregunta que como arreglaría sus papeles y todo, pero ya es señora grande ya, pero mas no sé yo de su vida de ella, si sufriría aquí o no, pero ella se la llevo primero su papá muy chica para allá también al ranchito, pero hay varias personas que (inaudible; voices/background) sabe uno que son de acá nacidas pero, a fundamento no, no los conocemos a fondo como, como vivirían, porque se irían; quizás a la mejor se fueron igual con nosotros en esa temporada o quizás después.
- CV: (inaudible; voices/background) terminar aquí.

[00:33:54] *Spanish*

END OF INTERVIEW

English Translation (O.H. 1298) by Andres Munoz-Ramirez

- CV: This is an interview with Hortencia Martínez de Benítez for the Mexican American community history project. The interview is taking place at the home of Pedro Gomez at La Habra,¹⁷ California. The time is five p.m. The

¹⁶ Certificate of Baptism.

¹⁷ City (northwest Orange Co., California); incorporated 1925.

- day is December 20th, 1972. The interviewer is Christine Valenciana. Now we can start.
- HM: To talk.
- CV: Yes, talk. That is the idea. (voice/background: "You don't want anything to drink?") No, no, no. That's fine. (voice/background: "Hey, do you want strawberry shake? Do you like strawberry shake?") Okay. (voice/background: "Do you?") Yeah, okay. (voice/background: "No way.") (laughing)
- CV: Okay. Where are you from?
- HM: From—
- CV: Where were you born?
- HM: —from Casa Blanca,¹⁸ California.
- CV: Uh-huh. In what year?
- HM: In the year nineteen hundred twenty-six.
- CV: Uh-huh.
- HM: The eighth of April.
- CV: Uh huh. And where are your parents from?
- HM: From México.
- CV: What part of México?
- HM: My mom from Lerdo.¹⁹ Born in Lerdo.
- CV: She was from Lerdo? Oh really—
- HM: Uh-huh, she was from Lerdo. My dad [was born] in La Laguna.²⁰
- CV: And do you know by any chance the year your mom and dad came?
- HM: I don't think so. I don't know what year they came here.
- CV: And what else? And what kind of work did your dad do?
- HM: Well, he worked driving his truck, working with a boss named Penn Rob.²¹
- CV: Eh, I heard of this man.
- HM: Yes, no. I don't know what he worked on, but I know he worked with him. I don't know what kind of work. But I don't know. But I know he worked with him.
- CV: Elisio told me that they went in a truck.
- HM: Yes, uh-huh.
- CV: With workers.
- HM: Yes, uh-huh, yes. My dad was like an administrator, that's what they call it in México. Really, I don't know what they call it here.
- CV: I think "foreman."²²
- HM: Yes. (pauses)

¹⁸ Neighborhood/former unincorporated community (Riverside; Riverside Co., California).

¹⁹ City (northeastern state of Durango, México).

²⁰ Region; Comarca Lagunera (northern states of Durango and Coahuila, México).

²¹ Unidentified

²² A worker who supervises and directs other workers.

CV: Um, and how many kids in the family?

HM: We were – um – fifteen. Fifteen siblings.

CV: That's a lot!

HM: Hm, yes. (pauses) They brought – they brought my older brother here when he was young and – and the – the oldest died on the way when my mom came from there – from México. They brought two, and the oldest died on the way, and the other one stayed alive, that was the one that brought the little one here.

CV: So – (CV starts a new question but is interrupted by HM)

HM: The other was born in México.

CV: Oh, I didn't know.

HM: She was born there, and the baby girl was also born there. When my mom left she was waiting for the little girl that is the baby to be born. The year in which we left she was born – yes. There were two there and everyone else here. So, they would come, being here, we would come being fourteen, thirteen, um, here next to my dad before we went there.

CV: Ah – Was the family very poor before leaving? (speaking over each other)

HM: I think that we were not very well off, but, yes, we were a bit poor because my dad, he alone, supported so many children, really, and then we have to do without something. What we were not missing was food but, yes, I think we were poor.

CV: Hm.

HM: And my brother Eulogio, who came when he was young, was the one who helped my dad work a little because the family was so large, and my dad alone could not do it.

CV: And do you know what kind of work Eulogio did?

HM: No, because he was with my dad. I don't know. They left together in his truck to work, he would help him. Later I heard that he worked in the orange harvest, Eulogio, my other older brother. So, it was that I was just a young child, but I just know because I hear, I could hear my mom and my dad talk like that about the family. Hm.

CV: Hm. Do you remember or did you go to school?

HM: No, no. I still hadn't reached [the age] to go. The one who had reached [the age] was Celia, the oldest, who had just started school, I didn't because I was still too young as I was. I went at five years.

CV: In what year did you all go?

HM: In the thirties, when he [i.e., my dad] was repatriated.

CV: Yes.

HM: In thirty-one, it seems to me thirty or thirty-one, was when he was repatriated.

CV: Hm.

HM: But my dad did not leave like the repatriated; he went and paid the passage for everyone.

- CV: Can you explain to me the difference between one who was repatriated and one who just left – who just left?
- HM: Well no, no I can't explain how it was – (interrupted)
- CV: A lot of people give the impression that there was a difference.
- HM: No, I can't explain in what way it would be, with me being little, really, I don't know –
- CV: Hm.
- HM: All I heard was that he was patriated and that he was repatriated, and my dad decided that he needed to pay the passage of everyone in order for his children to return to California. (voices/background) And he left, but I don't know the reason why he went, but he took us all.
- CV: Hm. (voices/background)
- HM: And the one who stayed here was Carmen.
- CV: And why did she stay here?
- HM: Well, she stayed because she got married, because she got married; she had just married and was expecting her first baby when we left, and she couldn't go. Well, what she said was that she wanted to go, but she couldn't as she was already married, and my dad could very well leave her, but he could not do anything for the reason that she was already with someone else, really. That was the reason why she did not go there.
- CV: And do you remember anything about going to México the first time from Casa Blanca, like going – by train?
- HM: By train aha, by train. We left – we went by train.
- CV: Do you remember the details – the details?
- HM: Like details of what?
- CV: Well, how was the – the – the trip?
- HM: Well, they – they took us to the station right here in California, and then we left on the train, and from there we took the train from Juárez²³ to there. It was also the train that was, well, was the only thing that ran on the tracks, that is the "tracks" here, right? It's the tracks. There was no highway, all of that, there was no hope that there was anything; nothing but rocky, earthy all that, all that washed up. There were no roads like there are now. No. Now it is an important number, that highway route from Juárez to there, very passable and all. Almost all the tourism goes there, that's where we went by train – and to suffer. (laughs) We arrived at Torreón,²⁴ that's where we got to later.
- CV: And with whom did you all live?
- HM: With a little sister of my dad, one Antonia García, who was the mom of Román. And we arrived at a "mesón"²⁵ which is what they call it there. She

²³ Ciudad Juárez; city (state of Chihuahua, México); founded 1659; opposite El Paso, Texas.

²⁴ City (state of Coahuila; México); established 1893.

²⁵ A country inn.

- was in charge of taking care of that inn; there we were all with her. (pauses) Because my aunt Teresa, well, I don't know in what part she arrived; she arrived at another house, she didn't arrive with us. Also, she went together with my dad – his sister.
- CV: Oh.
- HM: My aunt Teresa was the one who insisted that they go to México.
- CV: Oh.
- HM: Because my dad didn't –
- CV: (inaudible) the idea –
- HM: Yes, she had the idea of taking him to México: this México and that México, this little brother and that little brother, and she took him away. And my dad didn't have that idea of leaving, due to my sister who was already married here but, well, she insisted, and since he was very obedient to her, she insisted, and he left.
- CV: (inaudible) Is she – is she older than him?
- HM: Yes, she was the oldest, my dad was the youngest in the family. And my uncle Chon, he stayed here, the other brother, who is the dad of the Christines [?] (inaudible) from here, from Casa Blanca – (pauses) well no more to go through life, well, than anything else, and from there my dad, well, I don't know how he would have passed on it, since Eliseo got sick and, well, we started to suffer a little more because he got a fever, and my dad had to do well – well, these, his little things of value that he owned, he began to waste them, to sell them to raise Eliseo from that fever; all the little that he owned, well – well, you know, he wasted; all was lost. And after that, my dad took us to a little ranch which had offered him a little house there, and he took us there because we had no way of living in the town, and he took us there and, well, again we suffered a little more – until my dad was given a piece of land: he began to sow corn, beans, and with a little bit we started not to suffer as much, but, yes, we suffered enough. Hunger, no, because we were not lacking, but, you know, there we passed it moderately because we were many children. The oldest was Eulogio, Eliseo, Enrique, Daniel, Teri²⁶ – Oscar I still count as young, right, because he was not yet a boy to work a lot, no, because they were still young, but the big ones like Eliseo, Eulogio, and Teri who ventured out to nearby little ranches to see where she could spend time to help us; we were young.
- CV: And you all weren't accustomed – (CV does not finish the question as HM answers it early)
- HM: No, not that you hope, no matter how poor we were in California I never (inaudible) and then I got sick, I got sick from a cough which now I agree is whooping cough: I was eating, I was coughing, I was not eating, I was coughing, I was sleeping, I was coughing all up and vomiting my food that

²⁶ Teresa.

my mom gave me. I think it was whooping cough. And I suffered because I did not know the climate, I think, because I was young; but, no, that hope is no longer the same. (pauses)

[00:10:24] *English*

HM: Because, well, here in California, however poor you are, someone always has a little more to live on and to sleep in and, in all truth, more comforts, and in México there are, too, but – (voices/background)

CV: What was, what were your first – first impressions when you arrived there? I know you were very young and –

HM: No, I was very young, I just didn't notice one. I think because of childhood, really, that one does not take into account whether one is going to suffer or not, but, yes, it was a very, well, sad thing – for one – because it all looked very different, because what little I remembered from here never seemed to be there in México, what little I saw here that I remember, right. There is very little that I can remember but, yes, it was a little more impressive but it was not the same, because we went to a peasant ranch, and then that little ranch was completely isolated from the city, it can be said, because not even the city was built like it is now, and then the little ranch, it was like a few homes, some six homes, nothing more. Eh. We were few there, living very poorly at the ranch, now you cannot say that the ranch is a town because it is already close to the town, right, there is already more movement and more people. Hm.

CV: Hm. (pauses; voices/background) Well, anyway, it is far from –

HM: Oh, yes.

CV: – the city.

HM: Oh, yes, yes, it's far.

CV: Hm.

HM: Yes, it has a little bit more problems than the city. Because, you know, the main thing the little ranch is lacking is water. Drinking water that, what does one say, water for food (inaudible) and there are no clothing stores, there are no stores, you know, of merchandise to eat until you go to town to buy it, to pay your fare, or find out where to go to get food to eat. The water, well, one needs to buy it to drink it clean. It is the main base of the ranch, the water – (pauses)

CV: Did you go to school in México?

HM: Eh, only until third, there at the same little ranch.

CV: (inaudible) third what –

HM: Right there, right there at the little ranch was the – the first school I had until the third year, nothing more, because I could no longer study because my dad no longer had [money] to give us to study.

CV: Oh! One needed to pay?

HM: Ah! Yes, one needed to pay to go to town, to the school, and I no longer could. My dad could not give us [money] to study because he did not have enough for the books or anything like that –

CV: Hm.

HM: Sometimes they gave us a notebook and that notebook would fill up, because a notebook – yes, we had to erase to do more because we no longer had the book.

CV: Hm.

HM: And right there in the little ranch there was my dad's house, right there was the teacher, and there my dad lent him a little piece of a room so that the children could have class in a house. Later, no later they started a school, and it already started, you know – the teacher began to approach teachers (inaudible) at the ranch, but he, he raised the school, but I, already in the school, just studied one more year, which was third. Hm. (pauses)

CV: Was it hard to exist?

HM: It was difficult, uh-huh.

CV: I can see that. (voices/background)

HM: Yes, yes, it was difficult because you could not have the opportunities that the government gives now; the schooling that we would have had would very different, and we did not have it, and my dad could do all that because he could not give us schooling, it was not possible, so it is because of this, his means did not help him. Hm. Because then, at that time, well, they sometimes earned fifty cents a day for as large a family as we were. Hm. And then there was not much possibility to study. Not now, not anymore, what an outrage. The whole school is very beautiful – very many – (15 seconds of silence, 00:14:35-00:14:50; voices/background)

CV: How did they treat, how did your (pauses), uh, relatives treat you all?

HM: Well –

CV: For example, hm, the siblings of – of your dad.

HM: Oh, no, very well.

CV: Hm.

HM: My aunt, very well, the little sister who was in México very well, she treated us, blessed be God, she treated us very well.

CV: Because, in reality, you're all "gringos."

HM: Uh-huh! Yes, we went to – well, yes, because we were born here, right, out of everyone only he was Mexican. But we got to my aunt's house, no, no, we didn't complain what we had there because my aunt treated us very well. And the reason we went to the little ranch was because the family was much of a burden, and my aunt couldn't support everyone there, that was when my dad took us to that little ranch. It's not far, it's twenty minutes from there. But anyway, uh, we started to travel there because you can't be there in town.

CV: Hm.

HM: And my dad started to plant that little bit of land for beans and corn; it was when we started to eat corn with salt and nopalitas²⁷ with salt and everything, true.

CV: Hm.

HM: Yes, I think we were not hungry because we are still alive (both laugh) we are still alive, from hunger we didn't die but, yes, yes, we suffered a little.

CV: Do you consider yourself a citizen of México or the United States?

HM: Eh! Well, I consider myself from the United States because I was born here, but Mexican because, well, my parents were Mexican so by chance I lean more toward México, right, because I just come here to visit, and then there is my whole family and my husband, that's how I consider myself more Mexican than from here. From here because I was born here, but growing up, well I grew up in México, and then there is my family and my husband and my other siblings. I come here because well, the majority of my siblings are here, right, to take my vacations, my trips, but I feel more Mexican than American, haha! Yes – (pauses)

CV: Have you thought about coming to live here?

HM: Ah-ah.

CV: One of these years, with your family?

HM: No, I don't like it here to live with my family,

CV: Why not?

HM: I don't like the atmosphere of living here for the family, because the main thing is that, in México, one has one's energy with one's children, and there the government is not protecting the youth that is already of legal age, [that] is the first point I see; I don't know if it will be fine or wrong, there the family has to be obedient to their parents whenever they can; and here, the generation of kids, well, until a certain age someone already corrects them, and later they already feel like they are of age, right, and they no longer want their parents to correct them (inaudible; background noise) the little I have seen, I don't know if in reality it will be all of them, but I think not all of them, right, but I think that children here can get more freedom than in México. To take it wherever they want, right? But it be can be a little more worth your energy according to me (inaudible) México. Because here, there are opportunities for many things, and in México everything is a little more different.

CV: Yes.

HM: Yes, and to live here, no. Yes, I would like my family to come to, well, to be on vacation, to meet, to pass the hour like this with their family here, we are relatives, but I think not to live (voices/background) nor could they, because they are already used to living there in México. Because for me, too, I also find life very hard here. Very agitated. (laughs)

²⁷ Dish made with diced nopales (pads of the prickly pear cactus).

CV: In what—in what way?

HM: For example, the work here is everything, the person who is here needs to work to be able to live, the main thing is that to have your home is very burdensome, very burdensome, your obligations, the food is very expensive, everything, everything costs one here, and I think that if we came we couldn't keep the obligations here because my husband and I could not save, my children are very young, we would have to put them into school because now the oldest is sixteen years old and the other is fifteen, of the eight I have.

CV: How many children do you all have?

HM: Eight, the youngest is three years, the other is six, the other seven, the other ten, the other twelve, and the other fourteen, the other fifteen, and the other sixteen. All of them kids.

CV: What kind of work does your, your—your husband do?

HM: My husband. Eh. He works as a driver in a line of trucks (voices/background) He's a driver.

CV: Yes, it is very hard.

HM: Yes, it is.

CV: Yes.

HM: Yes, it is.

CV: A lot of people think that—(talking over each other)

HM: —that, because they are in California, they are fine.

CV: —we are all rich.

HM: Uh-huh, there is more here—

CV: Yes, we have a lot, but we need to work for it. (talking over each other)

HM: Hm, but they are, but it's that, yes, they have a lot to live on but if they are on medication, bills, I realize that the bills arrive at least, I was with my brother now, with Celso, and, and then I see that, poor thing, he has many obligations because bills come for everything, for everything, and I start thinking, I say, there is, no, I think that here there is not a life for us, maybe (voices/background) it could be, but it would be very difficult for my husband, well, because, well, he is already of advanced age and, no, I think he was not going to spare us to have a good time (clears throat) and that there, well, poorly, fairly, we make it with what little he earns, we make a little, well, (pauses) and, no, that's why we would like to be a little better off, but no we can't, (voices/background) no we can't, because the family is very big. (pauses)

[00:20:39] *English*

CV: I had another question, but I forgot, uh. (inaudible; voices/background, 00:20:54-00:21:09)

CV: Oh! Do you think that it was a good thing then that the Martínez family went to live in México?

HM: Hm. Well, they were a little older than me when they went, they suffered a lot there, my older siblings suffered greatly, because they worked a lot, right, they also endured poverty, none more than my brother, the youngest one, that was Celso: my uncle Chon, my dad's brother, went and he invited him, and my dad, well, he said to him, "Well, brother, take him," right and — and later they already started, so here was Celso, and he told them to come and that, and they started to come, but they, and they were already married, and they started to come to work and maybe they liked the atmosphere a little here, because before, no, (voices/background) it was as it is now, right, so hard is life here in California. (voices/background) And they already came but — no, no, I can't explain the reason why they planned to come, but, yes, yes, they suffered there, too; maybe they thought that they weren't going to do well in México because of the jobs, right, they are also very scarce, and they pay little; and maybe they still thought of coming and they liked it better and they came, right, since, well, everyone has their family here. If they immigrated to their family and all because they were born here, right, they immigrated to their family, and they also came to suffer a little, because from here to what they did, their — their residence for their family and everything, they had to navigate. Like Oscar also, the poor thing, he suffered a lot when he came because he left his family over there, and it was very little that he was then making, so he earned sixty-five cents per hour to spend it here and to send it to his family in México; then he thought to immigrate them, right, arrange for them to immigrate, and so they came. Then later they went for Pancho who is the other one that is here, and then the four of us stayed there, four of us stayed there, since Eulogio was married over there, and he was not, as he was not, he was not born here, right, it was not easy for him to come. Enrique, well, he is over there, he sometimes comes on vacation, and I, too, well, it is three times that I come, but like this, every three months, each year I stay three months, like now, I have three months here. (pauses) But the greatest reason of theirs, of why to live here, I can't explain.

CV: Did you have a job when you were here for vacation?

HM: Eh, yes, yes, I was working, yes, in the nursery where Oscar was working. The first year I came, Oscar was there in the, in the — "Select;"²⁸ I was working there three — three months yes and, well, I said, "Well, now that I have come, why not do something for my family, right?" And I think I came with the aim of immigrating them but I couldn't, I couldn't because I needed to send them there to help each other. —

CV: Did you try to do it?

HM: I wanted to do it, but I didn't. I thought to do it, hey! But I did not do it because the fact now of seeing that it was going to bother my siblings a lot

²⁸ Unidentified; presumably the name of a business.

to take me to immigration and this and that, and it was very, very painful to bother them.

CV: No, it is difficult like that

HM: Yes, uh-huh. Or they say that it is not difficult, but for me it was, because I don't know English, that's why it is a little more difficult for me, because I can't go, neither I, nor do I recognize it very well here to walk around in Los Angeles and all that. And the following time, after last year, I came back with the same lady and I (voices/background) didn't do it again for that three months, too. And now I already saw the very different environment; now I was less encouraged to do it because I no longer saw a little more broken because, you know, you see some things between family that –

CV: Because I believe my mom once told me that, that you were trying to – to –

HM: Uh-huh.

CV: Bring your family.

HM: Yes, yes, I did have those thoughts to (inaudible; voices/background) yes, I, yes, did plan to fix this, I always wanted to because my husband has always wanted to come here, and he says, "Fix your papers, for your children." "Let it," he says, "because you are going to die, and we achieved that paper because, if you're dead your paper is not going to be useful to help emigrate your family," he says, "There are your brothers they stay alone they go with your uncle or something," but, Christine, I don't know, maybe God doesn't want me to fix it or it is impossible to do, I don't know, after all, I have not been encouraged to do it, right, and I do hope that my family will come to know and knows (cough/background) their relatives, their cousins, and all, but it's a lot of money for me alone, the fact of seeing that I can't, because my age no longer allows me to work very well anymore because I get tired a lot. (both voice agreement) And that's why I think that I can't, I can't fix them anymore because it's a lot of money, to fix one's papers, (pauses) and a lot of time and appointments, and appointments, and I could not from where I am working, I could not ask for permission because they would take away my work, right. That my husband would have been a little closer, even in Mexicali²⁹ or Tijuana,³⁰ it would be better there, but it is far away (voices/background) it's many hours.

CV: Hm. It's about three days.

HM: Uuy!

CV: From here to – (inaudible; background noise)

HM: Yes. It's been like three days, yeah, it's like three days on the road, seeing, well, it's three days, I think, complete, well, with the night, right.

CV: Hm.

²⁹ City (state of Baja California, México), founded 1903.

³⁰ City (state of Baja California, México); founded 1889; across from San Diego, California.

- HM: For example, I go out one night and think it's one day, yes, it's about three days. No, yes, it is selfish to give appointments for your family to be there that time, when, with what expense of money, it would be very easy on the airplane, but it costs a lot.
- CV: Yes, my family wanted to go but (inaudible; voices/background) my first case they don't have time.
- HM: Exactly.
- CV: And they also don't have money.
- HM: Money is the basis; money is the basis for moving one from one part to another.
- CV: Because my dad always says, "Why do we not go to México?" my mom tells him, "Well, because we don't have enough money." (voices/background)
- HM: Yes, look, I've been coming often, and I can say I came before the year because I went in October with Eliseo, and I had come with Celso, because when my brothers went I took advantage to come with them, not paying much money; I give them, you know, to help them on the way with a little bit, and then I have the luck that Eliseo went, and it wasn't a big deal what I paid for the ride because they, no matter how much in need they are, won't accept much money from me because I'm their sister, right. Now this last time Celso went, I came with him again, and now Oscar goes, and I go with him, eh, so it is a bit easy for me, hm, my travels have been very hard on me. The first year, yes. It was difficult because it was when my dad died, we had to go, you know as an emergency, and we went from here to El Paso³¹ on the bus, on the bus, and from Juárez to there we went on the plane to bury my dad, and from there it was only three hours, nothing more. Yes, that was hard, that travel. But lately not anymore, a little, I've already gone far, I already give them to help each other on their way, and they help me and – and they really help each other, right, because what little I buy for my family, what they give me, I don't take on the bus. I don't take it because there, at the [border] crossing, they are very ungrateful; they charge one a lot at the crossing; they think that one has contraband, you know, of clothes or whatever other little thing they wear, and, in fact, seeing that on the bus I can't take what I can take when I go with them, not much, because the little I earn I also send to my family. Yes, yes, I worked enough for the three months, but I was sending to my kids there, because always, you know, family problems, right, because my husband's harvest went a little bad because it didn't rain much and a plague fell on his cotton, and, well, you know, they lost what they had borrowed for their harvest, they lost a little, and he is a little behind there now, that, like I told you, my husband works as a driver; well, we don't starve but, no, no, we have no ability to give

³¹ City (El Paso Co., Texas); settled (by Europeans) 1680; across from Ciudad Juárez (México).

- everything that is needed in the house, well, the kids' schooling is very expensive there because they require uniforms (cough) and very expensive books, you know, in studying books are what they cost. (both voice agreement) For that problem, no, you can't do a little more.
- CV: It's like here, they say we can gain an education for free but they are – they are lies.
- HM: No, they are lies.
- CV: Because we have to spend money.
- HM: They are lies. The government says, "Send your children to school," that there are better possibilities that the government gives them, but if the teacher stretches out his hand to demand a book from a child, and if that child doesn't have the book, they don't let it have the class, they take it out of school. If it doesn't wear the uniform like it is, it has to be right or it [i.e., the child] is not allowed to start on time. Because its uniform is not right or something is missing or a pencil is missing or something, it [i.e., the child] cannot study. And if any father doesn't have to give to it [i.e., the child] he will make the sacrifice when he can; but don't believe it: schooling is very expensive.
- CV: Oh, it's different in the primary school? Oh.
- HM: Well, as my son is now studying in high school.
- CV: But it is – costs a lot for the university.
- HM: Yes, hm. Yes, I think that, yes, much more.
- CV: Because one has to buy one's books, and they cost about seventy dollars.
- HM: Uh!
- CV: Two times a year.
- HM: Imagine!
- CV: And – (voices/background) it is expensive. I know that it is expensive. (pauses)

[00:30:28] *English*

- HM: So, look, well, so that's the thing, life here is a little hard.
- CV: So, you can't speak English? (voices/background)
- HM: Ah-ah. Nothing.
- CV: Because my mom asked me if you could speak English, and I said, "Well, I don't know, Mom, I don't know."
- HM: Nothing, no. I don't – I don't speak English. No, if I spoke English I wouldn't be as ignorant, no; I would not be lacking work because with English, you know, you can work a little bit wherever, right? But I don't speak English at all because, well, I left very young, and I could not study English, it was not possible – (inaudible; voices/background)
- CV: Oh. Well, I don't have any more questions. I really appreciate the help.
- HM: Well, hopefully that will help you, that little that I answer truthfully because, as I say, I was very young. I cannot describe many things

(voices/background) nothing more than that little that, nothing more than that little you asked me. Hopefully it will help you, I would like to help you more willingly.

CV: I know, but you were young.

HM: Yes, very young, that's why, because of age.

CV: My mom could talk to me more because she came alone to live here alone.

HM: Yes, that, uh-huh! And then she left too long after us, and she had already studied, I think, a little English. And Pancho, your—your uncle, and he came later then, and I no longer realized who he came with; I didn't realize who he came with; she, once my uncle stayed there, I think, right? My uncle stayed, and she came alone. Or who did she come with?

CV: Alone.

HM: Hm. So, you can see, because here your aunt was the baby, hm, that I would have come then what an awful lot that would have been. I won't complain, I won't complain but it would have been another, another environment.

CV: Oh! I have the question. Did you know other, uh, families who are—who came here, to this country and that went to México, like you and my grandpa?

HM: No, no. I just knew my aunt who was my dad's sister, that we went together. I met some people who said they had also lived here, who had also left at that time but, yes, we didn't get together a lot since they were from another little ranch. But, no, almost all those people don't know much about their lives.

CV: Hm, many families did the same thing.

HM: Yes, there are—there are families who left here, yes, there is—there's nothing, except there in the little ranch where I live, there is a lady who says she was born here, but that she has lost her papers; she only has, I think, her document of Faith of Baptism.³² And she, every time my brothers go, she goes and I asks them how she would fix her papers and everything, but she's already an older lady now, but I don't know more about her life, if she suffered here or not, but she was first taken by her dad [when she was] very young to the little ranch, but there are several people who (inaudible; voices/background) one knows that they are born here but, fundamentally, no, we don't know them thoroughly, how they lived, because they left. Maybe they went the way with us that season or maybe later.

CV: (inaudible; voices/background)— finish here.

[00:33:54] *English*

END OF INTERVIEW

³² Certificate of Baptism.

Monique Garcia and Isaiah Colton Thompson (editors)

*“What is it worth to be a citizen if they can do this to you?”
Oscar Bauman’s Memories of Discrimination during World War II*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.
Project: Personal and Family Histories.
O.H. 0079.

Oral Interview with Oscar Bauman, conducted by John Sprout,
November 24, 1968, Orange, California.

Introduction

The oral history interview transcribed below belongs to the “Personal and Family Histories” collection held in CSUF’s Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH). The interview with Oscar Bauman was conducted by John Sprout, at the time a CSUF student, on November 24, 1968, in Orange, California. The interview lasted 1 hour, 1 minute, and 13 seconds, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH. The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2019 by Monique Garcia and Isaiah Colton Thompson.

Oscar Bauman was born ca. 1929 in Wisconsin and graduated from high school in 1947. The interview provides neither his place of birth nor his date of birth. Prior to the United States’ entry into World War II, his family had relocated to Los Angeles, California, and they moved several times in the downtown and East Hollywood neighborhoods. Bauman eventually took up residence in Orange County, California. The interview reveals conflicted narratives of the U.S. during World War II. On the one hand, Bauman praises the U.S. as a country of justice and inclusivity; on the other hand, he reflects on the government’s failures. Bauman’s description of events he experienced as a child – such as the FBI coming to search his house, classmates chiding him because of his German heritage, the disappearance of his Japanese American classmates who were sent to internment camps, his parents’ fear that the government was watching them and treating them as untrustworthy – all contributed to his criticism. Bauman’s account further questions the assumption that America’s role in World War II was purely heroic.

Oscar Bauman’s story provides a grassroots perspective on the experience of government-targeted groups in the U.S. during and after World War II. It addresses the questionable safety of citizenship in times of war, the use of media to vilify specific groups to stoke fear, and the government’s lack of faith in its people. This powerful narrative includes many striking moments, including the U.S. government’s discriminatory treatment of Japanese Americans and of Oscar Bauman’s own family, which scarred him for life and made him lose faith in the government and the value of elections.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Monique Garcia of Whittier, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History and Chicana/Latina Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is a member of the University Honors Program and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship.*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California (2018). He is currently pursuing a B.A. in Religious Studies and History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is a member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Scholars Program. The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 0079)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Oscar Bauman [OB]

INTERVIEWER: John Sprout [JS]

DATE: November 24, 1968

LOCATION: Orange, California

PROJECT: Personal and Family Histories

TRANSCRIBERS: Monique Garcia and Isaiah Colton Thompson

JS: (cough; clears throat) This interview is with Mr. Oscar Bauman in Orange. (clears throat) First, Mr. Bauman, I would like to just get some background information on your – on your parents. Uh, where was your father born?

OB: Well, they were born in, uh – my mother and father were both born in Germany, uh, around 1895, uh, in between that time. I don't know when they came to America. I guess (pauses), uh, it must have been (pauses) – shortly after the First World War,¹ uh, but I don't – I can't remember – 1920, sometime in there – uh, exactly what year they came over.

JS: Uh, when did your father, uh, take out his citizenship papers?

OB: Well, uh, I can't really say that either, but it was before 1937 'cause, uh, 1937, we moved out to California from Wisconsin, and he had them at that time, so, uh, it was before 1937.

JS: And when did your mother and father get married?

¹ Global conflict (1914-1918).

- OB: Well, I don't know that either, uh, that's something I don't know, uh, I have no idea. You know. I can't really say (both laugh) (sniffs).
- JS: (laughs; clears throat) Well, uh, 1937, you moved from Wisconsin to California—
- OB: Yeah, right.
- JS: —and where did you live?
- OB: Uh, well, first we lived, uh, in, uh, Central Los Angeles, uh, then we moved, uh—well, uh, no, I'll take that back. When we first came, we lived in Santa Monica with my dad's sister until, uh, he could find a place closer to work which—he worked in downtown L.A. and, uh, he found a place first on, uh, near Washington and Union Street,² which is right in the heart of L.A. Uh, then we moved out up north, uh, around, uh, Beverley and Vermont³ and, uh, we spent about eight years in that location. Then we moved over to Santa Monica and Vermont,⁴ which is closer to Hollywood—about seven years, and then we—uh—that's when the Korean conflict⁵—war came, and I got drafted, and when we came back, uh, I guess it was 1953, and my dad had died in the meantime. And we moved out to, uh, North Hollywood where we stayed about seven years, and then we moved down here to Orange County, 'cause the company I work for, uh, moved down here. And, uh, I just couldn't take the freeway. 'Cause (both laugh)—it was too much. So, uh, here we are in Orange, and we like it very much down here.
- JS: Uh, where were you living at—right before the Second World War⁶ broke out?
- OB: Uh, we were living up on Beverly and Vermont, uh, uh—at that time, uh, December 1941, uh, I was just starting Junior High School at that time. And, uh, I, uh, can remember going—going to school and they all called us in the audi—auditorium and told us that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor,⁷ and we were at war with the Japanese. And, uh, I can remember that very clearly, uh, that they, you know, they called us in the auditorium and told us—
- JS: What did your parents—
- OB: —we were at war
- JS: —think about this at the time?
- OB: Well, uh, I—I can't really say that—what they thought about the war at that time. (noise/background) I mean, I feel that they felt like everybody else. Uh, they were scared, uh, (pauses) uh, they were fearful of what was going

² Intersection (Pico Union neighborhood, Los Angeles, California).

³ Intersection (Oakwood neighborhood, Los Angeles, California).

⁴ Intersection (East Hollywood neighborhood, Los Angeles, California).

⁵ Conflict between North and South Korea (1950-1953).

⁶ Global conflict (1939-1945).

⁷ U.S. naval base (Honolulu, Hawaii); attacked by Japan, December 7, 1941.

to happen, uh—everybody was scared out here in California or along the West Coast. The Japanese invasion⁸ and Japanese bombings,⁹ and—uh—there was a great, uh, feeling of this fear. And, uh, I guess they were just thinking about that like any other—or—I should say like most of the people were at that time about the situation. And, uh, I mean we use—used to have a few air raids—the air raid alerts at night, you know. I don’t know whether they were so much as just practices, or if they were the real thing, but then again, you never know, you know. And the blackouts and the civil air raid defense men would walk around and things like that. So, that was about it. Uh—

JS: Uh, did your father ever mention—make any mention, uh, of the war in Europe?

OB: Well, uh, the war in Europe—uh, well—we figured that was far away from us. It wasn’t as close as the Japanese were. Uh, yeah, they mentioned it. Uh, I mean we were little kids. I was about—oh, I don’t know—at that time, I was about thirteen, my sister was about seven, something like that. And, uh, they would talk about the war, but, uh, they were still very fearful about what us kids would say. I mean they would send us out and say, uh, you know, uh, “Just be careful what you say because, if you say something wrong or you say—don’t say the right thing or something, they’ll send somebody after us, and we’ll have to, uh, pack up and move or leave the country or something like this.” So, uh, when you went out, you, uh, were very careful of who you played with and what you said and what you did—and—and that was it, because, uh, your parents had this fear that, uh, if you would say something like, uh, “German people are good people” or something like this, uh, someone would knock you down for it or there would be, uh—there would be, uh, bad results as—if you were to say something like this, you know. Because at that time (pauses)—uh, like (sighs)—I don’t know if it was war propaganda or something like this but, uh, you’d hear some pretty vicious things about what the enemy soldiers do to civilians, and what they do to women and children, and, uh, what they do to our soldiers if they catch—and all this. And, uh, they were afraid that if you were to go up to somebody and say, “Well,” or even neighbors that I’ve—I’ve played with five, six, seven years—and say—“Oh, well, my parents can’t believe this; they feel that Germans are very good people, too, and that they just don’t do things like this.” And they were, uh, you know—they just didn’t want you to say things like this because, uh, they were—they had this fear of, uh, someone might report me or something, and, uh,

⁸ Possible reference to the Japanese bombing of Ellwood (near Santa Barbara, California); February 23, 1942.

⁹ Possible reference to “Fu-Gos” (Japanese fire balloons).

- then there'd be all kinds of trouble. And, you know, like I said, they might be interned.
- JS: Did, uh, any of your family including yourself have any confrontations with anybody at this time?
- OB: Uh, no, I can't, uh (pauses) – I can't remember any, 'cause, like I said, I was very careful. I – I – I more or less kept to myself quite a bit and, uh, I didn't say very much. And, uh, my sister was too little. Uh, as far as my dad at work and things like that, I don't know. That I can't say. My mother was usually sick most of the time. She hardly ever got out of the house –
- JS: Oh.
- OB: – and the neighbors that came around – I mean, they were always nice and everything, you know – they would never say much about it. So, uh, we uh, you know – it seemed pretty good at that time but, uh – we still lived with that fear.
- JS: Okay. How about your father's sister?
- OB: Well, my father's sister, uh, she was a citizen and, uh, she lived in Santa Monica, but, uh, that I cannot say. I never ran into any – I never heard any, you know, confictions with this, uh, this problem, uh, during those years at all from her – from her husband. So, the only personal, you know, uh, conflict I've had – was, like I've told you before, you know, was the FBI¹⁰ coming and, uh, searching the house – and taking our cameras away. Telling us that we've got to be off the streets by – I think, it was nine o'clock or ten o'clock – curfew. And, uh, as I said, you know, my father was a citizen, both the children were born in this country, and the only thing was that my mother was an alien. And, uh, she didn't belong to any of these, you know, German Bund¹¹ parties or whatever they had at that time and all that stuff. And, uh, it was really – uh, it was really quite a blow – it's – it's quite a fearful feeling for little children to see your parents cry and be scared, uh, and, uh, be – live in fear. And, uh, of course as little as I was at that time I told them, "Well, don't feel too bad," I says, "look at all these Japanese friends I have," I says, "They're just being uprooted by their homes and put into what they call relocation centers."¹² Of course, over here, uh, to my way of thinking they were called relocation centers because, uh, it sounds a little better than a concentration camp.¹³ Uh, maybe these concentration camps over here weren't as severe as the ones over in Europe or over in, uh, Japan, but to me it's the same thing: when you uproot

¹⁰ Federal Bureau of Investigation; U.S. domestic intelligence/security agency; founded 1908.

¹¹ German American pro-Nazi organization; founded 1936; dissolved 1941.

¹² Internment of Japanese Americans (1942-1946) following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor; based on U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066.

¹³ Prison, labor, and death camps (1933-1945), both in Nazi Germany and in Nazi-controlled areas of Europe during World War II.

families from their homes that they worked so hard for and some of 'em lost their entire savings and businesses and things like this, uh – to me that's just as terrible. And, uh, I can't see much difference. And, uh, just like, uh, President Roosevelt¹⁴ said – uh, you know, I think "the thing we have to fear is fear itself,"¹⁵ and, uh, as far as I'm concerned, that was a great example of fearing fear. Uh, doing this to all these Japanese people.

[00:10:10]

JS: At this time, where did your, uh, father work?

OB: Uh, he worked down at the Los Angeles Athletic Club.¹⁶ He was the head chef down there for quite some years. Uh, he died in – I don't know, '51 or '52, when I was over in Korea and, uh, then, uh, (pauses) uh, I came home and got discharged in '53, um, and that was, you know –

JS: Uh, well, when did the first, uh – when was the first time that the FBI contacted your parents?

OB: I don't really know. I can't say when the first time was. And, uh, I don't know whether they were, uh, sent a letter previous to the man's coming or not. Uh, I would assume that, uh, they would send notification to my father that the man was coming out to inspect our house and uh – (pauses) and, uh, – look it over, you know, and, uh, take our cameras away and stuff like that. And I as – presume also that they did have search warrants because I don't think they would've come out to the house without a search warrant, you know. And, uh, the thing is also – uh, you know, when we told our neighbors, our neighbors were shocked. They couldn't believe that this would happen in this country. Uh, because, uh, they were, uh – some of them were just, you know, just dumbfounded about it. And, uh – so, I mean, this is the way it goes but, uh, like, you know, we were talking the other day about voting, and I said, "I am very skeptical about voting in this country," because this has always left a bitter scar inside of me. One which I will never forget, I will never forget, and I think it'll – it'll go to me – it will stay with – inside of me until I die because, uh, it just proved to me what worth is, uh – what is it worth to be a citizen if they can do this to you just because, uh, we're at war with somebody, I mean, there must be thousands of thousands of Germans living in this country, there's thousands of thousands of Japanese living in this country, and there's thousands of thousands of other people. If it wasn't for all these mixtures of people, uh, this country wouldn't be what it is today. I say, you, know it takes Germans, Japanese – it takes everybody – Italians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Negroes – whatever you have, to make this country as great as it is. And

¹⁴ Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945); U.S. President (1933-1945).

¹⁵ Modified quote from U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first Inaugural Address (1933).

¹⁶ Private athletic/social club (Los Angeles, California); established 1880.

just because you're gonna go to war every time or have to go to war against some of these people, uh, you're gonna come around and say, well, uh, we're at war with you, and whether you're a citizen or not you're just gonna have to go into a concentration camp, or we're gonna have to inspect your house and all this stuff. Uh, this sounds very ridiculous to me. Because, uh, after all, uh, — it's, uh — you just feel that, uh, you know these great white leaders — intellectual leaders — have passed all these laws and want to intimidate these people 'cause they don't have a piece of paper. Well, it's just like I told you the other night, uh, where in the hell do they think they came from? Uh, where — where do they think their parents come from? They weren't born here. The only people we know that were born in this continent were the Indians, and we're not too sure of that, (laughs) you know. They might have come from the Orient across the Bering Seas¹⁷ or some other way. So, uh, I really, uh, can't see why you should vote for a bunch of hypocrites. And, uh, it's — it's left a very bitter scar, one I'll never — I'll always resent.

JS: Uh, were you ever present whenever the FBI came to the house?

OB: Yes, I was, once.

JS: Could you describe to me what they, you know, if you could remember what they went through.

OB: Well, uh, the men came in, "Torrance FBI, and we're here to inspect your house," and, uh, they went through the radio. They went up in the attic. They went underneath the house. They went in all the closets, suitcases. They went through the garage. They went through the car, 'cause the car was there; my dad never used it to go to work. And they took all our cameras. And that was the first time, uh, they inspected. The other times I — I — don't remember — I don't — I may not have been home. I may have been out playing, or I might have been at school or something like this. I — I — think the main thing they were looking for was, uh, short wave powerful radio transmitters and, uh, maybe they were looking for, you know, big hidden cameras, like — as if a hard-working family could support or buy this kind of equipment, you know, and stuff, which seems very silly. Also, it was very silly to take our cameras away because, what the hell, you just go next door and ask your neighbor for one. You may be a little ashamed or a little embarrassed when they ask you why, but, uh, anytime we wanted a camera we just asked our neighbors, even though it's a little humiliating. But, uh, you know, uh — it just sounds stupid. I mean this is like saying, "Close the bars, because we don't want any drunks at election time," so who's gonna prevent you from getting stored up before election time, you know, John. This is — this is stupid. I mean, uh, intelligent people, uh, I don't

¹⁷ North Pacific Ocean; divide between Eurasia and the Americas.

- know, it's like I told you before – that they are so intelligent that they get stupid. And, uh, that's the way that I look at e – elections.
- JS: Well, at this time, did your parents still have relatives in Germany?
- OB: Uh, oh, yes, many relatives in Germany. And the fact is my father had, uh, he had – friends in Chicago. Their boys were drafted in World War Two, asked to go over, and, you know, they had to bomb their own people – kill their own people. And, uh, so, uh, I mean, you know, if, uh, if kids and sons are willing to do that, and parents are willing to let their sons, uh, do that for this country, I think that shows this country how great – or how much they think of this country. And, uh, it certainly – when they do things like what they did to me, it certainly shows to me the way that the country doesn't think very much of them. And, uh, it's just a good thing that the people think that this country is as great as it is, otherwise, you know, they'd say, "Well, nuts with you Uncle Sam. I'll just – you just put us in a concentration camp 'cause I want – it'd be much safer for my son to go to a concentration camp or spend ten years in jail than go off and fight for you. So, that's what it amounts to.
- JS: What amounts to?
- OB: Why should I risk my son's life, or why should I ask my son to risk his life for this country if I didn't, you know, think it was as great as it was, which, like I said, is – is a lot more than what this country thinks of some of its citizens sometimes.
- JS: Was – was there ever any correspondence between your parents and any of the relatives?
- OB: Uh, not during – not during (inaudible) over in Germany
- JS: Over in Germany, right.
- OB: No, not during the war. None whatsoever. They wouldn't dare – they wouldn't dare write a letter. Like I said, uh, this boy got put in a Japanese Relocation Center, and he sent me a postcard, and my parents wouldn't even dare let me answer him because they had this fear. They were so afraid that if I answered him, well, you know, they'd think something was going on or something, and they'd be coming around again, saying, "You can't do this, or you can't do that." So, uh, there was never any that I know of. Uh, I think after the war though, uh, my parents would send them care packages and things like this, you know, because they needed it.
- JS: Well, were there any – you said before you had relatives in Chicago – were they ever confronted with the same situation as your parents had?
- OB: I don't know that, I have no knowledge of that whatsoever. Uh, uh, I never heard anything about that, uh, if there was I wouldn't know, you know. And, uh, it's just – it's funny though, I mean, you know, after the war and, uh – it was my last year of high school – all these Japanese – well not a lot of them – but there was about six or seven that I knew, they started coming back into classrooms. And I wouldn't even recognize most of 'em, you

know. And this one boy that I—I'd—been going around with quite a bit when I was in grammar school—oh, about four or five years—uh, he came up to me and said, "Don't you recognize me." And I said, "No, I don't even know you." And he says, "Well, I'm Yuneo," and I says, "Yuneo?!" and I look at him, and I says, "Oh, yeah, I remember you now." You know—and that hurt him so bad that I just lost a friend—of course, that was my own fault, I guess, uh, listening to all that propaganda about how mean Japanese are and all this. And, uh, I guess, I'd just forgotten all about him. And, uh, I lost a friend. He wouldn't talk to me after that. Uh, I used to see him at school, say, "Hi!" And he just walked the other way or, you know, wouldn't even bother. So, all I figured, well, darn, I mean, if I've hurt the guy there's no use trying to, you know, heal the wound.

JS: What—what was the name of the High School?

OB: Uh, Belmont High School.¹⁸ Uh, I graduated there forty-seven and they started coming back about, uh—oh, I don't know—graduating, they started coming back about the last (pauses) three months before graduation or something like that. And, I guess, when they were in the relocation centers they went to school also and that just carried right on over. So, when they got back in civilian life and they went to high schools they could graduate right out with the rest of the class.

[00:20:31]

JS: What did, uh—what did your father think about whenever the Japanese were taken out. I mean, early—during the early part of the war—was he fearful that the same thing might happen to them?

OB: Oh, yeah, I mean, I can't exactly—I can't tell you what he felt about the Japanese be—being interned but, uh, my mother and father were very fearful of the same thing happening to us—if we weren't careful. In other words, uh, you better watch what you say, you better be off the street by nine o'clock, and, uh, don't get in any trouble with the law and all this, you know. And, uh—but like it all comes back to the point again—is, uh, he's an American citizen, both your kids are born in this country, and, uh, this is where the whole rub is, you know. How can you take, uh, cameras away from a man who is an American citizen? How can they prove that the cameras were my dad's or they belonged to the kids? They just said, "Well, the cameras are your mother's, she's an alien. Take them away." Well, I don't see how you could do this.

JS: How many cameras did—

OB: Really.

JS: —they take?

¹⁸ Educational institution (1575 West 2nd Street, Los Angeles, California); established 1923.

OB: Well, they took about four. I mean, there's so—they were cheap cameras, you know. One was a Brownie¹⁹ and, uh, one was, uh—it was nothing elaborate, it was a good camera at that time. I still have it. And then there were two others at that time, I can't remember what kind they were, but, I mean, the total cost of all the cameras couldn't have been more than forty dollars for four cameras, you know. I mean, there wasn't any of these high-powered lenses on them or any of that kind of stuff, you know. So, uh, I mean that's—that's the whole thing that really—really gets to me is, like I have said, I'm repeating myself, but, uh, it's really what—what burdens in me the most is, uh, a person's a citizen and, uh, they go along and do this, just because one person's an alien. And, uh, I mean, you know, why couldn't they trust—take my dad's word or something like that that, uh, he would be responsible for my mother? It makes you feel like, uh, we are all a bunch of foreigners. I'm born and raised in this country, my sister's born and raised in this country, but they come along and do this, and you—you just feel like, well, uh, I just come from an outer planet, and I'm, you know, I'm amongst the strangest people I ever knew in my life. I don't belong. But then, again, like I said, when it comes time, you know, uh, go to the draft, pick up your rifle, and go fight, uh, there's no questions asked, or nothing like that, you know? And, uh, I doubt it if they would have stopped me from going into the army if my mother was still a non-citizen, because they'd figure I was a risk or something like that because my mother was still an alien. I mean, uh, this always enters my mind, too, sometimes, you know, but, uh, they'll take you that way, too, so—but, uh, what can you do, you know, it's, uh, ten thousand dollars or ten years in jail—a draft dodger, so—

JS: Uh, did you ever get to—get all the cameras back that they took?

OB: Uh, yeah, we got all the cameras back. I don't know how long after the war. It might have been a year after the war, a year and a half. And we had to go down and get them, uh, somewhere down in—down in L.A., must have been one of their warehouses, something like that. (voices/background) We had to go back and get them. But, uh, five years we didn't have the cameras, and we forgot all about the darn things, you know, so—uh, and I don't remember if we, uh, went out and bought some more anyway. (both laugh) Just to break the law, see.

JS: Well, did the FBI make regular checks on the house then?

OB: Uh, yeah, I don't know whether—uh, I think they came once every six months, and they made regular checks on the house. And, uh, that's, uh, you know—it's just, uh, something I'll never quite get over. Of course, like I said, too, I mean—it's a lot of people, you know, have it a lot worse. And like the Japanese, uh, they all got moved out and, uh, it's, uh—I don't

¹⁹ Camera manufactured by Eastman Kodak; first released 1900; multiple successor models.

know – it's one of the things you have to live with. I know this is going to sound very hypocritical, John, but, uh, even in spite of all this, uh – like I told you before, too, uh – my dad's been around in Europe, he's been in Sweden and France and Germany. And, uh, even as young as I was at that time, he told me, he says, uh, "You know, there is going to be a lot of" – I'm going to go through life. There's going to be a lot of things that are gonna be – seem very unjust to me and very cruel. "And, uh, sometimes you won't understand these things, and, uh, sometimes it's just going to seem just – just terrible – terrible – terrible – to you." "But," he says, "don't forget one thing," he says, "This, for the working man – for the common working man," he says, "this is still the greatest country on Earth." "And," he says, "it's worth fighting for." "And," he says, "it's worth fighting for with every ounce of blood a man has in him." And, uh, he says, "that doesn't mean that this country is perfect." He says, "There's a lot of things," he says, "that need to be straightened out and ironed out," as we are finding out today, I mean, a lot of injustices, inequalities, and things like this. "But," he says, "that's what makes this country so great – is that it can be done in this country, because in some other countries, uh, you try to do something, you'd be put up against a wall and shot, and that would be the end of it." But he said that's one of the reasons that this country is so great, that you can do something about it. So, uh, that's the same way my mother feels about it, too. Uh, because you have to realize that, uh, they came from Europe, and, uh, they came from some very, uh, poor families. I mean, some of the things my mother tells me I just can't believe. Because, uh, you know, I've always had life very good. I've never had to starve. I've never had to wear rags, I've never had to go barefoot, uh, I've never had to sleep out in the street as far as that goes, you know. Their parents were good, and they worked hard, and they always took good care of their offspring. And, uh, so, to them – to leave a foreign country and from a very poor family situation, you know, and come over here and start on their own, which thousands and millions of people have done, which to me seems like it takes a lot of guts. 'Cause I know for me – if I had to go down to Mexico and start all over, or go to Australia, I don't know, you know. Uh, I guess maybe at that time, when they come over, I'd feel just like they were, too, you know, scared, what's gonna happen, where am I gonna end up, what kind of job am I gonna be doing. But they didn't, uh, it's like the pioneer in a sense, you know, and, uh, they'd come over and start on their own, uh, they'd start working hard, save their money, and even though they lost everything in the '29 crash,²⁰ you know, they still kept working. Start all over again 'cause that's all you can do, you know, either that or you sink to the bottom –

JS: Right.

²⁰ Wall Street Crash of 1929 (September 4–November 13); launched the Great Depression.

OB: –So, they started all over again and, uh, they made it again, you know. But it takes a lot of hard work. So, uh, you know, uh, they had things at dinner that they never had in the old country. And, like my mother said, uh, you know, all they ever had when they were kids for clothes was gun sacks,²¹ no shoes ever, slept on the floor, and, uh, same with my dad. So, they come to America and, uh, I mean, you know, these things are here. And, uh, it seems like a miracle to them really, so, uh—and that’s why they’re proud of this country and, uh, stuff. But, uh, like I said, there’s just certain things that—sometimes you just can’t see how you can ever forgive them. But, uh, when you sit down and think about it and, uh, you know, uh, keep cool and (clears throat) rationalize things out, you get to—uh, you get to the point where you can—you can forgive them, you know. And another thing, uh, I attribute to the greatness of this country, uh, is something to this day, which amazes me. It’s like I told you before, too, is how they, uh, could ever get a Japanese army²² together of young Japanese Americans to go and fight. Uh, to me that again shows the greatness of this country, even though some of our leaders, uh, don’t think that some of their citizens are that great. And, uh, that’s another sign sh—you know, that just shows to me, uh, how great the people think this country is, even though they are being persecuted to a certain degree, you know. So, uh—

JS: Did you or your sister have any trouble at school with anybody making remarks of such or anything?

[00:30:30]

OB: Well, yeah, uh, you know, you’d get those remarks, “You dirty Nazi pig,” or “You filthy German pig,” or “You’re a German dog,” or something like this. But, uh, it’s just one of those things you lived with. Uh, and, uh, you know, sometimes you’d come home crying and stuff, but, uh, your parents are always there to put an arm around you and say, “Well, you just have to sort of let those things go in one ear and out the other. These are young kids, and they don’t understand.” And they said their parents probably don’t understand either, uh, so you sort of have to forgive them in a way, too, you know, because, uh, after all, what are wars? Wars are of political making mostly, you know, as far as I’m concerned. Maybe someone else doesn’t feel that way. And, uh, what are you gonna do when the, uh—so—the people in power say, “Well, the kids have got to go to war.” Uh, individual families are scared, so what are you gonna do? You have to send your kids to war—you got no choice. Uh, who wants to spend ten years in jail or ten thousand dollars fine for, you know, not doing it? And then again, too, I mean, the

²¹ Gunny sack; large bag made of coarse material.

²² The 442nd Infantry Regiment, U.S. Army/World War II regiment; active 1944-1946; comprised of second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei).

thing is, uh, this country is worth fighting for, so—the majority of the people feel that way—so they’d go—go anyway, you know. Uh, the thing is that hurts so much is the little wars like Korea, the one we are having in South Vietnam²³ now, uh. But, uh, it’s like my dad said, “Darn it, if you’re not gonna fight for what you want, uh, well you’re not gonna keep it.” And I think that’s what is wrong with America today, uh, like Cuba.²⁴ Cuba is a prime example. We didn’t fight—we didn’t fight for it. And, uh, you’re going to have many more Cubas, uh, and we are just gonna be right in the corner. And, uh, I feel that there’s too much intellectualism and not enough uh—uh, telling these people where—where—I’m—I’m the father, and if you get out of line I’m going to spank you ‘cause that’s the only way you are gonna keep your family in line. And I figured Cuba, the Monroe Doctrine,²⁵ all this ties in, and I think we let down on that very much. And, uh, if you don’t wanna, uh, if you don’t wanna fight, uh, for what you do people—people have always had to fight and die for this country and they always will, as long as this country exists—if you wanna keep it. So, uh, that’s the way my dad felt, uh, even in those times, you know, uh, when the FBI’s coming around their house and stuff. Uh, if you want your freedom and you want things to keep the way they are, you just have to go and sock them in the nose, and if they get up again, sock them again, otherwise, uh, we ain’t gonna have it. But, uh, all in all, I mean, as a result of, uh, you know, during the Second War, uh, my parents were very proud to be in this country and live here.

JS: Did your parents lose any, uh, relatives in Germany during the war?

OB: Uh, I don’t know. Uh, I can’t really say that—they must have. I think my mother, uh, lost some brothers in the Russian war.²⁶ One—you know, on the Russian front there. And she might have lost some more on the other side,²⁷ but, uh, my father—I—I can’t really say, uh, ‘cause they never really talked too much, you know, about the relations over there. So, uh, I can’t really say. (pauses)

JS: Well, all the time that the FBI came around—approximately every six months—did they ever stipulate anything, one thing, they were looking for or say anything, or just come in?

OB: No, they never actually said what they were looking for. You’d just—would have to assume, you know, because that’s what they looked at. I mean they

²³ Conflict in Vietnam (1955-1975).

²⁴ Probable reference to the failed Bay of Pigs Invasion (1961) and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962).

²⁵ 1823 policy assertion by James Monroe (1758-1831), U.S. President (1817-1825), that the U.S. would view any European expansionism in the Americas as “unfriendly” toward the U.S.

²⁶ Eastern front of World War II (1941-1945).

²⁷ Western front of World War II (1939-1945).

- looked at – they went through the radios and, uh, you know, they just went underneath the house and into the attic, the closets, and stuff. So, I think, uh, mainly they were just looking for high-power radio equipment and stuff like that in that line, but that was about it. So, uh, you know, (pauses) like all things they'd come – they'd pass over – and you'd more or less forget about it, but there are certain scars that you – you just don't forget about, you know, no matter how long you live.
- JS: Well, at this time you mentioned before you had Japanese friends. Did they ever talk to you at all about – before they were interned – about the war?
- OB: Uh, no, uh, they never, never said anything about the war. The only thing is, uh, like when I told you, this is many years – well not many years – but about four years before the war, uh, 1937, '38, I was going to grammar school, and it was a mixed school – Japanese, Chinese, you know – you know, Mexicans, Negroes, and what don't you have it. And, I mean, you just had to watch what you said. When one of your Chinese friends come up and asks you how the Japanese-Chinese War²⁸ was going, (laughter/background) you know, naturally – oh, sure, if the Japanese boy come up to you, well, you just had to be diplomatic about it or you might get punched in the nose, you know. (JS laughs) Or somebody'd be waiting for you after school and, uh, so, you just had to watch what you said. That was about it.
- JS: Well, the – the neighbors around where you lived, did they ever, uh, say anything to you about it or –
- OB: No. We had very good neighbors. Like I said, well, when we told our neighbors, most of them, you know, well, they were very shocked about it, and one lady even said, "Good thing it wasn't my husband," she says, "because he would have gotten a shotgun." (both laugh) Good thing nobody went after him. But what can you do, you know, so, you just live with it – you live with it. Like I said, though, we were lucky because, you know, we still got to stay at our home and my dad got to keep his job. Whilst the Japanese people – they all got moved out, and I would imagine a lot of them had to give up their businesses and their property and things like this. And even at that time, uh – I don't know what the law was but – uh, I don't know if it's changed or not, but I think the Japanese or Orientals couldn't have any kind of citizenship whatsoever.²⁹ And I don't know about the offspring now, if the offspring of the Japanese children were born in this country – uh, I don't remember my civics this good, but I think that they,

²⁸ Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).

²⁹ OB's impression here is probably based on a series of U.S. laws, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Immigration Act of 1917 (a.k.a. "Literacy Act" or "Asiatic Barred Zone Act," which did, however, not exclude immigrants from Japan or the Philippines), and especially the Immigration Act of 1924 (which did exclude all immigrants from Asia, including Japan, but not the Philippines).

uh, can have their citizenship.³⁰ Now, that I can't say, but at that time I knew that—that—that an Oriental—I don't even think at that time they could even apply to obtain even citizenship papers in this country. And, uh, (pauses) so, uh, I guess that's why most of them, you know, got interned. And then they say, well, they found all kinds of things down in San Pedro at the time, which was close to the shipping industry, you know, and stuff like that.³¹ (pauses) But, uh, then, again, I think, uh, if, uh, the investigating powers were on the ball, uh, then they wouldn't have to worry about these things at all. I mean, they could have suppressed it before it even got started and, uh, not have had to move all these people out. Of course, then, again, maybe there's a reason for, uh, moving the Japanese people out. Maybe because, uh, they were easy to identify and, uh, probably there would have been a lot of race riots and stuff like this also. Which, in a way, uh, might have been a good thing. Uh, this is another thing that's hard to, uh, say, you know, because, uh, there might have, you know, been—may have been a lot of racial trouble at that time. Maybe, you know, whites getting mad and going into Japanese neighborhoods and starting trouble, or even the Japanese kids that would go to school and, uh, other kids would start—starting on them or something, you know. I mean, but, uh, Japanese boys are tough, and they take care of themselves and all that. But, uh, maybe it avoided a lot of, uh, bloodshed and killing, too, you know what, 'cause in a way, you know, they were easier to identify than me. I mean, I can walk out amongst the white people and, uh, unless someone didn't know me they—they would have to guess pretty hard whether I was German, Italian, Jewish, or French or what I was, you know. Uh, as where with the Japanese people, you know, they can be identified. Uh, so maybe it was a good thing, uh, who's to say? Uh, the way I felt at the time, I felt, it was a bitter thing because, uh, it's just like ripping a living tree with its roots right out of the ground and throwing it to the side, you know, to more or less die. And I thought this is very cruel and, uh, a very harsh thing to do.

JS: Did you ever have any confrontations with the teachers in school? At all?

[00:40:04]

OB: No. No. Uh, none whatsoever. Uh, we never—well, of course—I never mentioned anything, you know, because then, again, there was the fear, and

³⁰ Pursuant to the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) as interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court case *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898), 169 U.S. 649, citizenship is acquired by virtue of birth in the U.S. or a U.S. territory, or if one or both parents are (or were) U.S. citizens.

³¹ Terminal Island (San Pedro, California); before World War II inhabited by ca. 3,500 first- and second-generation Japanese Americans; its inhabitants were interned in 1942 and the neighborhood was destroyed; one of the absurd rumors was that San Pedro was a Japanese spy colony.

if you said anything or you started pot-boiling³² or something, you know, you're just gonna get put away somewhere. So, you didn't say anything to the teachers or anybody, you know, about anything. Of course, there's pro – pro – probably – some people, like there always is, saying, "Oh, it's a good thing," you know. "Bravo, the FBI's on the ball, and they should be doing this to Germans or Japanese or what have you," you know. 'Cause there's always those kinds of people that, uh, I guess – to me – that don't understand, you know. So, uh, in school, I mean, you never mentioned it, uh, or said anything about it, uh – it was always something you kept inside of ya and, uh, you never said to anybody.

JS: Did you or your father or any member of your family ever have any trouble with curfew – that they imposed?

OB: No, not really. Uh, I mean, uh, who'd be around to enforce it? Uh, of course the only thing is that, I guess, this was a lack of discipline or maybe they didn't – just didn't care. They just said it to scare you, but I think if they enforced it they could have called you up every night at nine o'clock or send somebody around, you know, or maybe send somebody around once a week. But, uh, I don't know. I guess my sister told me, one time she – they were walking down the street and she was worried or started crying that the officer was going to put them in jail because it was close to curfew, and they were still walking out in the street and things. But, uh, you know, I mean, regardless of whether they enforce a curfew or not, it's just to tell you something like that, uh, when you're supposed to be a free man in this country, uh, you know it (laughs) – it just gets you to the bone. Uh, it shakes you up because, uh, you're born in this country, your dad's a citizen, and all of a sudden, you know, someone's around telling you, well, "You can't go out after nine o'clock," because, you know – and, uh – but, uh, it's just the idea of saying it that hurts you more than anything, you know. And, uh – but they never, uh, checked on it that I know of, you know – made sure that you were in by nine o'clock or ten o'clock. I suppose though – while this is all supposition, uh – if I would have got picked up or gotten in trouble, you know, after nine o'clock and got hauled in a juvenile hall³³ or something like that there might have been some trouble about it. But, um, like I said, you were very careful of what you did and what you said. So – and there was, uh, no trouble in the end.

JS: During this time, you've mentioned before, your mother was sick. Uh, how did she feel though? I mean, although she wasn't a citizen, uh, besides, you know – you've talked a lot how your father felt. Did your mother ever express anything how she felt?

³² Keep something going.

³³ Detention facility/prison for underage delinquents.

OB: Uh, no. Uh, uh, I can't—I can't say that either my father or my mother really—really expressed to me as to how they really felt about it. Uh, I mean I could see them crying, I—I could sense the fear, uh, and stuff like this. But, uh, they never really expressed how they really felt. Uh, some things what—uh, the thing that oppressed me the most or what I felt the most was, uh, all this propaganda—it must have been the same with the Japanese people, that Japanese people are bad, and they are like mad dogs, and Germans are mad dogs, and all this, you know. And this hurt them very much because they felt that Germans were good people, and they loved children, and they loved the outdoors and flowers, and they didn't enjoy going around and killing people, uh, like the papers and all these propaganda items would make out to be, you know, like, uh, all the German people are monsters and, uh, all this stuff, uh, this—this hurt them very, very much, this—this was the only—this was one of the main things that I was impressed with that, whenever somebody would say that, uh, you know, German people are mad or crazy or they're mean, uh, they kill little kids for the joy of it and stuff like this, uh, uh, that—that really made them, uh—that really hurt. And, uh, I guess it brought up a little anger within them, you know, 'cause this really shook them up, and I would imagine, uh, that it did also with the Japanese people because, uh, I mean, let's face it, regardless of what you are or what you look like, uh, the masses of people are about the same! They wanna love, get married, raise kids, and, uh, yeah, you know, have a good place to live and, uh, not—have good meals, and that's it. They don't want to go around looking for trouble or looking for wars and things like this. But, uh, like I said, that's, uh—to me, I could feel that the most. That's what really got to me, you know. But I guess when you're at war with somebody, uh, all this propaganda helps. I don't know. But, uh, I thank God my parents always raised me to tell the truth and, uh, it's always paid off. 'cause I found out, uh, even if you get in trouble, I mean, I've never been in any real serious trouble or anything, but even with little, minor things, uh, and not—not only my father, uh, but I've heard my neighbor's father tell this to his son, too, he says, "Son," he says, "as long as you tell the truth," he says, "I'll help you with everything I have but," he said, "if you lie to me," he says, "so help you, you're going to get everything that's coming to you." And, uh, that's the way I was raised, and that's the way my neighbor, you know, boys were raised. So, uh, I don't know, I think the truth is always the best policy and I think, uh, the news media and some of these, uh, uh, communication agencies, I think the government ought to step on their toes a little more for—the exaggerations that, uh, they're allowed to print and things like this, I mean. Even today, I mean, uh, you know, if you have to sell newspapers—sensationalism, you know, regardless of how—how, uh, emotionally you can stir the people and build this fear into them through, uh, papers or headlines, you know, and

- things like this. Uh, like today, every time, uh, something happens: “Oh, we’re close to war with Russia,” and all this, and “You don’t know how close we came to war with Russia,” and all this, and people get just, you know – it just stirs a terrible fear with people and gets them scared and, uh, uh – I don’t think it’s a very good thing to do.
- JS: Did your father ever have any trouble working for the, uh, Los Angeles Athletic Club?
- OB: Well, uh, I can’t say that either because I didn’t work, you know, with him there at that time. And, uh, I don’t, uh, I don’t really know, because, uh, he never said anything, and there was nothing, uh, you know, ever said. So, uh, I don’t really know.
- JS: As the war went on in Germany and towards the end, whenever the United States soldiers found, you know, the concentration camps and the brutality within them, uh, did it make things any – did it make things worse for you, for your mother and father? I mean, as far as they felt and you yourself?
- OB: Uh, no – uh, no – it didn’t have any – uh, this was five years later and, uh, all these things had cooled down a bit, and I think people were too busy and preoccupied with the end of the war, getting back to normal and seeing things like this and, uh, at that time, uh, it didn’t really make, uh, any difference one way or the other as far as our – our family lives were concerned at all. Uh, there was just more news and, uh, was terrible things to read about – shocking – and, uh, that was about it. (pauses)
- JS: How did your family feel whenever the war was over though?
- OB: Well, uh, they were very happy and very grateful like anybody else. And, uh, they were probably thankful to God that, uh, it was over, and they were probably as prayerful and hopeful as the masses of other people that there wouldn’t be any more wars. You know, this was supposed to be “the war to end all wars”³⁴ and, uh, I think they – they were very much in that line of attitude at that time to, uh, you know, get back to normalcy and, uh, let’s set something up so there’ll be no more wars, so you won’t have to send your boys out to be killed, you know, and things like that – that was about the feeling at that time.
- [00:50:16]
- JS: Uh, at the beginning you mentioned that your, uh, parents sent something like care packages over to Germany after the war was over. How did they find out if any – or if they had any relatives were alive yet?
- OB: Well, uh –
- JS: Yeah
- OB: – that I can’t tell (JS coughs) – I really don’t know, uh, maybe they kept my dad’s address, and after the war they started writing or, uh, I don’t know if

³⁴ An epithet for World War I (not World War II).

they got in contact with my sister, um – not my sister but my father’s sister, you know. And, uh, uh, I really – that I really don’t know – uh, how they got, whether they got, uh, the letters – whether my dad’s sister got the letters from home, or if my dad got them from home. Uh, I really don’t know.

JS: Did your mother ever become a citizen?

OB: Oh, yeah, she got her, uh, her citizenship, uh, right after the war she had to go, uh, down to, uh, night school and, uh: Shoot, I forget what the name of the school was; it was down on Temple and Hill Street, right where Bunker Hill is.³⁵ Uh, we used to have a name for that school because that’s where they sent all the bad guys, you know. The guys who were smoking in school, (both laugh) stuff like this and, uh, I forgot the name of it. But, uh, she had to go down there, I think, three times a week – I don’t know how long – you know, study civics, and in five years she got her citizenship paper, and she’s very happy about it. But, uh, I think it was easier, it was easier then to get her citizenship paper than it was before the war when she was in Wisconsin because, I think, you had to get first papers, second papers, and third papers, you know.³⁶

JS: Well, did she try back in Wisconsin?

OB: Oh, yeah! She had her, uh, she had her second papers even when we were out here but, uh, she had, uh – she had to get her third paper or something like this, and she couldn’t make it because she was sick, you know. She couldn’t go so she, uh – she never quite got it but, uh, she was halfway there even before we, you know – before the war started. But, uh, she got sick and then they had to cancel it out so, uh, she didn’t get them at that time. So, after the war, uh, she went down and got them. Well, that was – that was one of the main, uh, reasons that, uh, she went after it so, uh, vigorously, because, uh, she didn’t want, you know, this thing to happen again. See, now, I mean, I’m not saying that, uh, you know, I’m not saying she would never have done it, because she did – she did try to get it before it happened and, uh, she probably would have gotten it afterwards, too. I mean, maybe not – she wouldn’t have went after it as fast as she did. But I think eventually she would have had her citizenship papers, but I think this – this, uh, well, this event that occurred to us, uh, so, right after the

³⁵ Intersection (downtown, Los Angeles, California). The north corner of this intersection was heavily developed in the 1990s to make room for the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels. The other corners feature L.A. County administration and records buildings (e.g., L.A. County Probation Office).

³⁶ The naturalization process for immigrants to become citizens takes several years and usually requires a minimum five-year residency. Historically, the “first papers” were the “declaration of intention,” filed after two years of residency (in use until 1952); the “second papers” or “petition for naturalization” were filed after another three years of residency; and the “third papers” are the “certificate of citizenship.”

war – soon as she could – she went and got it right away so there would be no repeat – or we, how would you say it? I guess, like an insurance policy. What you would say that – so this wouldn't happen again, see. But who's to say? I mean, what can you do? Uh, you can't go out and hire a lawyer. Who's got the money to fight the courts? They say, well, "You've got public defenders," and all this, but who's got the time? You gotta work, you gotta support a family, you can't take this time off and fight it through the courts. You gotta pay bills and things like this. I mean, uh, maybe the rich man, uh, he can do it, you know, or the poor man's got nothing to lose anyway – maybe he can afford the time to fight these things but, uh, a working man, he just – he just can't do it, no matter which way you look at it as far as I'm concerned. But, uh, that's, uh – that's one of the things she did right after and, uh, she got it right after the war ended, uh, so that was that. (helicopter noise/background)

JS: How did you feel when – right before you were drafted, before you went to Korea – about serving in the United States Army, after all these events that had just taken place a few years before then?

OB: Well, uh, (pauses) I can't really say that that had any effect on it. I mean, I felt the same as anybody else, uh, being drafted at that time. "Uh, why me?" You know, that's the way I felt, uh, because, uh, by that time all this is behind me, John. I mean, there still, uh, you know – uh, I don't know, there's still a bitterness inside of me about it a – and stuff like that. But, uh, by that time it – it had more or less went way back into my mind and I – I just felt like anybody else. Uh, sometimes now – at that time, you know, you feel lower than, uh – than low. You say "Why me?" "Why me?" Uh, Joe Blow's³⁷ running around here having a good old time. And, uh, "Why did I get called?" "And why me?" You know? And, uh, here I was in college. I was still just starting to find myself, you know, and starting to make good grades and had finally found an objective to go for, you know, and then I got drafted. Well, uh, like I said, at that time, you're just feeling terrible. "Why me?" Well, why didn't I join the Air Force for four years ago (both laugh) or the Navy? You know. At least I'd have a dry bed and good chow and stuff, you know, wouldn't be so close to the flying bullets most of the time anyway, you know. But, uh, by that time it, uh, you know, it's, uh – it's more or less, uh, passed over. 'Course now, uh, it's been, what, fifteen years since that – Korea for me and, uh, I think maybe it's a good thing I did get drafted, you know, uh, because, uh, well, by the time I was drafted, well, my two years, uh – (coughs) excuse me (coughs again) – a lot of things had happened. And, uh, like my father died and, uh, so when I come back I had to go to work. My mother was sick, my sister was still in high school, uh, I tried to get out and, you know, on hardship discharge,

³⁷ An average or ordinary person.

- twice, was turned down. So, when I got out I didn't wanna go back in the kitchen, so I just decided I'd get a job and go to work, see how far I could get. And I've done pretty good. So, maybe it was a good thing. I might have just wasted my time, you know, trying to get through college. 'Cause, like I said, too, if you want to go to college you have to have a good burning desire, and if you don't have this desire, don't go. Go, get a job and work until you find something that's giving you a burning desire to, you know, be something or be this or be that. Then you're gonna make it. But if you're just going to college to more or less try to find yourself, it's pretty rough.
- JS: Did your father ever mention, after the war was over, any of the events that took place? I mean, how he felt, you know, like a father-son talk or something like that?
- OB: Uh, no. Uh, we never had anything s—like that come up. Uh, the only thing is that, uh, he was just as glad as anybody else that it was all over with, you know, and that was it. But, uh, there was no discussions—serious discussions about the aftermath of it or after it was all over. (pauses)
- JS: Did your, uh, mother, uh—could you—when did she get her citizenship papers? Do you remember?
- OB: Um, (sighs) well, I don't know—must have been around—the war was over, what, forty-five? She might have got them in forty-six or forty-seven, somewhere around there, you know, but I—I don't know exactly when. (pauses)
- JS: Well, I want to thank you very much for your time—
- OB: Okay.
- JS: —and, uh, I think that'll about do it for right now.
- OB: Well, I hope that, uh, I hope it helps you a little bit in some way. (laughs)
- JS: I think it will.
- OB: You get something out of it, uh, so that's—that's about all I can say, John, you know, I, uh, but it's like I said, uh, just one last thing, that's—I feel the same way my dad does, uh, that, uh, to me, any part of the United States is home. And I think, um, most people don't realize that until you get drafted, you get sent overseas, you spend two, four, five years overseas, and, uh, you come back for that first time, and I think there is very few soldiers that when they come back don't have a lump or a tear in their eye because they're home—United States—you know. And, uh, when I came through the Golden Gate Bridge there, uh, coming home, uh, I was crying, and I said, "Boy, I'm home at last. Never thought I'd see it again," you know. And, uh, it's—it's like, uh, many guys say, "It's so good to be home again," you know, and it—it sure is. Uh, it's, uh, it's a great country, and it's worth fighting for, uh, regardless of, you know, what, uh, you may have to suffer or go through at times, but, uh, I think if you take anything or everything in the—in a proper spirit or something, uh—uh, you can—you can make it, you know. So, uh, that's about it.

[01:01:10]

JS: Okay, thank you very much.

OB: Uh huh.

[01:01:13]

END OF INTERVIEW

Reviews (Books)

Alexievich, Svetlana.

Last Witnesses: An Oral History of the Children of World War II.

New York: Random House, 2019. 320 pages. ISBN: 9780399588754.

“June 1941 ... I remember it. I was very little, but I remember everything.” (3) The book’s opening line is a perfect summary of the entire work. *Last Witnesses: An Oral History of the Children of World War II* is an account of young children who had firsthand experiences during World War II. These oral histories collected by Svetlana Alexievich come from children who were four to fourteen years old at the time, with one account from a child who was two and one from a child who was three. For some children, it is nearly impossible to tell where they lived during the war because their account provides no specific regions or places to help situate their account. Other children mention where they grew up and lived, which tells us from which theater of war they came. The most frequently mentioned city is Minsk, which would situate those children in the heart of Operation Barbarossa, the Germans’ push into the Soviet Union. The author (or, rather, editor) of *Last Witnesses*, Svetlana Alexievich, has spent much her life in the Soviet Union and Belarus, but was eventually exiled to western Europe. Alexievich is an investigative journalist, an essayist, and an oral historian. She worked at numerous newspapers before earning her degree from the Belarusian State University. Through her work as a journalist, Alexievich developed a nonfiction genre that uses oral history to bring to life specific moments in history. She has covered the Chernobyl nuclear accident (1986), the fall of the Soviet Union (1991), and the War in Afghanistan (2001-present). Her outstanding writing abilities earned her the 2015 Nobel Prize in Literature, and she is the first writer from Belarus to ever win this prestigious award.

Last Witnesses is not at all what one would expect after reading the publisher’s description. It is not a work that uses oral histories to document a historical narrative; rather, it presents the oral histories of around one hundred people who were children during World War II to show a different side of the war. Alexievich lets these interviews stand on their own, as a quasi-supplement to the history of the war. Instead of chapters with common themes, readers encounter one hundred stories, organized by the names of the individuals who provided their oral histories and labeled by pertinent quotes from these oral histories. Alexievich provides the age of the children at the time they had their experiences in World War II, as well as their occupations at the time they were being interviewed. Some oral histories are only a page or two long, while others extend over multiple pages.

There are three central themes that these oral histories bring to light: the theme of pure anguish and horror due to bombings and the like; the theme of fantasy and mystery used by these children to cope with reality; and the theme of

hope that, no matter what they went through, it could have always been worse. The book's overarching topic is the horror and devastation that these children had to go through. They recount stories of starvation, bombings, murders, and abandonment as if these were nothing more than everyday occurrences. Readers can feel how much pain it caused these children to have to live with insufficient nourishment. Being under the constant threat of warfare was a daily reality some of these children had to face. Some children even recount having to watch their parents and other relatives being shot dead in front of them. One child tells the story of how he became numb enough from the war to kill a German. He describes how he watched his grandfather be shot, then later his grandmother, and how he watched his mother be beat in the head to the point that she was bleeding through her hair. To him, it was just a part of the war, and it did not bother him at the time, but later it began to haunt him in his dreams. (278)

It is sobering and fascinating to learn how some children's inability to cope with reality led them to alternative ways to deal with their wartime experiences. Because of the innocence of their minds, they turned to things that they knew, such as fairy tales and fantasy. Polia Pashkevich recounts her experience with the war as a four-year-old. (141-143) She pictured the war as taking place in a big black forest because that is where bad things happen in fairy tales. Children discuss the sense of abandonment they felt when their parents died or left them at orphanages where parents believed their children would have better chances of survival. One element that is really touching through the horror stories is the fact that these young children faced interrogation to get information on their parents or for their own actions. One child recounts the tale of being interrogated for collecting weapons from a field, when he was merely trying to provide for his family by collecting the last of the frozen potatoes. (121-122) Another child recounts the fear that she felt knowing that that Soviets were closing in on their location, that they would capture and interrogate her, and that she would not have the strength to survive the interrogation. (290)

Yet, in all the horror stories that these children tell, there are nonetheless some that recognize beauty in the midst of war. One girl tells the story of turning to books that had pretty pictures as a way to pass time and distract herself from what was happening around her. (151) There is one account that is particularly striking in this respect. Katya Korotaeva recounts her experience with the war and surviving the Minsk bombing. (10-13) After the bombings, she still noticed how beautiful and bountiful the lilacs and bird-cherry blooms were that year. Something that is especially noteworthy about the oral histories collected in *Last Witnesses* is the vivid nature of the stories that these people were able to recount from their childhood. There are those who are able to remember the smells or scents of a particular moment. There are those who remember harnessing up a cow to go and bring their mother's body home because they did not have a horse. (185) There are those who are able to remember almost every detail about a specific event. For some, remembering every little detail is a way to help them

deal with the events, while others find themselves trapped in the little details of the stories they are telling.

That Alexievich provides the occupations of the narrators at the time they were being interviewed is an interesting editorial decision. It shows that not only did these people experience something horrible when they were little, but they were able to put these situations behind them and make a life for themselves. They did not let these bad situations define them, but, instead, chose to thrive and move on with their lives. *Last Witnesses* would have benefitted from Alexievich addressing the methodology behind her book. There is no preface or introduction that explains the way the book is constructed. However, many readers will want to know how she found her subjects, how she approached them, how she dealt with drafting her questions, how she addressed the aged memory of these individuals, and how she processed her interviews after they had been conducted. Every person has a different approach, so Alexievich acknowledging the method behind her process would have strengthened her book. *Last Witnesses* also could have used an introduction that would have addressed the themes that these children are recounting in order to place their stories into a larger historical context. That said, the way in which Alexievich allows these stories to stand on their own shows just how impactful they truly are. There is no need for much historical grounding to have these stories resonate deeply with their readers. These stories are so powerful that they deserve to be brought to life in a way that enhances their true meaning. These are not just stories to help substantiate the historical record, rather, they are stories that shape the historical record. Alexievich does use footnotes, but these primarily serve to provide clarification rather than citing sources.

It does need to be said that this book deals with deeply personal and sometimes disturbing subject matters as these children recount their stories, and the fact that these stories come from the memories of children makes this subject matter even more intense. While adults experienced just as much and, in some cases, more during World War II, to hear how such young and innocent children were so dramatically affected is extremely depressing. These were innocent lives that did not deserve to have to go through what they had to go through. Reading the accounts of the two-year-old and the three-year-old, as well as those of the four-year-olds, is especially harrowing. That these people were able to remember things that happened to them at such a young age really shows how dramatic an impact these events made in their lives. *Last Witnesses* is highly recommended to all those who can handle reading about difficult and sometimes deeply disturbing situations. The book is expertly translated and paints a picture through the lens of innocent eyes and ears about what life was truly like for children during World War II. Historians reading this book will find their knowledge of the wartime experience profoundly enhanced. If one is interested in more books on the oral histories of World War II, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War II* by Studs Terkel is an excellent place to turn to. It uses the

oral histories of a variety of individuals to bring to life other perspectives of World War II just like *Last Witnesses* does.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Sierra Rey Sampson of West Covina, California, earned her B.A. in History (2017) and her M.A. in History (2020) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She served as an editor for Volume 46 (2019) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."

Biggs, Thomas, and Jessica Blum, eds.
The Epic Journey in Greek and Roman Literature.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 336 pages. ISBN: 9781108498098.

"Speak, Memory / Of the cunning hero, / The wanderer, blown off course time and again / After he plundered Troy's sacred heights." (Homer, *Odyssey*) Homer's *Odyssey* laid the foundations for epic journeys, harkening back to an age of heroes, allowing readers to traverse real and imaginary worlds. These epic journeys were an integral part of classical literature. On closer evaluation, common themes can be found throughout these works, like the concepts of home, the role of gender and identity, and the limits of time and space. *The Epic Journey in Greek and Roman Literature*, edited by Thomas Biggs and Jessica Blum, contains a series of essays which are the result of a yearlong colloquium, "Home and Away: The Epic Journey," held at Yale University in 2014. These essays attempt to reimagine the epic journey from various genres and historical contexts, forming a cohesive collection in the process.

Thomas Biggs, an associate professor of Classics at the University of Georgia, and Jessica Blum, an associate professor of Classical Studies at the University of San Francisco, divided this collection into four parts. Each part corresponds to a theme covered by the contributing scholars who analyze the works of ancient writers such as Homer, Virgil, Lucian, Apollonius of Rhodes, Heliodorus, and Valerius Flaccus. Part I focuses on Homer's *Odyssey*, looking at the themes of *nostos* (homecoming) and *pompē* (conveyance) that are prevalent in the work. Part II develops the idea of home and its relationship to the heroes of ancient Greece. Part III establishes the role the epic journey plays in the construction of national identity. And Part IV examines the role of space in the cosmic scheme which helped writers define distance in the Roman Empire.

Part I begins with the journey of Odysseus and his homeward voyage to Ithaca. Its three essays focus on the concept of homecoming, *nostos*, and how the journey, as a process, helped to shape the heroes and the world around them. The first essay, "In and Out of the Golden Age: A Hesiodic Reading of the *Odyssey*," written by Egbert Bakker, a Dutch classical scholar and professor at Yale University, applies literary analysis to Homer's *Odyssey* and Hesiod's *Works and Days*, as well as archaeological and paleo-botanical data. Bakker masterfully interprets Odysseus's journey home as he travels through the transitional stages of man, beginning with the Golden Age in Troy and ending in the Iron Age as he

makes landfall near his home on Ithaca. The second essay, “*Pompē* in the *Odyssey*” by Alexander C. Loney, a scholar of Greek literature, focuses on the modes of conveyance used by Odysseus on his journey home. In analyzing Homer’s *Odyssey* and the works of Homeric scholars, Loney interprets *pompē* (conveyance) as being neither an active nor a passive mode, but highly reliant on cooperation, trust, and promise-keeping. (31) Jessica Blum’s essay, “‘What Country, Friends, is This?’ Geography and Exemplary in Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*,” is the final essay in Part I of this collection. The essay’s title is deceptive, though, as Blum analyzes the *Argonautica* as a martial epic based on the Homeric ideal of *nostos* and Roman *virtus* (virtue). According to Blum, the *Argonautica* is a tale in which the heroes can never achieve their sought-after *nostos*, as they traverse the ever-changing landscape that eventually destabilizes their chosen *exempla*.

Part II attempts to answer the question how gender impacts the perception of the journey and the meaning of home and away. Classicist Silvia Montiglio’s essay, “Wandering, Love, and Home in Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica* and Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*” follows the tales of Jason and Chariclea, and discusses the meaning of home and love in terms of belonging and homelessness. (91) Montiglio contrasts Jason’s journey experience with that of Medea, who severed ties with her home and accompanied a man who could never give her that feeling of belonging that she longed for. Medea embodies the tragic heroine who finds herself without a home to return to. This feeling of homelessness is not shared by Chariclea in Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*, who can be seen as the exemplary woman of Greek literature for successfully completing an epic journey. Montiglio sees Chariclea’s journey as a reflection of a major shift in gender roles, as women found themselves able to travel more freely in the real world. (107) Classics professor Emily Baragwanath’s essay, “Heroes and Homemakers in Xenophon,” examines Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, a work that chronicles the author’s journey from Asia Minor and his return home. (108) When compared to Homer’s *Odyssey*, Xenophon appears to concern himself with memory and the attainment of *kleos* (glory/renown). However, Baragwanath takes a different approach and analyzes the work as a “tale of achieving *nostos*” since Xenophon attempts to secure the survival and salvation of his men by establishing relationships, forging unity and harmony, and creating a sense of home despite being on a journey. (111) In order to understand Xenophon’s view of home, Baragwanath conceptualizes home as more symbolic than physical, namely, as something tied to the relationships, identities, and values that Xenophon and his men hold on to. In this view, women play a key role in the survival of men, acting as conduits of power, which is similar to the function of Homer’s Penelope. The third and final essay in Part II, “Women’s Travels in the *Aeneid*,” comes from Alison Keith, a professor of Classics at the University of Toronto. Using literary analysis, Keith attempts to compare the male hero and the female hero in terms of their mobility in the epic genre. She focuses on the travel experiences of Dido, Andromache, and the

Trojan women in the *Aeneid*. Beginning with Dido, Keith compares her journey to that of Aeneas, whose journey was necessitated by Dido's attempts to escape from her tyrannical brother Pygmalion. The fall of Troy led many women into slavery, often experiencing violence and sexual exploitation. Andromache echoes this sentiment, offering a look at the sexual violence that many displaced women had to face. (139) In contrast, the surviving Trojan women represented unenthusiastic travelers whose main duty throughout was to bear public witness to the destruction of their city of Troy. (140) Keith believes that the *Aeneid* had the potential to fully allow women to participate in the epic tale, but that it falls short of such expectations and helps to perpetuate the genre's male-centeredness.

Part III sees the epic journey as a catalyst for the creation of national identity as the scholars attempt to define Rome's place in the wider world. "Epic Journeys on an Urban Scale: Movement and Travel in Vergil's *Aeneid*," an essay by Timothy M. O'Sullivan, professor of Classical Studies at Trinity University, establishes that Vergil saw the symbolism behind the acts of movement in his work. O'Sullivan explores the idea that movement in the *Aeneid* is a physical representation "of the tension between destructive and constructive forces." (152) He believes that this dichotomy between order and chaos, destruction and restoration, is a metaphor for the transformation that Rome was experiencing under Augustus. Thomas Biggs's essay, "Roman and Carthaginian Journeys: Punic *Pietas* in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* and Plautus' *Poenulus*," shows how Aeneas's *pietas* was influenced by early literary works of the Roman Republic. Biggs chronicles the evolution of the definition of *pietas* as readers understand it in Vergil's *Aeneid*. The concept of *pietas* was embodied by protagonists Dido, whose journey and death transformed her into a martyr-like character, and Hanno in Plautus's *Poenulus*, whose fatherly devotion was seen in his search for his daughter. "Defining Home, Defining Rome: Germanicus' Eastern Tour," an essay by Cynthia Damon and Elizabeth Palazzolo, both professors of Classics, follows the itinerary of Germanicus as told in Tacitus's *Annals*. Using epigraphic and numismatic evidence from Greece and Asia Minor, Damon and Palazzolo piece together Germanicus's eastward journey and fill in the gaps found in Tacitus's work. They recreate Germanicus's journey to the far reaches of the Roman Empire, discovering along the way that it was full of reminders of home, a home to which he could not return. The final essay in Part III comes from Classicist Andrew C. Johnston, "Odyssean Wanderings and Greek Responses to Roman Empire," and returns to Homer's *Odyssey* and its legacy in the Roman Empire. Johnston uses the works of Greek intellectuals such as Dio of Prusa, Aelius Aristides, Lucian of Samosata, and the Emperor Julian to elaborate on the themes of time, space, and power in the Roman world's perception of Odysseus.

Part IV takes readers to the limits of time and space. Through literary analysis, assistant professor of Classics Martin Devecka's essay, "From Rome to the Moon: Rutilius Namatianus and the Late Antique Game of Knowledge," studies Rutilius Namatianus's poem *De reditu suo*. This work, which Devecka

believes should be considered a “classical travel poem,” takes readers on a journey from Rome to the moon, alluding to Rutilius’s study of the tides as an integral part of his travels. (244) The last essay comes from ancient historian Karen ní Mheallaigh, “Looking Back in Wonder: Contemplating Home from the *Illiad* to *Pale Blue Dot*.” Mheallaigh analyzes Lucian’s *Icaromenippus* which allows her to construct the motif of *gaiaskopia* as readers follow Menippus’s journey to the moon and gain a different perspective of Earth. Studying ancient sources and modern photos of the Earth from space influences the way our planet is viewed from afar and allows readers to change their concept of home. (264)

There are scholarly works that have already tackled the epic journey, such as Don Nardo’s *Quests and Journeys: Discovering Mythology* (2001) and Richard Jenkyns’s *Classical Literature: An Epic Journey from Homer to Virgil and Beyond* (2015). Although these volumes are great introductions to the epic journey, they leave readers wanting more. Biggs’s and Blum’s collection, *The Epic Journey in Greek and Roman Literature*, fills that void and is highly recommended reading.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Clarisse Anne Delima of Long Beach, California, earned her B.S.N. at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB) (2008), where she graduated “cum laude.” She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, working on comprehensive examinations on the Crusades and Ancient Greek warfare. She is working as a school nurse in the Los Angeles Unified School District.

Blight, David W.

Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom.

New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018. 912 pages. ISBN: 9781416590316.

Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) wrote some of the most revered autobiographical works in the American literary canon. His first, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), remains a staple of the American history curriculum, both domestically and abroad. Yale Historian David W. Blight suggests the story of the escaped slave has universal appeal “for all who wish to escape outward or inward captivity.” (xix) Douglass’s works play a wide range of roles in American public life, from primary sources illustrative of America’s brutal slave-driven past to instructive materials in rhetorical composition. Given the enduring power of Douglass’s own words, one may question the value of an outsider’s perspective on the slave-turned-statesman. Blight seems to validate this question at least in some sections of his ambitious biography, *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*, namely, whenever he merely provides context for Douglass’s words to speak for themselves. Like other great writers, however, Douglass crafted a public persona with his many words. It is the development of Douglass, the fallible human behind the mighty works, that is the focus of Blight’s new volume.

While there has been a myriad of academic works on specific aspects of Douglass’s life, there have been relatively few full biographies. Benjamin Quarles’s 1948 work *Frederick Douglass* was long considered the most

comprehensive. Dickson Preston's *Young Frederick Douglass* (1980) and Leigh Fought's *Women in the World of Frederick* (2007) provided new information about certain aspects of Douglass's life. According to Blight, a longtime editor of Douglass's works, the immediate impetus for his new book was his encounter with a private collection of Douglass material owned by Walter O. Evans of Savannah, Georgia. This material revealed previously unknown facts about the final third of Douglass's life. (xvi) The Douglass who advised presidents, served as ambassador, and defended the post-Civil War Amendments of the United States Constitution is indeed less remembered than the earlier Douglass, the largely self-taught slave who resisted the blows of the slave breaker and escaped to freedom. In this volume, Blight sheds light on this controversial but essential later period in Douglass's life.

That said, *Frederick Douglass, Prophet of Freedom* is an examination of the whole of Douglass's life through different lenses. In his introduction, Blight presents several themes. The first is a study of the development of Douglass's "voice," his prodigious facility with language that served as his greatest weapon against slavery. The second is a critical analysis of Douglass's own autobiographies. Blight, who helped pioneer the study of American historical memory in his 2001 monograph, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, argues here that to remember is also to invent. (xvii) He asserts that Douglass used his mastery of language to invent his public persona. What Douglass chose not to include is as important as what he chose to include. For example, Douglass neglected to write much about his personal life, the discussion of which is a third theme of the book. He married twice, first a free-born black woman, Anna Murray, and later, in the final decade of his life, a younger white woman, Helen Pitts. A fourth theme, which incidentally provides the title of the book, is Douglass's role as a prophet in the fiery tradition of Old Testament prophets. It seeks to examine how Douglass applied the harsh rhetoric of the King James Bible to the contemporary context of American slavery, and doing the same with biblical imagery of redemption following the Civil War. A fifth theme is Douglass's transition from a radical outsider in the 1840s and 1850s to a powerful political insider from the 1860s onward. Blight examines how Douglass found a balance of strongly criticizing the institutions of the United States while eventually working within the system. Finally, Blight examines the development of Douglass as an intellectual whose political philosophy evolved with the changing circumstances of African Americans in the United States. (xvii-xx)

The themes are as penetrating as the story is captivating. Given the focus on new materials, only the book's first 80 pages or so recount the material that comprises Douglass's *Narrative of the Life* and *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Douglass was born Frederick Bailey in Maryland in February of 1818 to Harriet Baily, a slave of Aaron Anthony who oversaw the Wye Plantation of Edward Lloyd. At the age of six, he was permanently separated from his mother and grandmother when he was moved to the Wye Plantation, an experience he

described as one of brutal contradictions. There he witnessed the first of many acts of physical violence against slave women that would haunt his memory. He personally avoided the worst of slavery, as he was moved to Baltimore at the age of eight to serve as a childhood companion and attendant of the young Tommy Auld, one of Aaron Anthony's relatives. There his literary impulses were awakened by Sophia Auld, his master's wife, who provided him with his first reading lessons. This benevolent treatment was quickly suppressed, but the fire had been ignited: the young Douglass continued to develop his literacy with whatever resources were available to him. The first book he purchased, a textbook on rhetoric called *The Columbian Orator*, had an early influence on his public voice, which he further cultivated by holding Sunday School classes for fellow slaves. Despite these advantages, the weight of bondage pressed upon his psyche. His defiant spirit prompted his master, Thomas Auld, to rent him out to the brutal slave-breaker Edward Covey. Covey's abuse caused Douglass to physically resist this oppression in an experience he described as his assertion of equality. He failed in his first try to escape slavery before succeeding in his second attempt. (8-86)

Douglass then worked as a laborer in New Bedford, Massachusetts, for three years, and during this time he encountered William Lloyd Garrison's magazine *The Liberator* which familiarized him with the abolitionist movement. He spoke at an abolitionist convention attended by Garrison himself who adopted him as a protégé and recruited him to join the abolitionist speaking circuit. Douglass initially embraced the idealistic Garrisonian doctrine of disunionism and became a popular speaker, using his experience as a slave as his primary rhetorical device. This success prompted him to write his famous *Narrative of the Life*, the publication of which necessitated a trip to the British Isles to evade recapture. His celebrity grew, and soon after returning to the United States he became sufficiently confident to break off from Garrison and start his own newspaper, *The North Star*. During the 1850s, Douglass embraced a more active approach to abolitionism, engaging in the political debates he had previously spurned and covertly supporting the radical abolitionist John Brown.

From the onset of the Civil War, Douglass saw the conflict as an opportunity for a revolutionary overthrow of slavery while most Northern observers, in the early stages, were still calling for a limited conflict. He vehemently criticized the Lincoln administration for what he deemed to be inactivity before embracing its policy of abolition. Blight identifies Southern secession as the moment of political transformation for Douglass. Rather than as a purely evil entity, Douglass now identified the United States as a good republic that had been held captive by slave power. He vehemently dismissed popular schemes of colonization, professing a belief in racial equality and a "brotherhood of man." This transformation was completed with Lincoln's issuing of the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September of 1862. The newly nationalistic Douglass, who a decade earlier had decried the hypocrisy of Americans

celebrating liberty on the Fourth of July, now proclaimed “liberty and country first.” The struggle to build a new republic based on the principles of political equality would occupy the remainder of Douglass’s life. (355-384)

Blight argues that the voice of Frederick Douglass is relevant to twenty-first-century political debates. He points to Douglass’s 1860 editorial for the elimination of a poll tax in New York state as having a passage that would fit perfectly into “an early twenty-first-century American debate over voter suppression measures.” (325-326) Douglass’s prolific output makes it so that it is often best to let him speak for himself in political matters. An autumn 1862 exchange of open letters between Douglass and Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, an advocate of colonization, is an example of Blight simply allowing Douglass’s rhetorical brilliance to shine. In other passages, Blight is more critical of the polemicist, noting his tone deafness when calling Unionist sentiment feckless in the wake of enormous casualties at the 1862 Battle of Shiloh. (334-355)

While revering Douglass the abolitionist hero, Blight does not shy away from the human qualities of Douglass’s character. Through the writings of Richard Webb, one of Douglass’s Irish benefactors, Douglass is shown to have been excessively sensitive to real or imagined slights. (142-143) He was protective of his preeminence among abolitionists. Blight presents Douglass’s advocacy for merciless bloodshed upon the commencement of the secession crisis as an extension of his desire for personal vengeance on his former slaveholders. Blight also portrays Douglass’s relationship with his first wife Anna in a critical light, noting that Douglass probably had romantic relationships with two European women while he was married, namely, the British Julia Hull and the German Ollie Assing. (xix) These women served as emotional and intellectual companions to Douglass, presumably much to Anna’s dismay. Assing was openly hostile to her hostess, and Blight notes that Douglass “enabled the intruder.” (338-339) Non-academic readers may find Blight’s inclination to interpret Douglass’s actions, rather than simply present them, overbearing. In most cases, however, Blight demonstrates reasonable restraint.

Ever since Douglass’s death, his legacy has been appropriated by adherents of nearly every political opinion. (755-764) Blight points to Douglass’s adoption by the modern Republican Party as an example of his symbolic malleability. (xvi) While refraining from explicitly defining Douglass’s successors in contemporary politics, Blight concludes by offering a simple summation of Douglass’s thought: that through his voice he expressed a longing for freedom. Freedom, a word with limitless possibilities, remains the defining concept of the American ethos. This detailed examination of the concept through the complicated life of one of the country’s greatest figures should be of interest to any reader.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Timothy Joseph Mancillas of Whittier, California, earned his B.A. in History with an emphasis on the Americas and Africa at the University of California, Santa Cruz (2017). He is currently pursuing an M.A in history at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

Boyd, Andrew.

The Royal Navy in Eastern Waters: Linchpin of Victory 1935-1942.

Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2017. 496 pages. ISBN: 9781473892484.

In the years preceding World War II, the British Royal Navy reigned supreme as the world's most powerful naval force. It had a considerable array of ships at its disposal that outnumbered rival navies like the German Kriegsmarine or the Imperial Japanese Navy. The Royal Navy maintained a large number of ships, and its superiority after World War I as a strong navy was essential for the protection of the British Empire and other strategic interests. Among these interests were Britain's colonies in East Asia and the Pacific from India to Singapore. While the Battle of the Atlantic was crucial to the survival of Britain and a major success for the Royal Navy during World War II, Britain's efforts in Asia and the Pacific were also a priority for the Royal Navy. The latter is the main argument of naval historian Andrew Boyd's book *The Royal Navy in Eastern Waters: Linchpin of Victory 1935-1942*. Boyd is a senior research fellow at the University of Buckingham, England, specializing in twentieth-century naval history. His education at Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, and St. John's College, Oxford, combined with a career in the Royal Navy, has provided him with unique insight and skills to write about British naval history. In this monograph, Boyd examines the Royal Navy in detail with regard to its strength and its strategies for protecting the Empire, specifically against Japan in East Asia and the Pacific, supplementing the works of other British naval historians like David Hobbs's book, *The British Pacific Fleet: The Royal Navy's Most Powerful Strike Force* (2011). Boyd discusses the strategic agreements between Britain and the United States of America, as well as the Royal Navy's assessment of the Japanese Navy and the disastrous campaigns of the early years of the Pacific War. His book, while lengthy (496 pages), is effective in making the argument that World War II's Pacific theater was a great priority for the Royal Navy and crucial for victory over the Axis and for the preservation of the British Empire.

Any discussion of the Royal Navy's successes and failures must begin with an assessment of its actual strength, and in the case of Boyd's work this means the Royal Navy's ability to defend the British Empire in the Far East. This is done effectively in the book's eight chapters, separated into four different parts. These chapters and parts follow a chronological order from 1935 to 1942. The chapters cover the Royal Navy's preparations for war, the outbreak of war, and the priorities of the Royal Navy based on alliances and economic interest of the British Empire. They also discuss the challenges faced by the Royal Navy both before and during the war, and the string of events that led to disaster in the Pacific in the early months of fighting the Japanese Empire. What readers can expect to come away with is a better understanding of how a series of pre-war limitations, continuous shifts in wartime scenarios, and economic priorities led to near disaster against the Japanese. However, despite such limitations and

challenges, the Royal Navy was still able to maintain a presence in the Far East to secure victory. According to Boyd, “despite limitations imposed by the Washington Naval Treaty, the Royal Navy remained the largest and most powerful navy with the largest force of warships.” (8) Thus, it is important to consider the Royal Navy’s strength in warships, in addition to its weaknesses, when compared to other navies, particularly the Japanese Navy. According to Boyd, “the Royal Navy was well aware of the threat of Japanese modernization of its navy with a focus on long-range combat.” (38)

Yet what also needs to be assessed is the Royal Navy’s and the Japanese Navy’s respective airpower at sea. As seen with the attack on Pearl Harbor, the destruction of the British naval squadron “Force Z,” and the raid on Ceylon (Sri Lanka), carrier and land-based air power was at the core of naval engagements in the Pacific theater of World War II. Boyd notes that the Royal Navy lacked air power in the Far East. In 1939, “only one of a planned fleet of eight aircraft carriers,” namely, H.M.S. (His Majesty’s Ship) *Ark Royal*, was completed, while four additional ones, H.M.S. *Illustrious*, *Formidable*, *Victorious*, and *Indomitable*, would be “commissioned over the next two years.” (44) At the time of hostilities, the British only had a light carrier, H.M.S. *Hermes*, stationed in the Far East, leaving the Royal Navy outmatched by the Japanese Navy. Boyd does a clever job of pointing out that the British should have recognized the future of air power and taken note of Japanese aircraft advances. However, due to “poor procurement of air resources,” traditionalist admirals favoring the big gun battleships, and competition with the Royal Air Force for planes, the Royal Navy was outmatched and ill-prepared to face the Japanese in naval air combat. (45-48) Nevertheless, recognizing that there was a significant threat from Japanese imperial ambitions, the British Admiralty was forced to prepare for war and prioritize its goals in the Far East.

The ability to protect British interests in the eastern parts of the Empire was put to the test and strained with the outbreak of war. Boyd effectively points out that, in case of war with Japan, defense was the Royal Navy’s main strategy. He argues that the defense of Singapore was the Royal Navy’s priority, in addition to the defense of India and Ceylon. While one would think that the Royal Navy’s efforts were focused on aircraft carriers, Boyd stresses that the Admiralty played with the idea of a classic fleet action, during which they would deploy the *Queen Elizabeth*-class and R-class battleships as part of the defensive strategy. The use of numerous big-gun battleships would have been feasible for “classic” fleet engagements, but modern naval warfare was drifting away from such tactics. Things were complicated further by the outbreak of war with Germany in 1939.

The war in Europe put severe pressure on the British Admiralty who was now forced to prioritize its strategy to combat the navies of the Axis powers. Boyd notes that this was particularly felt after the fall of France in 1940. The British strategy against Germany and Italy relied on the French Navy, which had to be neutralized once France had fallen to the Nazis. This meant that the Royal

Navy had to deploy additional forces to the Mediterranean Sea, which limited the availability of warships for the Far East. The fall of France and the Royal Navy's new efforts in the Mediterranean Sea forced the Royal Navy to turn to the United States Navy for assistance in East Asia.

Once hostilities in the Pacific had begun, the Royal Navy found itself ill-prepared for engagements with the Japanese Navy. Being overstretched in the European theater meant that the Royal Navy had to turn to its alliance with the United States to balance the situation in the East. However, the attack on Pearl Harbor weakened the United States Navy in the Pacific, which meant that, as far as British possessions in the region were concerned, Britain was left vulnerable. The attack also signaled that the war in the Pacific would not be fought from the big guns of battleships but by carrier-based aircraft. Boyd's monograph makes a great case that the Royal Navy was not just lacking aircraft carriers, it lacked resources for naval air warfare due to its competition with the Royal Air Force for resources, which ultimately brought about the failure of the Royal Navy's defense of British possessions in the Pacific theater of war.

The British underestimating of Japan's capabilities, and the multitude of fronts on which the Royal Navy found itself fighting, led to disaster in eastern waters. The sinking of H.M.S. *Prince of Wales* and H.M.S. *Repulse* three days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor paved the way for the fall of Singapore and future Japanese aggression. This loss struck a blow to British morale and triggered a strategic response from the Admiralty, as Boyd points out, in an argument supplementing the work of Martin Middlebrook and Patrick Mahoney in *The Sinking of the Prince of Wales and Repulse the End of the Battleship Era* (1977). The strategy was changed to protect the Indian Ocean by "deploying H.M.S. *Revenge* from Cape Town, South Africa, and the rest of the R-class battleships in addition to the aircraft carrier H.M.S. *Hermes* to the Indian Ocean and Ceylon to counter Japanese aggression." (341) Boyd notes that the Royal Navy continued to struggle with competing priorities in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Middle East in order to protect its vital interests there and was almost entirely ineffective against the Japanese Navy. This ineffectiveness was proven during the Japanese aircraft carrier raid on Ceylon (Chapter 8), which Boyd discusses in detail, particularly the deployment of ships by both the British and Japanese navies in an effort to counter each other's actions. The lack of British air power led to the loss of H.M.S. *Hermes* and several smaller ships. The losses at Ceylon caused a redeployment of the Royal Navy's eastern squadron and led to a scramble to secure the Middle East and India.

Boyd emphasizes that, after the raid on Ceylon, the Royal Navy considered strengthening its forces in the Pacific, but this was set aside once the strength of the United States Navy was brought to bear. Even with the arrival of the more modern capital ships, the British remained on the defensive to protect their interests in the Middle East and India. Boyd points out that British intelligence reassessed the Japanese naval strength once the full might of the U.S. Navy came

into play, and this resulted in the Admiralty concluding that the eastern theater of war should remain a defensive campaign. This strategy of defense in East Asia allowed Britain to hold the line against the Japanese and go on the offensive against Germany. It also allowed the Royal Navy to secure the Mediterranean Sea for the North Africa campaign and turn the tide against the German U-boats in the Atlantic.

In concluding his work, Boyd restates his argument that British efforts in the East were ultimately about prioritizing the economic interests of the Empire. He first assesses the Royal Navy's overall strength in addition to its initial strategy for defense in the Far East, and he then reevaluates the situation as the war progresses. Boyd skillfully compares the strengths of both rival and Allied navies, and he stresses that Britain's strategy was dependent on its alliances with France and the United States. Boyd's work considers strategy, naval strength, and prioritization of interests. *The Royal Navy in Eastern Waters* discusses the Royal Navy's pre-World War II strength and strategy effectively, and it shows how the events in Europe shaped the Royal Navy's efforts in the East. For those seeking to learn more about the Royal Navy, both before and during World War II, as well as its Pacific campaigns, this book is a good starting point.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Michael James Thomas of Laguna Beach, California, earned his A.A. in Humanities and Languages at Irvine Valley College in Irvine, California (2010), and his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2012). He is currently pursuing an M.A in History at CSUF, focusing on British naval history. He is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and serves as one of its board members-at-large.*

Ellis, Joseph J.

American Dialogue: The Founders and Us.

New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018. 304 pages. ISBN: 9780385353427.

Joseph Ellis's *American Dialogue: The Founders and Us* is a book about dialogues, as its title suggests, but not necessarily the kind of dialogues one might first imagine. The premise, a historical duality between past and present, between the founding era and today, is merely a stage for the great play that Ellis seeks to bring to the theater of the mind. He uses Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, George Washington, and a smattering of other characters to illustrate how murky the Founders' intent really was and to dispel the semi-sacred mythological haze which sometimes surrounds them. *American Dialogue* looks backwards at the Founders (if we may canonize them by capitalizing that word), but it also lives securely in the present and gazes tentatively into the future.

Ellis's freedom from the normal epochal boundaries is an important precondition for the historical imperative hinted at in the pages of the book, which is to enlighten us that the mystique of the Constitution and its Founders lies in the process of argument and compromise, not in some "Mandate of Heaven" or infallibility on the part of the mere mortals who wrote the document. This distinction is crucial for what makes up the second half of each chapter,

namely, a discussion of current events ranging from the backlash against the Civil Rights movement to the merits of constitutional originalism. This stands in stark contrast to other recent mainstream scholarship on the Framers, like Jill Lepore's 2018 book, *These Truths: A History of the United States*, for example, which approaches American history in a more direct chronological fashion (although it could likewise be categorized as a timely commentary on whether or how modern America lives up to the ideals present at the founding of the country). On the simplest level, Ellis could have treated each historical episode in the book as an opportunity to tell us what the Founders intended, to become some sort of Delphic Oracle interpreting the vicissitudes of 1789, but Ellis rejects this normative discourse. Indeed, in true modern historical style, he declines to provide any safety blanket or surety at all. There are no solutions and no answers. This is the operative structure that drives home the point Ellis intends from the beginning: no interpretation of the Founders' intentions, whether liberal or conservative, will provide a panacea for the issues we face.

Joseph Ellis, from his perch at Mount Holyoke College where he served as a prominent faculty member (although not without some drama, as the revocation of his endowed chair from 2001 to 2005 shows), has written several presidential biographies, like *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (1996) and *His Excellency: George Washington* (2004), and the aim of each of them has been to fill in the shades of grey, to walk readers into conflict without always walking them back out satisfactorily.

The first part of *American Dialogues* once again deals with the complicated ideology of Thomas Jefferson, a tradition of biographies in keeping with the works of David McCullough. Jefferson has been variously configured as the proto-agrarian libertarian who served as the bedrock of a modern ideology which bears the same name, or as the rational secularist who believed in the constant revision of the Constitution. Ellis takes great care in explaining that, in fact, he was both. He was also, as Ellis makes plain, a bundle of contradictions regarding race. While writing fervently during the drafting of the Declaration of Independence about the moral cancer that slavery represented, he also, bafflingly, kept a considerable number of slaves at his lofty retreat of Monticello. Likewise, Jefferson on the one hand believed that miscegenation would be something so anathema to the future states that all freed slaves should be expatriated, and on the other hand spent the majority of his adult life with Sally Hemings, one of his slaves, and produced several children with her. The implication, under Ellis's analysis, was that the rights and values embedded in the Declaration of Independence, which Jefferson drafted, or later in the Constitution and Bill of Rights, clearly did not extend to anyone other than the Anglo-American settlers of the colonies.

The second half of that chapter, dealing with the backlash against Civil Rights after the 1970s, focuses on a problem that has essentially remained unchanged, namely, whether Americans really believe in the possibility of a bi-racial or post-

racial society. The undeniable language of the founding documents is weighed on one side, but the actual beliefs of Americans, with the emerging dog-whistle of “law and order” sublimated into the political ether, are weighed on the other. This part, and indeed most of the current-time sections of the book, while useful didactically, appear like addenda and rely heavily of Ellis’s references to other works, such as Jane Mayer’s *Dark Money* (2016) or Robert Kaplan’s *Earning the Rockies* (2017) later on. This is to be expected for a couple of reasons. First, it lies rather outside the historian’s mandate, whether for the circular and self-inflicted reasoning that “history ended twenty years ago,” or for the fact that current-event commentary treads on the feet of journalists. Second, it fits well with Ellis’s gentle but pedantic style of writing, inviting readers to come to their own conclusions. Regardless, it leaves one with a distinct feeling of needing more, even if plunging into current events opens a Pandora’s Box.

The real heart of Ellis’s premise can be found in the third chapter, which involves James Madison and the purest discussion of “Framers’ Intent” in the Constitution. Using James Madison as a guide, we can see how the aspirations of Madison, Adams, and others were tempered by the political necessities of the day. The retractions, additions, alterations, and other changes made by the Constitutional Convention, as well as Madison’s own nose-counting skills, reveal that the Constitution itself was a deeply unsatisfying compromise. Any claim that the Constitution was somehow the Word of God, or infallible like the Pope when teaching *ex cathedra*, falls away and exposes the process of argument and discourse that serves as Ellis’s main focus. If the Constitution was an inherently negotiated document, which is what Ellis suggests, then we must recognize the fervor of those spirits which fell to the left and right of the final document. In the case Ellis presents, this takes the form of James Madison on the left, ever the idealist, and figures like Patrick Henry on the right.

The second half of the Madison chapter is where Ellis comes into his own, adopting an even more passionate pitch with regard to a special bugbear of his: constitutional originalism. The scene is set with a string of Supreme Court cases decided in the first decade of the new millennium, *District of Columbia v. Heller* (2008), which transformed the jurisprudence on the Second Amendment, and *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010), which allowed for unlimited spending on federal elections by corporations and other entities. Ellis focuses on the “mental gymnastics” (165) of Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia who wrote both of the aforementioned decisions. Rather than keeping what historians might call an “open mind” toward the evidence, Ellis suggests that the thought process behind originalism (with its origins among the New Right, its beginnings in law schools like the one at the University of Chicago, and its eventual transformation by the Supreme Court) does exactly the opposite by pre-supposing an outcome and tailoring the evidence and legal theory to fit. This is by far the most political point in the book, and it makes clear exactly what the author’s accumulated

thoughts are on the subject, although this portion is much less scrupulous when it comes to academic references.

If the chapter on Jefferson was primarily backwards-looking to the 1970s and 1980s, and the Madison chapter focused on the here-and-now, the final portion of the book is dedicated to looking toward the future. Ellis finally takes on the most unassailable of the Founders, George Washington, looking for guidance on foreign policy or, as some would have it more broadly, “the United States in the World.” This has been a most ambiguous topic from the founding of the country and remains so even today. Ellis paints a picture of Washington that is very favorable, perhaps embracing the fact that the Founders were concerned with their own posterity, even though Ellis spares no breath discussing the hypocrisies of Jefferson and Adams. The primary focus of Washington’s conduct as president in this book concerns his appraisal of the Indian territory, and, true to form, Ellis presents us with a largely unknown facet of Washington’s administration, namely the recognition of the various Indian territories as having treaty status as nations with definite boundaries and all the rights of other nations. As Ellis goes on to explain, however, this method was doomed from the start as settlers in Georgia invaded Creek territory with no way for the federal government to prevent it, short of war on its own citizens. Ellis uses Washington’s noble cause and ultimate failure with the Indian territory to demonstrate some of the struggles that America has faced and continues to face in its relationship to the world. The debate whether America could exist as a republic while forcefully incorporating territory, for instance, was a major theme up until the 1920s, and ever afterwards America has had to struggle with the definition of empire in a neo-colonial world order dominated by American interests. Washington and the discussion of foreign policy is a useful segue to the final addendum to Ellis’s book, which he calls “Leadership,” a contemplation of what made the Founders so unique and an indirect comparison with American leadership today. This is perhaps the chapter with the most left *unsaid*, not only for the purposes that govern the whole book, but also as a tacit refusal to venture into the realm of the purely political.

American Dialogue, while it is researched and written by an expert in the field, should not be mistaken for a scholarly monograph meant to be a modest staple of academic discourse. It can be read satisfactorily by a very wide audience, which seems to be the book’s intent from the outset, and that fact meshes well with the message of the book, which is to encourage informed debate and participation in the construction of our shared future. It is a book with a clear intent, both didactically and philosophically, much like the lines of inquiry in other recent works attempting to dispel myths about the Framers, such as *The Partisan Republic: Democracy, Exclusion, and the Fall of the Founders’ Constitution, 1780s-1830s* by Gerald Burke Leonard and Saul Cornell (2019). While it does not rise to the level of a must-read for all Americans, it is timely. *American Dialogue* thrives in the cultural moment and will remain relevant for a long time.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Ian Woodson Fisher of Brea, California, earned his B.M. in Music Composition and his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2020), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is active as a writer of avant-garde contemporary music. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

Espinoza, Dionne, María Eugenia Coterá, and Maylei Blackwell, eds.
Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era.

Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018. 488 pages. ISBN: 9781477316825 (e-book).

The Chicano Movement of the mid-twentieth century marked an era of revolution, resistance, and re-organization as there was a far-reaching cry for equality by Chicana individuals. People from different generations, genders, and sexualities in the Chicana communities joined the movement, however, their contributions have yet to be recognized. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Coterá, and Maylei Blackwell's anthology, *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, provides a space for individuals to voice their experiences, engagement, and understanding of the different movements in which Chicanas and individuals from the LGBTQ communities participated.

All three editors are accomplished scholars in their respective fields. Dionne Espinoza is a professor of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. She is known for her award-winning book, *Enriqueta Vasquez and the Chicano Movement: Writings from El Grito del Norte* (2006), which she co-edited with Lorena Oropeza. María Eugenia Coterá is the director of the program in Latina/o Studies and a professor of Latina/o Studies, Gender Studies, Digital Studies, Social Movements, and Comparative Ethnic Studies at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *Native Speakers: Ella Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, Jovita Gonzalez and the Poetics of Culture* (2008) and the director of "Chicana por mi Raza," a digital archive used to preserve Chicana and Latina memories and histories. Maylei Blackwell is a professor of Chicana/Chicano Studies and Women's Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, the author of *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (2011), as well as an activist. The anthology *Chicana Movidas*, edited by Espinoza, Coterá, and Blackwell, provides readers with an impressive selection of essays penned by a wide range of scholars and activists, covering the experiences of Chicanas and LGBTQ individuals during both the Chicano Movement and the Civil Rights movement from the late 1950s to the late 1980s.

The editors outline the different movements or *movidas* in which Chicanas from different parts of the Western Hemisphere participated, suggesting that there was a wide range of small, individual movements, and that some of these were hidden and not widely known. The editors define *movidas* as "outside of the specular range of large-scale political and social relations. Enacted in backrooms and bedrooms, hallways and kitchens, they are collective and individual maneuvers, undertaken in a context of social mobilization, that seek to work within, around, and between the positionings, ideologies, and practices of

publicly visible social relations.” (2) The goal of this anthology is to examine the key role Chicanas played in the Chicano Movement through their daily acts of work and support within and around organizational spaces.

The anthology is divided into four sections, based on four different types of *movidas*: “Hallway *Movidas*” (33-119), “Home-Making *Movidas*” (123-224), “*Movidas* of Crossing” (227-296), and “Memory *Movidas*” (299-374). Hallway *movidas* is both a literal and metaphorical term that refers to the strategy that Chicanas used by meeting in discreet locations to oppose hypermasculine and oppressive scenarios. (12-14) Home-making *movidas* alludes to instances when Chicanas had to make their own spaces when they felt that they were being excluded and it was not possible for them to create inclusive spaces within organizations or movements. (15-20) *Movidas* of crossing occurred when Chicanas crossed the borders of different movements, the borders of race and gender, or the borders of nation-states. Individuals from the Chicana community participated in *movidas* of crossing when they organized with and fought for Third World countries, women of color, against imperialism, against poverty, for warfare rights, and for immigrants. (21-23) Memory *movidas* involved writings (including poetry and *testimonios*), archives, and oral histories. (23-30)

The anthology contains a total of twenty-one essays in its four sections. One essay that I find especially compelling and inspiring is Chapter 6, “*La Causa de los Pobres: Alicia Escalante’s Lived Experiences of Poverty and the Struggle for Economic Justice*,” by Rosie C. Bermudez (123-137). Alicia Escalante was a single mother who lived in Los Angeles, California. She understood the oppression that lower-class Chicanas had been enduring and wanted to better their circumstances. She did so by creating the “East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization” (ELAWRO), one of the earliest Chicana advocacy organizations to challenge public policies and address their negative impact on women. The “East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization” fought to give single Chicana mothers the resources they needed to care for their children and homes. Bermudez’s essay is placed in the anthology’s second section (“Home-Making *Movidas*”) as Escalante had seen that Chicanas did not have a secure space and were being oppressed, which is why she sought to create a space where Chicanas could be independent and free from poverty, as well as racial and sexual oppression.

The anthology’s essays utilize oral histories (*testimonios*), photographs, artwork, and archival material. In the introduction, the editors refer to Gloria Anzaldúa’s analysis of *movimientos* and Chela Sandoval’s definition of *movidas* to explain how they organized their anthology based on the contributions that Chicanas and LGBTQ individuals have made to the Chicano Movement. (1-6) Espinoza’s, Cotera’s, and Blackwell’s anthology moves beyond the idea that the different Chicana and LGBTQ movements and organizations of this period were not interconnected, as they examine how Chicanas and individuals from the LGBTQ communities interacted and connected with movements and organizations that ranged from male-oriented Chicano organizations to other

ethnic organizations. An example of this is Chapter 14, “‘La Raza en Canada’: San Diego Chicana Activists, the Indochinese Women’s Conference of 1971, and Third World Womanism,” by Dionne Espinoza (261-275) in the anthology’s third section (“*Movidas* of Crossing”). This essay examines how a group of Chicanas from San Diego, California, attended two conferences in Vancouver and Toronto, Canada, known as the “Indochinese Women’s Conference” of 1971 and organized to discuss the United States’ involvement in the Vietnam War. The goal of the conference was to unite women from different organizations against the Vietnam War and against U.S. imperialism. According to Espinoza’s findings, Chicana women reached out and connected with organizations and individuals outside the Chicana community in order to unite around a common goal. Espinoza demonstrates that political organizations during the Civil Rights Movement did not operate in isolation from each other.

The editors also break down barriers between generations and types of engagement as they explain in the introduction: “while the volume includes essays by established and emerging scholars from a variety of disciplinary fields (history, religious studies, anthropology, media studies, creative writing), added to this mix are new essays by an earlier generation of Chicana feminists [...] who offer not only critical firsthand perspectives on the organizations, individuals, and events that shaped Chicana *movidas* in the 1960s and 1970s, but also their own historical analyses of the events and organizations in which they were involved.” (4) Such differences between the essays’ individual authors offer readers a wide range of voices and perspectives. The use of transgenerational networks of scholars (4) lays out the scope of the Chicana movement as each essay pertains to a different sequence of events and is written with different objectives. Readers will appreciate that much of the information provided has not previously been published, as many of the details and events described in the essays had, in the past, “been exiled [...] to spaces of extrainstitutional memory.” (4)

Chicana Movidas approaches a national scale as the anthology transcends the common portrayal of the Southwest or, as it is referred to, Aztlán. (5) *Chicana Movidas* takes into account other locations that saw activities of the Chicana movement, such as the Pacific Northwest, for example, Chapter 8, “*Feminista* Frequencies: Chicana Radio Activism in the Pacific Northwest,” by Monica De La Torre (159-173); as well as Texas, for example, Chapter 10, “The Space in Between: Exploring the Development of Chicana Feminist Thought in Central Texas,” by Brenda Sendejo (189-206). By moving beyond Aztlán and the narrative of the Southwest, the anthology not only examines the movements in a wide range of locations but also during different decades.

Despite the fact that there are a several books available on Chicana activist movements there are none that are truly comparable to *Chicana Movidas*. Prior to publishing *Chicana Movidas*, one of the editors, Maylei Blackwell, had published *Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (2011). In

this book, Blackwell analyzes the role a Chicana organization known as *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* played in the Chicano Movement (1960-1970). Blackwell uses oral histories and archival material to describe the experiences that Chicanas faced during their fight to secure Civil Rights. However, as *Chicana Movidas* states, “because such historical practices fail to engage an intersectional understanding of power and oppression they cannot apprehend the nature of ‘multiple feminist insurgencies’.” (9) *¡Chicana Power!* was the first book to present Chicana involvement in the Chicano Movement and laid the foundation for works like *Chicana Movidas*. *Chicana Movidas* is unique as it describes the connections and overlapping that occurred between movements. In addition, *Chicana Movidas* provides a wide array of movements all presented by a diverse group of individuals. Thus, *Chicana Movidas* embodies the Chicana movement.

Readers with a passion for gender studies and history who are looking for a book that is unique should pick up a copy of *Chicana Movidas*. The essays and narratives in this anthology give a voice to those who were and are different and have been told to remain silent. During the Chicano Movement, many individuals in the Chicano community treated Chicanas and individuals who identified with the LGBTQ community as outsiders and pariahs. Their testimonies, involvement, and contributions were silenced and hidden behind the images and movements of the Chicano organizations. However, it is through the work of scholars like Espinoza, Cotera, and Blackwell that some of the individuals previously hidden from the world are now brought into the light. Chicanas and LGBTQ individuals played an integral and necessary role in the Chicano Movement. Their participation, though at times unnoticed, was revolutionary and indispensable, much like this anthology.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Monique Garcia of Whittier, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History and Chicana/Latina Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She is a member of the University Honors Program and the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship.*

Gilmore, Leigh.

Tainted Witness: Why We Doubt What Women Say About Their Lives.

New York: Columbia University Press, 2017. 240 pages. ISBN: 9780231543446 (e-book).

In her book, *Tainted Witness: Why We Doubt What Women Say About Their Lives*, Leigh Gilmore maintains that “two of the stickiest judgments that circulate in response to claims by women of sexual violence are ‘he said/she said’ and ‘nobody really knows what happened’.” (6) The author demonstrates how testimony walks a fine line between truth and fiction in search of justice. Unequal judgments often fall upon women who bear witness in public. Gilmore examines feminist, literary, and legal contexts to demonstrate what happens when women’s testimonies are discredited. While women’s testimonial accounts convey the power of body and speech in the public sphere, these accounts lack

security and control; thus, authenticity to their claims is undermined. Gilmore asks that we conceptualize testimonial networks as circulatory systems and look beyond rules of evidence to how a witness is to testify in court, and beyond norms around reviewing and commenting on print and online reviews. Autobiography may be open to innovation, but testimony is in search of an adequate witness, and while testimony moves, judgment sticks. In Gilmore's view, "women are often seen as unpersuasive witnesses for three related reasons: because they are women, because through testimony they seek to bear witness to inconvenient truths, and because they possess less symbolic and material capital than men as witnesses in courts of law." (18) Women victims who assert and claim political and/or personal freedom are asked if they knew the men who harmed them, if they ever tempted those same men, and why they did not leave in the face of danger.

Leigh Gilmore is a visiting professor of Women's and Gender Studies at Wellesley College, and the author of numerous scholarly works on autobiography. *Tainted Witness*, her monograph under review here, consists of an introduction, "Tainted Witness in Testimonial Networks" (1-26); Chapter 1, "Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Search for an Adequate Witness" (27-58); Chapter 2, "Jurisdictions and Testimonial Networks: Rigoberta Menchú" (59-84); Chapter 3, "Neoliberal Life Narrative: From Testimony to Self-Help" (85-118); Chapter 4, "Witness by Proxy: Girls in Humanitarian Storytelling" (119-132); Chapter 5, "Tainted Witness in Law and Literature: Nafissatou Diallo and Jamaica Kincaid" (133-156); and a conclusion, "Testimonial Publics: #BlackLivesMatter and Claudia Rankine's *Citizen*" (157-170).

Anita Hill, Chapter 1's protagonist, was vulnerable to political attack when sharing her testimony with the world, and Hill's testimony and sexual harassment became an issue for white feminists. Gilmore explores the tainting of Anita Hill and her testimony as part of a larger social history, where she found herself in a system that refused to believe what she said. Gilmore states, "The rush to judgment encourages framing testimonial conflicts in terms of who is telling the truth and who is lying, with the presumption that this is an adequate and meaningful testimonial test. Such a framing, however, prevents witnesses from providing adequate context for their testimony." (31) Hill lacked an advocate who could "fill in the gaps," which was central to understanding sexual harassment publicly. Hill's testimony and sexual harassment when she worked as an attorney was underestimated and subject to two forms of witness tainting, one within the hearing and the other a smear campaign that involved misrepresentation, false allegations, and theatrics.

In Chapter 2, Gilmore states, "the public smearing of Anita Hill in many ways provided the playbook for how conservatives like [Dinesh] D'Souza and [David] Horowitz would bash [Rigoberta] Menchú." (67) The publication of Rigoberta Menchú's *testimonio* claimed that security forces were responsible for the deaths of her father and others. Menchú's *testimonio*, a personal account based on an

interview Menchú gave rather than a book she wrote, was originally offered to a large international audience as a *testimonio* that soon became a subject of doubt. Gilmore agrees that testimony attracts judgment when she writes, “as a target of tainting, her *testimonio* is stuck in the jurisdiction of scandal and suffers the fate of dragging forward that story with subsequent efforts to bear witness to ongoing political crises around Indigenous, women’s, and human rights.” (83) Menchú was attacked by well-funded conservatives for “lying” when Third World authors began replacing required curriculum taught in universities across the United States. This was seen as an attack on Western values and civilizations. When Menchú traveled from Guatemala via Mexico to Paris, she exposed herself to the world and elicited scandal. Testimony generated and attracted judgment against controversial texts that did not fall within Western norms.

According to Chapter 3, the “memoir boom” in the late twentieth century can be attributed to the increase in redemption narratives. The widespread attention and appeal on women’s life stories came with an immediate backlash against the memoir format, specifically women’s memoirs. Witness tainting, as the author describes it, or judgments against controversial texts remained the same, only they had been released and recognized differently than what was typically featured in memoirs by famous men. Despite nominal recognition, scholars greeted these stories with criticism; memoirs that featured supposedly tainted testimonial witnesses and “liars” were now routine. Gilmore states, “they were tagged as both lies and inconvenient truths, and their authors were shamed, sidelined, and turned into examples of the excesses of identity politics, and increasingly of the pitfalls of memoir itself. Women’s testimonial narratives in the last decades of the twentieth century were displaced by a new influx of neoliberal life narratives.” (88) The author also addresses marketability when considering how we are to keep feminist witnesses in view. According to Gilmore, “if an unattractive woman were to write a book about sleeping with her father, it would not command the same media real estate as an attractive woman sleeping with her father.” (94) Women’s testimonial narratives did not have a fighting chance because these accounts were contextualized as commodities to feminine appeal, and one woman’s account could be substituted with any other.

In Chapter 4, Gilmore looks at neoliberal humanitarian narratives through Greg Mortenson’s *Three Cups of Tea* (2006). Mortenson wrote in the third person and used interviews, photographs, and narration to promote a “schools, not bombs” program of humanitarian engagement to counter the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Gilmore argues that the book is not simply about relating the girls’ stories to a First World audience to begin with. She states, “the lives of girls and women from the global South are transformed into vehicles for Western audiences to feel in particular ways: to experience themselves as caring and philanthropic, to have, in the ghostly embodiment of this discourse, their eyes opened and hearts touched. The actual life stories of women and girls are proxy lives that advance Mortenson’s agenda.” (124) According to the author,

Mortenson sought to advance humanitarian aims through storytelling, and used the stories of vulnerable girls and women to convey messages about global citizenship. Mortenson's use of the Third World girls' life stories to construct humanitarian heroism was quite strategic, allowing him to navigate the testimonial network authoritatively and unseen. Gilmore argues that accounts such as Mortenson's are not only narrow, but they seemingly contextualize women's testimony through use of witness by proxy.

In Chapter 5, Gilmore presents two unsympathetic women witnesses of color – West African immigrant Nafissatou Diallo who, in 2011, testified against Dominique Strauss-Kahn (at the time the managing director of the International Monetary Fund), and an unsympathetic woman witness in *The Autobiography of My Mother* by Jamaica Kincaid (1996) – to examine the mode of reading two very complex accounts of harm, precarity, and agency. Gilmore writes, “if we think of a life as what a person must offer up without translation or other form of facilitation in order to testify compellingly and authentically, then we draw a sharp generic line between fact and fiction and name the management of that line, by the writer and others, in terms of ethics.” (148) Testimony seeks witnesses and moves for diverse audiences. This chapter focuses on testimonies as they engage with rape discourse. Gilmore claims that “these narratives have a life of their own, an agentic force we associate with the power of discourse to mediate the translation of lived events into witness accounts.” (155)

According to Gilmore's conclusion in *Tainted Witness*, “testimony is an increasingly central feature of contemporary life, as is the judgment that accompanies it and attaches, in specific ways, to the life stories of women. Anita Hill's testimony at Clarence Thomas's confirmation hearing, Rigoberta Menchú's *testimonio* about genocide in Guatemala, and Nafissatou Diallo's claim that she was raped by Dominique Strauss-Kahn demonstrate the vulnerabilities of women witnesses in the courts and in the public square but also the importance of these same witnesses to expose the contexts and histories that construct and perpetuate vulnerability.” (157) Gilmore proceeds to discuss the emergence and significance of #BlackLivesMatter following Trayvon Martin's killing in 2012. She states, “Trayvon Martin, a seventeen-year-old African American high school student, was fatally shot by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch volunteer/vigilante, who stalked Martin as he walked to a convenience store in Sanford, Florida, to buy candy and a soda. When Zimmerman was not charged in the killing, a wave of protest was ignited nationwide, in part, through social activism online.” (160) Gilmore brings up the Trayvon Martin case to show what legacies of racial violence in the United States were brought to the light as a result. She states, “yet when women wish to bear witness in public, the protective devices of literature are not at hand, and the full risks of being deemed crazy or criminal exist.” (170) The author attempts to answer why women are so often considered unreliable witnesses to their own experiences, how they might be discredited in court, why women's testimonies are often mirrored in

controversies fueled by histories of slavery and colonialism, and how new feminist witnesses might enter testimonial networks and disrupt doubt; she examines the doubt in women's testimonies through a feminist, literary, and legal lens. *Tainted Witness* is recommended reading.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Andrea Young Paik of Brea, California, earned her B.A. in Comparative Literature with a minor in Spanish at the University of California, Irvine (UCI) (2011). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is working in the Los Angeles Unified School District.*

Guiet, Daniel C., and Timothy K. Smith.

Scholars of Mayhem: My Father's Secret War in Nazi-Occupied France.

New York: Penguin Press, 2019. 272 pages. ISBN: 9780735225206.

All it takes is one moment to change one's life and one's family's history. *Scholars of Mayhem: My Father's Secret War in Nazi-occupied France* recounts the untold and fateful encounters of Jean Claude Guiet (1924-2013) while fighting as a secret agent in the heart of Nazi-occupied France. Its author, Daniel C. Guiet, is the son of Jean Claude Guiet who in turn is the subject of this book. Daniel Guiet attended the University of Colorado, and he told his father's story with the help of Timothy K. Smith, a seasoned writer and editor for, among others, *Fortune Magazine* and the *Wall Street Journal*. *Scholars of Mayhem* opens with an account of Daniel Guiet making a shocking discovery. At the age of five, Daniel happened upon a secret box that was never to be touched. The curiosity of a child's unoccupied mind can sometimes be dangerous, but in this case led to a moment of realization. He knew that his decision to open that fateful box would get him into trouble, which is why he made a point to reassemble the contents in the exact order in which he had pulled them out. What is most fascinating is that he was able to acknowledge, in retrospect, that he did not comprehend what he was seeing: magazine clippings and documents, such as passports and IDs with his father's image, but with false names.

Part 1 of *Scholars of Mayhem* examines the role Jean Claude Guiet played in the SOE (Special Operations Executive). Often called Winston Churchill's secret army, the SOE officially did not exist and operated outside of international law. SOE agents were not members of an intelligence service or a special forces group, they formed an organization of their own. By no means was Guiet one of the founding members of the SOE; he was just one agent among many. Part 1 also looks at notable figures that Guiet worked with during his time in the SOE. One of these was Philippe Liewer, or "the organizer," whose ears were apparently far too prominent, so he had them surgically pinned back to avoid being noticed during his clandestine work with the SOE. Another one was Violette Szabo, or "the courier;" apart from all the ferocious work she did against the Nazis, her very first task to aid in the war effort was to pick strawberries. And then there was Robert ("Bob") Maloubier, or "the saboteur," who became part of the SOE

after a fateful night when he was offered to be smuggled out of the country in exchange for his commitment to SOE.

Part 2 looks at the ways in which Jean Claude Guiet prepared for his missions. While he was in college at Harvard, Guiet made the decision to join the United States Army when he received his draft notice in the mail. He joined the military on June 9, 1943, and it quickly became apparent that Guiet was just the type of man that the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was looking for. He quickly completed his OSS training and got promoted. After having completed several missions with the Office of Strategic Services, he was selected for advanced commando training. He was then sent to wireless operations training where he learned Morse code among other codes for transmitting messages, and he eventually received paratrooper training. All of this prepared him well for conducting a mission.

Part 3 looks at the mission that Jean Claude Guiet and his team members set out to conduct, "Operation Salesman II," and takes up nearly half of the book. It follows Jean Claude, Philippe, Violette, and Bob as they conduct their clandestine mission. The characteristic tactics of "Operations Salesman II" can be described as asymmetric warfare. This classification results from their characteristic use of ambushes, sabotage, and sniping. Any reader who enjoys the stories of secret missions, the tales of coded messages, sabotage, and daring escapes with uncertain outcomes will be thrilled. The first few days of "Operation Salesman II" were wrought with trouble. Its members did not seem to be fully prepared, and, to top it off, Violette was captured by the Germans for interrogation and never heard from again. As a result of the loss of Violette, her duties had to be split between the remaining members, putting an even greater strain on them. The first few days of the mission were more of an administrative nature. Phillippe was collecting intelligence, Bob was training explosives recruits, and Jean Claude was coding and decoding messages.

These SOE operatives joined forces with the outlaw army that Georges Guingouin had formed in France. Guingouin was a secretary of the Communist Party in Eymoutiers and was a doctrinaire communist who was loyal to the cause. He formed an outlaw group in the woods when the French Communist Party took a neutral stance and refused to take sides in an "imperialist" war. When the "Operations Salesman II" team met with Guingouin, he already had three thousand men under his command, and these men proved to be a big factor in the success of the operation. After the deal with Guingouin had been struck and the groups had been properly armed, Jean Claude saw the opportunity to really get into action. He was given a combat role and was instantly used for radio transmissions and coding. The next few days saw a series of ambushes and drops that were crucial to supplying the group. The operatives also launched a series of sabotage missions.

There was an offensive in which the team did not fare too well, and, as a result, Philippe sent for the Operations Group of OSS commandos that were

under joint command with the SOE for assistance. A few weeks later, with these new agents at their disposal, the team launched a series of ambushes and an offensive on the city of Limoges. As they were clearing out of Limoges, the team conducted raiding parties in an attempt to clear out the remaining enemy strong points. The work that these agents conducted in Limoges resulted in a set of tribunals that saw Bob and Jean Claude awarded with a medal for heroism in combat from the French government.

The epilogue turns to the life of the team after the war. Violette Szabo's body was never found after she had been executed by the Nazis. Upon confirmation of her death, she was awarded the United Kingdom's George Cross for bravery. Bob Maloubier chose to join SOE Force 136, a commando group that aided resistance groups in Japanese-occupied Southeast Asian territories. Jean Claude Guiet was arrested by a joint French-American patrol for being AWOL, but the documents he produced procured his immediate release. He was then presented with two options and chose to attend jungle training on Catalina Island in preparation to fight the Japanese in China and Burma. He lived a long life and died in 2013 at the age of eighty-nine. Before Guiet left from his arrest, he hurried away and managed to say goodbye to Bob, but he was not able to make contact with Philippe, and he never heard from him or saw him again. It appears that Philippe was decorated by both the French and British governments after the war, and that he died of a heart attack in Casablanca, Morocco, in 1948.

The three parts and multiple subchapters of *Scholars of Mayhem* are of uneven length. This is understandable, since Part 1 and Part 2 essentially serve as introductions to the story of "Operation Salesman II" (Part 3). Guiet's and Smith's style of writing is quite refreshing, and their vivid story-telling abilities and descriptive skills will keep their readers' attention. At times, however, the authors' focus on details can be a little overbearing, especially in Part 1. What this book is significantly lacking, though, is a grounding in the historical record. This is a great story that, especially in Part 3, almost reads like a novel, but readers with historical sensibilities will want a more differentiated discussion of the primary evidence that serves as the basis for this story, as well as more information about the historical context.

If one is interested in learning more about the subject of the SOE, books like *Secret Agent: The True Story of the Special Operations Executive* by David Stafford (2000) and Ted Allbeury's *A Time Without Shadows* (1992) and *As Time Goes By* (1994) are perfect. If one is interested in reading what the SOE agents had to learn in their coursework, then the *Special Operations Executive Manual: How to Be an Agent in Occupied Europe* (1942, republished 2014) is perfect because it is the course that future agents actually received to prepare for their work. Another pertinent book is *Dead on Time: The Memoir of an SOE and OSS Agent in Occupied France* by Jean Claude Guiet himself (2016).

That said, *Scholars of Mayhem* is a great book to get the general reader interested in history and is therefore highly recommended. It features fascinating

information about what Jean Claude Guiet went through during his fight in France. Avid World War II historians will appreciate this book because it provides an in-depth look into the clandestine activities of Jean Claude Guiet and other SOE agents.

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Hochschild, Adam.

Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016. 480 pages. ISBN: 9780547973180.

In his monograph *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939*, published in 2016, Adam Hochschild brilliantly describes the true story of Americans who volunteered to go to Spain in support of the Second Spanish Republic in its struggle against the Fascist army rebels led by Francisco Franco. This was a conflict in which the U.S. government wanted to play no part, which is historically significant (and ironic) because most Americans are woefully unaware of the heroism and sacrifices made by the Americans who went to Spain to fight the spread of fascism. Therefore, this review will be divided into two parts. The first half of the review will be a general summary of the story in Hochschild's monograph. The second half will be an analysis of why the author was successful in conveying to readers the full story of the American volunteers who fought in defense of the Spanish Republic against Franco's forces.

The book starts off with the story of the economic depression afflicting the world at that time, before transitioning to the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain in 1936. The book then moves on to the recruitment of volunteers from around the world, including the United States, by the Soviet Union into the military forces known as the International Brigades, all the while telling about the everyday lives of Americans who volunteered to go to Spain, including Bob and Marion Merriman, Charles and Lois Orr, James Yates, Toby Jensky, Virginia Cowles, Ernest Hemingway, and Louis Fischer, as well as several British individuals who also volunteered to go to Spain in order to fight fascism, such as Jason Gurney, George Orwell, and Orwell's wife. The book then describes how the tide turned against the Second Spanish Republic, and the repression which occurred in Spain following Franco's victory. It then discusses Spain's role in World War II. Finally, the monograph explains in detail the lives of the American (and British) International Brigade volunteers after the Spanish Civil War, their experiences during World War II and the Cold War, and their eventual rehabilitation and return to Spain following the country's transition to democracy after Franco's death in 1975.

The author of *Spain in Our Hearts*, Adam Hochschild, graduated from Harvard University in 1963 with a B.A. in History and Literature. As a college student, he spent one summer working for an anti-government newspaper in South Africa and eventually served as a Civil Rights activist in Mississippi for a brief amount of time in 1964. Much of Hochschild's writing has been centered on historical events involving the issues of social justice and human rights. Besides *Spain In Our Hearts*, his most famous works include *The Unquiet Ghost: Russians Remember Stalin* (1994), *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (1998), and *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (2005). In addition to writing books, Hochschild has published articles in various journals and magazines, including *Harper's Magazine*, *The Atlantic*, *The New York Times Magazine*, and *The Nation*.

Spain in Our Hearts is divided into five main parts, each consisting of several chapters. The first part describes the background of the Spanish Civil War. The second part focuses on the outbreak of the conflict and some of its early battles. The third part goes into detail about the military and political events that took place during the height of the conflict. The fourth part deals with the fall of the Second Spanish Republic and Spain's role during World War II. The fifth and final part of the monograph discusses the lives of the International Brigade volunteers from the end of the war to Spain's democratization in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In terms of content, the monograph contains a mix of numerous scenes involving the conflict's battles, the political situation, international involvement in the Spanish Civil War, and the personal, emotional experiences of the Americans and British citizens who volunteered to go to Spain, whether to fight for the Second Spanish Republic as members of the International Brigades, to provide humanitarian aid to Spanish refugees fleeing the frontlines, or to report on the status of the Civil War. In terms of usage of historical material, Hochschild has drawn upon a diverse array of both primary and secondary sources, including archival material (such as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives), theses (such as those of Dudley Quentin, Magdalena Bogacka-Rode, Sarah Cooper, and Ashley Johnson), and above all, books and articles (including works written by Michael Alpert, Richard Baxell, and Sebastian Balfour).

What sets Adam Hochschild's monograph apart from other nonfiction works on the Spanish Civil War is that it tells the story and consequences of the war from different angles, specifically the military, political, and personal (i.e., the war as experienced by the volunteers to Spain) aspects of the conflict. Whereas most other monographs focus on only one of these different aspects, *Spain in Our Hearts* instead weaves these aspects together into a single, cohesive narrative that perfectly balances these various aspects. In addition, Hochschild's work also provides little known facts about the war that are hardly ever mentioned by other historians. For example, few know that Franco's fascist rebels won the war, among other factors, because his army was being supplied with oil from a company called Texaco which was run by a man named Torkild Rieber. Few

historians have discussed this detail in their works, something that Hochschild wanted to rectify while working on his monograph.

The only problem with Hochschild's book is that it should have gone more into detail about Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s and early 1980s, following the death of Franco in 1975, as the only section of the book that deals with it, Part 5, consists of only two chapters. Overall, Hochschild has done an outstanding job of helping to convey the heroism and sacrifices displayed by American volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, and I highly recommend this book to any student of history, young or old.

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McCullough, David.

The American Spirit: Who We Are and What We Stand For.

New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017. 192 pages. ISBN: 9781501174216.

"Study a masterpiece, take it apart, study its architecture, its vocabulary, its intent," says David McCullough in one of his speeches which he has compiled into this small, fifteen-chapter book. Perhaps this review is an attempt to do just that, for this book is a masterpiece. (147) The cover of *The American Spirit* features an American flag and appears to be painted with brush strokes on a white background, with a texture emulative of canvas paper. The book begins with a quote by George Washington, "Perseverance and spirit have done wonders in all ages." (inside cover) And as McCullough attempts to paint the spirit of the United States, he chooses to paint in the medium of history.

History is many things to David McCullough. It is a source of strength for us, an inspiration. We need to know about history because we need to know about human nature and ourselves. Problems have histories, and often the wisest route to a successful solution is to understand its history. People also have histories and to understand them, you have to understand what they have been through. History allows us to understand the world in which we live. If people try to understand the reasons why things happen, a kind of simplicity emerges. We should learn history because we owe it to others from whom we have benefitted, to them who have made contributions to the human spirit. It is a point of respect. Also, by learning history we can become better human beings. From history we learn that sooner is not necessarily better. We learn to avoid self-pity and self-importance, as others had it worse than we do or did things more significant in their time. It also teaches that anything inauthentic rarely lasts and that character matters above all. History teaches us that actions have consequences. It teaches us to behave better. It breaks down dividers between fields, so that everything coheres into one subject. And history is art that goes beyond facts. "Facts rarely if ever have any soul," (143) writes McCullough. And perhaps most importantly, history is composed of both good and bad, but it is the good that defines us—although McCullough does not say why explicitly; perhaps it is because he

believes we are defined by the good in us, and the bad is extraneous to that. In other words, he believes in the spirit.

In this book, McCullough wishes to define the American spirit. He hopes that what he writes will remind us of who we are, what we stand for, and the high aspirations of our founders. So who are we, according to McCullough? Americans are people of vitality and creative energy, tolerance, people who insist on truth, and are good-hearted. We believe in the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. We believe in public schools, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and equality before the law. And we must not forget that these were novel and daring things at the time they were introduced. We believe in "always doing," as Jefferson said. We believe in courage and patience as Truman said. We believe in trial-and-error; we are not purists or doctrinaires. We are people of grit and determination, as Churchill emphasized (who, although he is not fully American, we adopt as our own). And we are idealists, as Wilson believed. We believe, as our founders did, that our example matters in the world.

But, according to McCullough, the most important things cannot be measured: the integrity of Washington, Lincoln's depth of soul, the courage of Truman, Kennedy at a press conference, Reagan in front of a television. These are indeed things that cannot be measured by any scientist, but they may be captured by an artist, especially one like David McCullough. And while capturing something of the spirit of America, McCullough has advice for us. He asks us to define the national ambition: "We need to talk sense, to speak the truth, to work harder, and stay faithful to our fundamental beliefs." (40) We have to work together in significant ways, but be responsible for our own actions. He advises us to put history into practical use in our everyday lives. He says we need to take an interest in people and get to know their stories, what they have been through. He has advice on how to teach history. It should begin at home and in grade school. And we have to have teachers with great empathy to teach us how to relate to those in the past. He advises us to tell stories, and even shows us how. He quotes E. M. Forster when he said that a king dying, then a queen dying, is a chronicle of events. But a king dying, then a queen dying out of grief for him, is a story. The difference is that the latter gets to our humanity. History, McCullough says, must always be a story. He wishes for us to read, for knowledge is most readily attainable in books. He advises us to choose work we believe in and go to work with spirit. Money will follow well enough, he says. He says that honesty is the best policy. And he advises that, whenever we stay in a hotel or inn, we always tip the maid. As most works of literature demonstrate, it is the small things that matter, for they tell us much about our basic character, our spirit.

There are concerns that scholars as well as others have had with David McCullough. And given his background and the subject matter and success of his work, these seem to be relatively rare. Although lacking an advanced, or any, degree in History (he has a Bachelor's degree in English from Yale), McCullough

is one of our most illustrious American historical writers, having received the Presidential Medal of Freedom (2006) as well as twice the Pulitzer Prize (1993 and 2002), first for *Truman*, then for *John Adams*, the latter selling over three million copies, an extraordinary number for a book on history. Regarding his work on Truman, he was criticized for seeming to justify the use of the atomic bomb due to information Truman had about the cost of life should the United States have to invade Japan. The historian Sean Wilentz criticized McCullough's work on John Adams for not delving further into Adams's works of political theory, which he sees as more historically significant than some of the other things McCullough focuses on. For his most recent work, *Pioneers* (2019), McCullough has been criticized for not focusing enough on Native Americans, especially given the new research that has been done in the past few years, and for some of his language which seems to confirm stereotypes of them. Some of these criticisms are legitimate, but the art of McCullough is to try to get into the minds and hearts of the people whose stories he is trying to tell, through their eyes, bringing out their humanity. And, in some instances, he may go too far in trying to do that. But that is a failing that is, after all, human. That said, he seems to be able to bring things to life with a mastery of his words and his empathy. He is able to recreate the essence of the Johnstown Flood, of a young Theodore Roosevelt, of the building of the Brooklyn Bridge, of John Adams, and, in this case, the spirit of the United States.

And the book does seem to be of importance. Many in our younger generation seem to have a dismal view of America and its history. It is one only of slavery, the extermination of the Indigenous, the oppression of one group after another. This view of the country seems to match the views of many during and after the war in Vietnam, and perhaps part of the reason why we see these views so common today has to do with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. But what McCullough does is to focus on the good struggling against the bad. To him, America is an experiment: a country founded on good principles that has always been trying to become better. It contains elements that are problematic, but these elements do not define us; it is the human beings and their principles that struggle against these problematic elements that do.

To David McCullough, history is a humanity. It is an art that we must learn as well as practice in our daily lives. From it, we may learn how to be better human beings. We may learn how to better understand others as well as ourselves. It tells us about our past, present, as well as our future. It tells us who we are, based on what we stand for. For it is what we stand for that defines us. McCullough is an artist whose medium is history, and the base of his paint is words. With great skill with those words and his empathy, he is able to paint something of our spirit. His book, *The American Spirit*, is highly recommended.

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Natale, Simone.

Supernatural Entertainments:

Victorian Spiritualism and the Rise of Modern Media Culture.

University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017; first published 2016. 248 pages. ISBN: 9780271071053.

When reflecting on his lifetime career of business ventures and showmanship featuring séances, freakshows, and circuses, P. T. Barnum (1810-1891) remarked, "the great ambition should be to excel all others engaged in the same occupation." Reading Simone Natale's compelling new work, *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism and the Rise of Modern Media Culture*, brings this statement to its full realization. The study of Spiritualism has been long and varied, with major shifts in its historiography occurring in the 1950s, 1980s, and more recently at the turn of the twenty-first century. While scholars of Spiritualism have examined the role of women in the movement, as well as the religious and scientific aspects of the religion, they have paid very little attention to the movement's role in the development of mass media culture. Natale's new methodological approach clearly identifies Spiritualism's rise to popularity alongside the development of mass media culture throughout the nineteenth century in both Europe and the United States.

Natale, a professor of Communications and Media Studies at Loughborough University in the United Kingdom, begins by offering a brief overview of Spiritualism's origins in the United States and Europe during the nineteenth century. He argues, "three aspects of nineteenth-century Spiritualism are crucial to understanding its spectacular nature: first, the participatory character of the Spiritualist experience; second, the coexistence of claims of authenticity with a spectacular frame; and third, the openness to different, potentially divergent interpretations of the event." (9) For Natale, the séance was a performance, much in same vein as a stage show or theatrical production. Unlike most other Spiritualism scholars, Natale views the deeply held religious views of the movement as secondary to the importance of the spectacle it provided.

Natale's book consists of three parts, each containing two chapters: "Configurations of Séances," "How to Sell a Spirit," and "Spirit and Matter" all focus on the major aspects of Spiritualism and its connection to the rise of mass media entertainment. In the first chapter ("The Medium on the Stage: Theatricality and Performance in the Spirit Séance"), Natale addresses the configurations of the séance, the most important ritual associated with the movement. (21-41) He explores the séance as an entertaining distraction, much in the same vein as amusement parks, carnivals, and traveling freak shows. Séances were not solely religious in nature, quite the contrary: one of the main functions of séances was to entertain and mesmerize the masses who attended them. While Natale acknowledges that séances were framed as very real encounters with the

spirits of the dead, he argues, much like other scholars (such as Alex Owen and Amy Lehman) before him, that they still contained theatrical protocols meant to entice those curious about spirit phenomena. (22) Spiritualism, like theater and later film, had its own celebrities which were continuously referenced in newspapers and later radio, such as the Fox Sisters, Daniel Dunglas Home, and Eusapia Palladino. (34) Entertainment was entwined with the movement from the start, and as popular mass media culture began to develop, Spiritualism rose in popularity. They both fed into each other, allowing for a cycle of growth which went unchecked for decades.

The second chapter (“Parlor Games: Play and Social Life in the Haunted House”) builds on previous research and examines the common actions and themes of apparitions summoned during a *séance*. (42-61) Fantastical experiences of spirits engaging in folk dances with clogs, while others etched drawings on curtains and chalkboards, only encouraged participation in these rituals. Natale posits that, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the physical environment, setup, and process of the *séance* became more standardized in order to accommodate the expectations guests often had based on the stories they had read in newspapers and popular Spiritualist editorials. Through this standardization, Spiritualism and the act of performing a *séance* gained wider respect and recognition throughout society, and female mediums used these developments as opportunities to challenge societal norms of the era. Women were often excluded from discussions of politics and economics, but by contacting spirits which supported their viewpoints in a *séance*, these women could then temporarily nullify societal expectations in order to voice their concerns and recommendations. As expected, these women often became the targets of mental institutions and men of high societal standing who would not tolerate this behavior, even in the confines of the *séance* chamber. Natale briefly discusses the case of Florence Crookes, a medium who attracted the attention of scientist William Crookes and converted him to Spiritualism. Since her views were considered radical by some of William’s colleagues, attempts were made to silence her and to discredit William when those attempts failed. (47) It was becoming all too clear within Victorian society that *séances* and the mediums who conducted them, held great influence over their guests.

Part 2 of Natale’s work focuses on the rise of celebrity culture within Spiritualism and how the movement used sensationalism to its advantage. Businessmen such as James W. Cook and P. T. Barnum understood the fundamental idea that doubt and controversy could often help draw attention to a given subject or event, with Barnum allegedly stating “there’s no such thing as bad publicity.” (66) Mediums were keenly aware of this idea and used it to their advantage in order to draw larger crowds to their performances. Natale explains that by performing feats of grandeur which could not be easily explained to the untrained eye, mediums were able to capitalize on those who doubted their authenticity. These skeptics would more than likely be encouraged to attend

multiple shows in order to attempt to prove the fraudulence of a medium's actions, but by doing so they contributed to that medium's profits and fame.

The most famous mediums were treated as celebrities, with a cult of personality surrounding those believed to truly have supernatural or divine gifts. Scientists, psychologists, and religious leaders wrote about mediums to determine the authenticity of their skills, the source of their powers, or the themes found in their readings and séances. Palladino, for example, was featured in over 1,000 articles on psychic phenomena and research by 1908. (92) The clientele who attended readings with these individuals ranged from working class citizens to heads of state. For example, Daniel Dunglas Home's séances were attended by Napoleon III, Czar Alexander II, Queen Sophie of Holland, and even Pope Pius IX on one occasion. Natale points out that maintaining celebrity status was much more difficult for women during this era, given the separation of social spheres between the genders. Women who enjoyed the fame and luxury of a celebrity were often actresses and singers and, thus, part of the entertainment world. Female mediums like Palladino were able to occupy this niche due to the similar entertainment qualities found in a séance. (102-104)

In the final part of his work, Natale analyzes the impact of technological developments throughout the nineteenth century and their connections to Spiritualism. Newspapers were the first sources of mass entertainment utilized by mediums and Spiritualist audiences to attempt to verify contact with the dead. The manifestation of messages from beyond the grave through spirit boards and spirit writings were commonplace. Known as "Automatic Writing," the technique was quickly adopted by many Spiritualist mediums in order to draw the attention of believers and skeptics alike. Natale walks readers through this process in which a medium would claim to make contact with a spirit and, while either possessed by them or influenced by their energy, would begin writing out elaborate messages to loved ones or audience members who wished to speak with them once again. (117-121) In order to dodge accusations of fraud, mediums began to incorporate new techniques into this type of séance, either by writing in a pitch-black room or by devising elaborate mechanisms which gave the illusion that the mediums themselves were not even touching the paper. This added to the layer of spectacle the séance provided to audiences. More importantly, it ensured that audiences would not grow bored of the same repeated setup of previous séances.

With the advent of photography and visual media, Spiritualism again saw a rise in popularity. In 1862, the news of a spirit appearing in a photograph sent shockwaves across the movement. Spiritualist publications, such as *Banner of Light*, celebrated the news as the beginning of a new phase in Spiritualist history. (137) Suddenly, mediums across the United States and Europe became familiar with operating cameras and claimed that spirits were a manifestation which could be visually captured by using this new technology. Crowds flocked to mediums in order to discover if they could provide them with pictures of their

loved ones watching over them. Natale notes that while these new developments allowed Spiritualism to rise once again in popularity, they also opened the door for more fraudulent behaviors, ones which could be systematically and scientifically explained and exposed. (138) William Mumler, credited as one of the earliest pioneers in spirit photography, is best known for the now debunked photo of Abraham Lincoln's ghost hovering over the shoulder of his widow, Mary Todd Lincoln. The work of Mumler and others like him, according to Natale, played into the downfall of spirit photography (and Spiritualism as a whole), because the nature of their work attracted too wide an audience. Those outside of traditional Spiritualist circles were much more critical of the movement and the beliefs associated with it. As a result of its expansion, due to developments in visual media, Spiritualism began to be perceived as a threat to the moral fiber of society. Natale does not dive too deeply into this aspect of Spiritualism's history in order to remain focused on its established relationships with mass media culture and consumerism.

Natale's work is clear, concise, and provides readers who are unfamiliar with the history of Spiritualism with enough background and complementary knowledge to understand the significance and brilliance behind his new methodological approach to the subject. The author establishes his work as an advancement within the overall historiography of Spiritualism and provides a refreshing new take on the religion's role and relationship with the mass media culture of the nineteenth century. From the rise of newspapers and the increased focus on entertainment and consumer culture to the advent of photography, Spiritualism played a crucial part in the expansion of these endeavors. It would not be appropriate to speak of one without the other: "the rise of new spectacular and entertainment practices has stimulated the amusement, the fascination, and the wonder of believers and skeptics, of curious and ecstatic spectators. They have all been equally welcome to join the spectacle of spirits." (173)

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Reséndez, Andrés.

The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017; first published 2016. 448 pages. ISBN: 9780544947108.

The cultural archive can be a powerful tool in a nation's history to either enhance its claims to progressivism or tear down its moral underpinnings. In the United States, the cultural archive holds a stain that can and often does bleed through the fabric of all historical narratives, yet remains mysteriously obscure: the genocide of Indigenous peoples. In Andrés Reséndez's new monograph, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*, we find

arguably one of the most important contributions to the cultural archives of the United States and Central America. In *The Other Slavery*, Reséndez, a professor of History at the University of California, Davis, who specializes in colonial Latin America, borderlands, and the Iberian world, expounds on complex power shifts as results of the American Indigenous slave trade, popular memory, and political influence. The book consists of twelve chapters, an introduction and an epilogue, which uncover the ugly, obscure nature of Indigenous enslavement in the Americas with Reséndez's source-driven, narrative style.

Reséndez spends his introduction establishing certain truths, tackling myths and misguided perceptions, as well asserting the purpose and utility of crafting an expository work such as this one. He sets the facts of Indian slavery against the general practice of slavery in the early modern world, stressing that Indian slavery was illegal yet practiced in plain sight. (4) Comparing Indian slavery to the Atlantic African slave trade, Reséndez asserts that both were immeasurably devastating to Indigenous populations, but his figure of an Indian slave count of nearly five million sets the tone for what is to come. (5) However, the Indian slave trade was and is strikingly obscure in popular memory. As he concludes his introduction, Reséndez proclaims that he is not presenting a comprehensive history of Western slavery, a task that, as he admits, would exceed the page limits of this book, and that he utilizes "the other slavery" as a broad term that includes labels that on their own are troublesome to define. The first chapter of the book covers what Reséndez refers to as the "Caribbean Debacle" (13-45), chronologically in the late 1400s: the founding of the New World. From the beginning of mass Indian enslavement, the book traverses history until the abolishment of the cruel practice in the 1880s.

Reséndez devotes the first half of *The Other Slavery* to assessing the Spanish influence on the Central-American slave trade. Beginning with Columbus and his discovery of the New World, Reséndez lays down statistics that challenge long-held beliefs concerning the interaction between the Native population and the Spanish *conquistadores*. Disease, the most devastating ravager of Native populations, did not begin dealing its damage until a full twenty-six years after Columbus's 1492 landing, reaching its apex in 1550. Reséndez speculates that, between 1492 and 1550, inhumanity toward Native populations saw "the harshest and most iniquitous and brutal slavery that any man has ever devised for oppressing his fellow-men, treating them, in fact, worse than dogs," (14) dealing out death and suffering on a massive scale. This is where we encounter Reséndez's demographic conundrum. The biological explanation for Indian devastation is squarely at odds with Spanish documentation of dealings with the Natives from Columbus's landing in 1492. The industry that Columbus, a businessman as much as navigator, had begun, caused a genocide that the Spanish Crown had not intended to bring about. Since this industry incorporated principles that were officially outlawed by the Spanish Crown, the Spanish in the

New World eventually reacted by introducing what would become known as the “New Laws,” discussed in Chapter 2 (“Good Intentions”). (46-75)

These laws, codified by Spanish activists against the reprehensible treatment of the Natives, were a sweeping attempt to reform and improve the Spanish-Indian relationship. The most important facet of the laws was attributing “free will” to the Natives, which all but illegalized slavery. The laws were well-intentioned and received well by the Native population. Yet, while the Spanish in the homeland reluctantly accepted these laws, the Spanish in the colonies reacted with outright revolt. The Central and South American slave trade was an incredibly lucrative and fundamental aspect of the economy in this massive region, and removing slavery was seen to act directly against the interests of the Crown. Thus, the “New Laws” were confounded by a lack of meaningful enforcement and subversive methods at avoiding illegality by means of terminological sophistry. These activities against the “New Laws” support the notion that these codifications were encroaching on an industry that was as complex, diverse, and powerful as it was cruel.

Reséndez’s third chapter (“The Trafficker and His Network”) (76-99) delves into the massive, web-like system that constituted the trafficking industry. Here, we see an incorporation of the African slave trade into the Central American system. Slavers in the colonies, in meticulously planned expeditions, enlisted investors to generate funds for convoy defense and employed agents who acted as middlemen for the actual sale of the slaves. One of these powerful traffickers, also known as “frontier captains,” Duarte de Leon, held connections to the larger mercantile empire of Spain, played a fundamental role during colonial wars, such as the Chichimeca Wars, and held positions of political power in the Central and South-American colonies where slavery facilitated an expansive metal mining industry.

The California Gold Rush is commonly included in lessons on strong mining industries, but the largest metal mining operations were actually the Central and South American silver excavations, discussed in Chapter 4 (“The Pull of Silver”). (100-124) These massive industries were carried out by the state-funded, coerced labor of Native populations. Silver and its associated industry provided the Spanish colonies with a massive amount of revenue at the expense of the livelihoods of millions of Indigenous slaves. Eventually, the state-driven operations of coerced labor hit a brick wall with the beginning of “The Spanish Campaign” against Native slavery (Chapter 5). (125-148) King Philip IV of Spain (ruling 1621-1640/1665), a procurer of fine arts and general advocate of worldly pleasures (125), was certainly a monarch one would not initially have expected to embark on such a mission of liberation. Yet, later in his life, hyperreligiosity inspired him to begin a campaign to liberate the Indian slaves throughout North and South America. Ultimately, some of the same constraints that had hampered the “New Laws” would plague the monarchical enforcement of Philip IV’s campaign, although the latter had more success in Trinidad and Mexico than the

previous “New Laws.” The unfortunate side effect of this governmental outlawing of slavery was that the industry was driven further under the control of Native slavers and traffickers. This became an issue because – while the Crown had had some influence over the Spanish traffickers – Native slavers were completely free from the Spanish grasp. In the end, the royal anti-slavery campaign created a precedent for future abolitionists.

At the halfway point of the book we come across “The Greatest Insurrection against the Other Slavery” (Chapter 6). (149-171) Here, the author details the massive 1680 uprising of New Mexican Pueblo Indians against the Spanish (“Pope’s Rebellion”). This revolt against the Spanish was organized, meticulous, and unforgiving. Many pueblos were destroyed by the rebels, culminating in the taking of Santa Fe. The Spanish, unprepared for the revolt, ultimately abandoned their post in Santa Fe, solidifying the Pueblo Indians’ victory over the Spanish in New Mexico which would not be reclaimed by Spain for nearly twelve years. These conflicts in the late seventeenth century altered labor relations in northern New Mexico for years to come.

The second half of Reséndez’s book focuses more on Native perspectives, as opposed to the industry-driven Spanish viewpoints emphasized in its first half. In addition, there is more emphasis on the United States’ conduct toward the Indians. Reséndez delves into the position of Indian slave holders, detailing conquests of the Utes and Comanches. Chapter 7 (“Powerful Nomads”) (172-195) underscores the importance of a new enslavement cycle in North America, headed by Natives and underpinned by the introduction of firearms and horses. This not only improved the Natives’ abilities to enslave their own kind, but, more importantly, evened the technological imbalance between the Indians and the Spanish empire, making the Natives more adept at fending off enslavement attempts. This prompted the Spanish to employ new methods of enslavement.

With the frontiers destabilized due to the rise of firearms and horses under Native control, the Spanish sent forth missionaries and established missions (Chapter 8: “Missions, Presidios, and Slaves”). (196-217) These religious stabilization efforts ultimately proved inefficient at truly controlling and coercing the Native populations to conform, as there was a relatively low number of Natives who went along. In response, Spain turned to more forceful methods in the form of *presidios*. The *presidios* were fortified bases that featured cheap or unpaid laborers, run and enforced by *presidio* soldiers. The shift from the missionary effort to the *presidio* proved violent and unforgiving to the Native population. The eventual independence movements from the Spanish governments did not abolish slavery as much as they simply replaced it with servitude. In Mexico, for example, after independence, servitude laws forbade those in servitude from leaving their masters until they had fulfilled their respective servitude obligations.

The methods of Native enslavement and disenfranchisement continued throughout the North American experience (Chapters 9-12). (218-295) The

Mexican experience with Indigenous slavery is discussed in Chapter 9, with up to 750,000 Indigenous peoples enslaved, underscoring the expansion process that was occurring in the late nineteenth century. As Mexico's expansion of slavery intensified, the United States was beginning its own experiences with "the other slavery." Reséndez explores the similarities of the sixteenth-century colonial conduct with the United States' experience, underscoring cases such as California's Indian Law of 1850, freeing Indigenous slaves but leaving subverted methods unrectified. Chapter 11 explores the "New Bondage" of Indigenous peoples under the United States government during the westward expansion through the medium of religion, as baptism and church participation were used to "civilize" the Indigenous people. The influx of European immigrants and westward-moving Americans in the nineteenth century dealt blows to the Natives in broad, devastating strokes. At long last, as detailed in Reséndez's final twelfth chapter, emancipation was on the horizon. The Civil War and the emancipation of slaves with the Thirteenth Amendment ultimately led to the abolition of Indian as well as African slavery. This did not truly come to fruition, however, until the 1880s. Reséndez ends *The Other Slavery* with a brief epilogue in which he summarizes his key findings and addresses contemporary slave movements since World War II, stating that slavery is alive and well even in the modern world.

The Other Slavery, above all else, exposes what is perhaps America's greatest tragedy. Our historical archives and popular narratives often delve into what cannot be ignored. Other popular works by authors focusing on the Indigenous American people, such as Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) and John Ehle's *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (1988) are exemplary of much of the scholarship currently available. Most projects on the Indigenous experience in the Americas focus on specific tribes or tragic events, often restricted in their geographic scopes. There are works such as Charles C. Mann's *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (2005) that delve into broad spheres of life in the Indigenous people's world, however, the topic of slavery is quite scarce, making Reséndez's work supremely important and impactful. The Atlantic African slave trade serves as an example rife with horror, suffering, and inhumanity that has been documented, taught, and remembered. Yet, the complete history, if such a thing is possible, of America's cultural archive has yet to be written. *The Other Slavery* is a courageous and comprehensive exposition of the tragic trafficking of Indian slaves in the New World. It is highly recommended, not just to understand Indigenous enslavement from an academic perspective, but, truly, in a human sense.

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Sides, Hampton.

On Desperate Ground: The Marines at the Reservoir, the Korean War's Greatest Battle.

New York: Doubleday, 2018. 416 pages. ISBN: 9780385541152.

Narrative military history has been a growing genre that enraptures the mind of even the most casual of readers and transports their imaginations to the grisly realities of war. *On Desperate Ground: The Marines at the Reservoir, the Korean's War Greatest Battle*, a book by Hampton Sides, is a recent addition to this genre. Sides is known for his narrative nonfiction histories that are usually set as adventures. His publications include *Ghost Soldiers: The Epic Account of World War II's Greatest Rescue Mission* (2001); *Blood and Thunder: An Epic of the American West* (2006); *Hellhound on His Trail: The Stalking of Martin Luther King Jr. and the International Man Hunt for His Assassin* (2010); and *In the Kingdom of Ice: The Grand and Terrible Polar Voyage of the USS Jeannette* (2014). Sides is also a journalist who serves as an editor-at-large for *Outside* magazine, and he has been a contributor to *National Geographic*. *On Desperate Ground* is Sides's latest nonfiction work and has garnered positive reviews in *The Washington Post* which named it as one of the top ten books for 2018, while the Marine Corps Heritage Foundation has named it the best nonfiction work of 2018. In addition, *On Desperate Ground* is currently under consideration to serve as the basis for a television series. I believe this book owes its overall success to the factual nature of its content which is being told as a narrative, so that readers feel like they are reading a novel, but are always reminded that the events retold in this book actually transpired. *On Desperate Ground* offers a fresh perspective on the Korean War and one of the war's most dramatic encounters, namely, the 1950 Battle at the Chosin Reservoir. Sides provides us with various accounts of the battle from a wide range of perspectives, and he explains that the Korean War and its casualties were the results of poor leadership from afar.

The book has a prologue and an epilogue with forty-five chapters in between. The chapters are further divided into five sections (or "books"). In "Book One: Seoul," we are introduced to some of the main figures of the narrative: the well-known General Douglas MacArthur, MacArthur's chief of staff Major General Edward "Ned" Almond who led the X Corps, and Major General Oliver Prince Smith who led the First Marine Division which would have a major role in the war to come. Sides emphasizes that he believes Smith is "one of the great underrated generals in American history," (9) making it apparent that Smith will play a major role in the narrative in order to highlight his achievements that, as Sides believes, are often overlooked in favor of MacArthur's. Sides uses primary sources in order to build the narrative, namely, documents found in the Marine and Army archives; he employs a number of recorded oral histories; and he has even conducted his own interviews with Chosin veterans. Sides refers to secondary sources to emphasize that the Battle at the Chosin Reservoir is one of the best-known battles of the Korean War. This may lead one to wonder whether

Sides is merely repeating a story already told, but his emphasis on Smith and his later emphasis on other individuals makes this an engaging, fact-filled narrative that will leave readers captivated.

Sides provides an excellent, if brief, history of the Korean Peninsula and how it came to be arbitrarily divided at the 38th parallel, and he explains the different political directions of the two sides: the North embraced Communism with Kim Il Sung as its leader, while the South went for democracy with President Syngman Rhee. Sides describes how Kim Il Sung invaded South Korea with a "Soviet-trained, Soviet-equipped army," (14) and although the U.S. and the U.N. sent troops to aid the South Korean soldiers, the North Korean army took Seoul and then pushed their enemies down to the southeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula at Pusan (Busan). Sides portrays MacArthur as a rash man who is into theatrics and grand schemes. Thus, it was no surprise when he introduced the idea of invading Incheon, an important port city in the middle of the Korean Peninsula, from the sea, known as "Operation Chromite." Sides introduces Almond as one of MacArthur's "yes" men who strongly supported and admired MacArthur. Almond was the leader of X Corps which was considered the main fighting force of the amphibious invasion, with the First Marine Division attached to it. Because of this arrangement, Almond was essentially Smith's boss, and their meeting became the beginning of a long-standing dislike and conflict between the two men, providing a sort of foil for Sides's main protagonist, Smith. In essence, Sides offers a revisionist history that is critical of MacArthur and Almond in order to bolster Smith. Sides also adds a Korean perspective through his own interview with Lee Bae-Suk who participated in the war, thus broadening his narrative beyond a mere American perspective. "Book One" ends with the recapturing of Seoul.

"Book Two: To the Mountains" gives us insight into the politics involved in the continuation of the Korean War, as President Harry S. Truman and his Secretary of Defense gave MacArthur free reign to go further north beyond the 38th parallel. Here, Sides also includes some Chinese history to prepare the reader for Mao Zedong and his entrance into the Korean War, which would substantially affect the tides of this war. "Book Three: The Reservoir" takes us to the beginning of the battles in North Korea, as Almond's X Corps sought to invade the North until they reached the Yalu River at the Manchurian border of China. Here, Sides steers away from his main characters and follows the personal experiences of lesser-known soldiers (who are nonetheless colorful characters). Readers now find themselves in the middle of combat, and Sides emphasizes just how hellish these battles were—from using the bodies of the fallen Chinese as cover, via soldiers fighting even though they were wounded because freezing temperatures kept them from bleeding out, to the likes of First Lieutenant John Yancey who, after an attack that had left his jaw hanging loosely, simply tied a strip of blanket to keep it in place and walked himself to the infirmary at the bottom of the mountain on which he had just fought. "Book Three" ends with

Truman finally acknowledging the magnitude of what was happening in Korea and issuing orders to pull out.

“Book Four: Red Snow” addresses the process of pulling out of Korea by first getting those at the Chosin Reservoir back to Smith’s base at Hagaru. Here, Sides again breaks away from his main protagonists, Smith, MacArthur, and Almond, and follows the narratives of lesser-known soldiers who had to pull out from the Chosin Reservoir and regroup at Hagaru. Sides describes one of the most hellish missions of the Korean War where soldiers would risk trekking across the mountains to sneak up on Chinese forces and save Fox Company (who were on the verge of being massacred) from Fox Hill at Toktong Pass. In this context, Sides acknowledges an even lesser-known soldier, a Chinese American named Chew-Een Lee, who would be the leader of a single-file column known as the Ridgerunners whose sole mission was to save Fox Company. Readers are immersed into the brutal conditions at Chosin Reservoir where, according to Sides, one of the Ridgerunners whose “spirit had gone out of him” (248) refused to march further, had to be straitjacketed and taken by stretcher, and later died to the incredulity of the soldiers even though he had no discernible injuries.

“Book Five: To The Sea” deals with the “retreat” of X Corps and the Marines. Sides mentions that the Marines did not see their march back to Hamhung as a retreat; rather, they viewed it as a “fighting retreat” or “an attack in another direction” because, as far as they were concerned, although the Chosin campaign had been a strategic disaster, they had achieved many victories, and the word “retreat” left a bad taste in their mouths. Here we see some of the Marine culture which is sprinkled throughout *On Desperate Ground* and essentially highlights the seemingly unique and proud attitude of the Marines whom Sides considers one of the best fighting forces in the world. “Book Five” blends the experiences of Sides’s main protagonists, mainly Smith, with those of lesser-known characters who share their stories of the violent and arduous march back south to Hamhung. The explicit descriptions of the horrors of war continue in “Book Five” with mentions of dead bodies used as ballast for the rebuilding of a destroyed bridge at Funchilin Pass, which was necessary for the X Corps to reach Hamhung and eventually return home. Smith is reintroduced as the main protagonist as he overlooks and admires the tenacity of his Marines, while also lamenting the casualties that he may have found unnecessary, since he had been in disagreement with MacArthur and Almond from the beginning.

Sides takes another jab at MacArthur by mentioning that the latter was not even present to greet the Marines at Hamhung, but offers some redemption to Almond for actually being present there and praising the Marines’ valor. Smith is best characterized as the main protagonist of this narrative by one of his Marines who boasted, “I’d follow him to hell because I know he’d get me out.” (326) Overall, *On Desperate Ground* provides an engaging story that mesmerizes its readers and informs them of the horrors and tribulations of war, but Sides’s overall goal is also a revisionist history. Sides speaks against the often-touted

excellence of prime figures such as MacArthur and questions the higher-ups' political command during the war. With Smith as his protagonist, Sides gives us a perspective of those who experienced firsthand the troubles of war and who actively participated and helped prevent the complete failure of the Korean campaign. Those interested in narrative military history that includes firsthand accounts will greatly enjoy this book, along with historians who can appreciate a fresh perspective on a legendary battle. Those interested in this book might be happy to know that there is now a paperback edition with a new title, *On Desperate Ground: The Epic Story of Chosin Reservoir: The Greatest Battle of the Korean War* (ISBN: 9781101971215). Those interested in further reading on the battle at the Chosin Reservoir should turn to *Breakout: the Chosin Reservoir campaign, Korea 1950* by Martin Russ (1999), *Chosin: Heroic Ordeal of the Korean War* by Eric M. Hammel (1981), *East of Chosin: Entrapment and Breakout in Korea, 1950* (1987), or *Frozen Chosin: U.S. Marines at the Changjin Reservoir* (2002). With his use of lesser-known individuals' accounts, including those of minorities, Sides provides a methodological paradigm from which to explore other battles to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of their history and legacy.

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Solberg, Mary M., ed.

A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940.

Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015. 486 pages. ISBN: 9781451464726.

Witnessing something firsthand is a sure cure for doubt, but it might fail to remedy the aftershock of disbelief. Such is the case in *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932-1940*, selected, translated, edited, and introduced by Mary M. Solberg, a Gustavus Adolphus College emerita professor whose research includes the behavior of the Protestant church under the Third Reich, the life and thought of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and Christian ethics. In this anthology, Solberg presents the reader with original documents from pastors, professors, and theologians who fully supported and promoted National Socialism. The documents are divided into twenty-one chapters, some containing several documents, but most consisting of one. Published between 1932 and 1937, these translated works are organized chronologically. A large majority of the authors that Solberg showcases were either sympathizers or active members of a group known as the German Christians. These Christians were not merely followers of Christ; they were "true believers [...] in Adolf Hitler." (13) Even though a minority, the German Christians had a significant influence both in the church and in society, an influence that "too few people in or out of the academy" (9) understand. This

book seeks to change this lack of awareness. It attempts to show how these Christians “encouraged attitudes and practices that now seem utterly to contradict the most basic ethical precepts of Christianity.” (11) Ultimately, this anthology is an “attempt to provide access in their own words to what the German Christians believed and thought.” (2) Solberg’s approach is to simply present one document at a time.

Each document was chosen according to Solberg’s “criteria of selection,” consisting of five components: chronology, key issues, authorship, contemporary critics, and types of documents. (27-31) Taken together, these criteria allow for a diverse collection of primary materials. The final criterion of selection, concerning types of documents, reveals the wide range of media from which these materials originated. Some pieces are excerpts from books, others are short pamphlets, still others are journal articles. Solberg also includes sources that were originally delivered as speeches and radio talks. In addition to the wide range of source types, the authors and orators are equally distinct. Although all were claiming to be Christians, many operated in different spheres of influence. Nazi-supporting clergy, professors, theologians, and even a youth pastor are among the authors of these documents. Due to this wide range of individual authors, the different pieces vary in presentation and form. While some documents are declarative, others are more explanatory. In either case, they are shocking to the modern reader.

In addition to Solberg’s method of selection, there is, it seems, an unstated process of strategic presentation. Solberg places the texts in a dynamic order, and she begins with a forceful text. Not explanatory in tone, lacking in sensible justification, and strong in delivery, laid before the reader are the 1932 “Original Guidelines of the German Christian Faith Movement” by Pastor Joachim Hossenfelder. (45) Hossenfelder begins by stating that these guidelines will “show all faithful Germans the path and the goals that will lead them to a new church order.” (48) The “Guidelines” continue, “we want a vigorous people’s church.” (49) They then turn to the issue of race: “race-mixing must be opposed” and “we reject the mission to the Jews as long as Jews have citizenship, which brings with it the danger of race-blurring and race-bastardizing.” (50) Only four pages in length, this document speaks volumes. A church for the people. A church of racial purity. What is the explanation for all of this? Solberg forces the reader into a challenging position. The document is in your face. The propaganda is proclaimed loud and clear. What are you to do with it?

The following three chapters are as difficult as the opening chapter. Solberg, using the primary sources, places the reader into the middle of a theological debate between pastors who wanted to integrate the Aryan paragraph, namely, the legal justification to dismiss Jewish Christian clergy, and those who rejected it. A document from the Theology faculty at the University of Marburg, originally signed by the Dean, Dr. Hans von Soden (who opposed the Nazis), addresses the issue. Speaking about the church body, the document states, “to

mutilate this body [i.e., the church] consciously is a sin." (62) The two strongest opponents to state measures like the Aryan paragraph were theologians Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Karl Barth. Bonhoeffer argued that the "part of the church that excludes another is, of course, the one that is truly shut out," (73) and Barth insisted, "if the German Protestant church were to exclude Jewish Christians or treat them as second-class Christians, it would have ceased to be the church." (91) Those outspoken against the Aryan paragraph were harshly criticized and excommunicated by the German Christians. "For us German Christians," declared Göttingen Theology professor Emanuel Hirsch, "there is no talking with Karl Barth." (104) Lines had been crossed, enemies made, and the German Christians firmly established themselves and opposed any dissenters.

Solberg changes pace by introducing several texts that are much more informative in tone and style. The first is a work that details the history of the movement. Its author, theologian Arnold Dannenmann, makes his intentions clear from the start: "every National Socialist is unconditionally bound to the Führer Adolf Hitler. This is not a slavish bond, but a voluntary one." (124) He continues by enthusiastically characterizing the founders of the German Christians as examples of heroism. He then explains January 30, 1933, the day Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, as a "divine hour." (146) The rise of National Socialism, according to Dannenmann, is inextricably bound to the history of the German Christians. The following chapter consists of excerpts from the "Handbook of the German Christians," a larger piece that explains the core beliefs of the movement. At one point, it declares, "the church commits itself to blood and race, for our people are a community based on blood and nature." (172) Following this, Solberg turns the reader's attention to sources that reveal problems that the German Christians faced.

The documents from Chapters 7 and 8 expose self-proclaimed challenges and struggles that the movement attempted to sort through. These documents allow the reader to see the German Christians' reasoning. The Jews were a central area of concern. According to Tübingen Theology professor Gerhard Kittel, "it thus becomes a serious question whether such radical legislation against Jews is really necessary and fair." (204) Framing this debate in "religious terms" (205), Kittel holds to a theological position that "real Judaism remains true to its symbolic being as a restless and homeless sojourner wandering the earth." (219) Kittel maintains that Jews have no home in the church. The subsequent text by Pastor Joachim Hossenfelder shows the tension between the German Christians and their enemies: Marxism and the "demonic powers of liberalism." (242) Fighting alongside Hitler, considered a model of "purity, piety, energy, and strength of character," the German Christians would help bring an end to the "Judas-bribe" that sabotaged the "German soul." (246) In order to rescue Germany, the church must "fight on behalf of race" and act readily as the "state's strong helper." (248) Justifying a theological position against the Jews while aligning themselves with

the state, these documents reveal the ideological commitments of this group. However, not everyone was aligned with these thoughts.

Although unified in their resolve against the Jews and in their full support of Hitler, the German Christians had inner conflicts that cost them many supporters. Some of the movement's members developed and promoted their views at a moderate pace and did not want to detach themselves from the general Christian public. However, other individuals, motivated by their increasing devotion to the state, tried to move things along more quickly. Reinhold Krause (who had studied the pedagogy of religion), in a "Speech at the Sports Palace in Berlin" (November 13, 1933), promoted the ideas of the German Christians to an audience of 20,000. (249) Following his speech, many Christians were unsettled by several of his comments, some of which outright denied aspects of traditional Christianity. The day after the speech, Ludwig Müller, the Reich Bishop and a leading figure in the German Christian movement, responded to Krause's speech: "the speech included an unheard-of, aggressive attack against the Old Testament, and even the New Testament was subjected to a critique that is not acceptable to the church." (265) Nonetheless, Müller's public sentiments could not rescue the movement from the repercussions of Krause's words. As a result, according to Solberg, "the movement's forward momentum [that had been maintained] throughout 1933 halted." (250) Many Christians were offended and put off by the German Christians.

In Chapters 11 through 16, Solberg offers documents that further reveal the German Christians' attempt to appeal to the wider German public. The reemerging themes that are promoted in these documents shows the movement's desire to prove its ultimate relevance to Christians, National Socialists, Hitler, and Germany as a whole. In its appeal to the wider German public, one tactic of the movement was to praise Hitler as the final fulfilment of a towering historical figure in both German and Christian history: Martin Luther. This, however, was understood differently by various authors. Pastor Friedrich Wieneke explained Hitler as the present reminder that "since Luther's time the attempt had been made to create a particularly German Christianity." (274) However, the theologian and publisher Siegfried Leffler portrayed Hitler in a different light: "without the appearance of Adolf Hitler four hundred years later, Martin Luther's act would not have fulfilled its total significance for Germany." (357) This "act" was the unification of Germany as an Aryan, Christian nation.

In the final documents of this anthology, Solberg gives the reader a taste of how these Christians understood Christ's relationship to the Jews. Traditionally, the Jews were thought to be God's Chosen People. However, with the movement's ability to reject the Old Testament and with its adherence to cultural antisemitism, Christ had to be described as an opponent of Judaism. The Organization for German Christianity argued that "one can show with the highest degree of probability that Jesus was not a Jew by blood at all." (440) It is further stated that Christ himself "recognized the two essential traits of the

satanic Jews [...] murder and lies!" (441) Theologian Walter Grundmann made similar claims, stating that "Jesus stands here in the line of ancient, foundational Aryan thought, and rejects Jewish expectations." (463) He further argued that in the person of Christ there is "something utterly un-Jewish." (469) Jesus, the founder and leader of the Christian faith, believed to be one with God, is understood and described by the German Christians as utterly opposed to the Jews, and if God was against the Jews, who could be for them?

Solberg's presentation of these original documents is provocative and insightful. However, it does not provide a clear picture of the historical development and influence of this movement. Rather, it provides the reader with pieces of history, pieces that are unified and fragmented at the same time. If a reader is interested in a book about the movement, Doris L. Bergen's work, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (1996), is a more appropriate choice. But if a reader is interested in understanding the German Christians themselves on their own terms, how they reasoned, how they justified themselves, how they believed, how they held to their convictions, and how they truly saw themselves as divinely inspired, then this is the work to consult. Regarding the events surrounding World War II, Nazi Germany, and the Holocaust, "these materials [...] surely both complicate the picture and help complete it." (2) The reader of this text will surely obtain a greater understanding of the factors that motivated this group, but the truth is disturbing. As Arnold Dannenmann proclaimed, "decades from now these things will be judged very differently from what we can see at present." (157) By simply providing the evidence, Solberg allows the reader to do just that.

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Terpstra, Nicholas.

*Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World:
An Alternative History of the Reformation.*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 358 pages. ISBN: 9781107024564.

Even before the Protestant Reformation, people were raising questions about the health of their respective spiritual communities. Early modern Europe was becoming a hotbed of new and diverse confessions and doctrines that communities of all sizes were not prepared to accommodate. In *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation*, Nicholas Terpstra explores the perceived threat of religious minorities within such communities and how these worries translated into public policies. Nicholas Terpstra is a professor of History at the University of Toronto. His publications center on the intersection of politics, gender, charity, and religion. Terpstra has

authored six books, with *Religious Refugees* being the latest and one of just two not written exclusively about Renaissance Italy. His previous work on the latter subject, *Cultures of Charity: Women, Politics, and the Reform of Poor Relief in Renaissance Italy* (2013), earned him awards from the Renaissance Society of America and the American Historical Association. An author so accomplished would appear to be more than ready to extend his focus to dozens of communities throughout early modern Europe. Apart from well documented examples, such as the *conversos* and *moriscos* of the Spanish Empire and the Huguenots of France, the book also takes care to examine lesser researched minorities such as the Ottoman Empire's treatment of European religions, or the unique enclosure built for the Jews in Venice.

The first of six chapters in *Religious Refugees* ("The Body of Christ: Defined and Threatened") (21-73) opens on a metaphorical concept that is key to understanding the spiritual framework of the Christian community, namely the *Corpus Christianum* or body of Christ. This framing device will appear in all parts of the book where the plight of Catholics or Protestants is concerned. Like the human body, the *Corpus Christianum* was under threat physically by the Ottoman warriors of Islam. There were also unseen threats from within, such as miasmas and plagues blamed on witches or other cohorts of the devil; the Jews who refused to convert; or iconoclast reformers. (21) Such contagions spread due to the lack of leadership from priests who should have been keeping them out. The prevailing medicine of early modern Europe consisted of purgatives rather than curatives, and this informed the communal approach to these contagions.

The next two chapters go into detail on the specific practices according to which religious minorities and refugees were treated. Chapter 2 ("Purifying the Body") (74-132) breaks these down into four categories, namely, separation, containment, prosecution, and purgation. Separation came in the form of Protestants creating their own spaces to study and practice in safety, and in the new Catholic religious orders that became popular during the fifteenth century. Containment was expressed via closed residences such as convents and monasteries for the purposes of education and improvement, but also via institutions intended to protect the outside from what was inside, such as brothels or Jewish ghettos. Prosecution encompassed more executive approaches such as Spanish inquisitors investigating heresies and enforcing pure-blood laws that, among other things, prevented converted Christians in Iberia from attending universities or marrying "Old Christians." (97) Finally, purgation included expulsion of religious minorities under governmental authority. Chapter 3 ("Dividing the Body: People and Places") (133-183) applies these four categories to the stories of individual people and places. Religious exile became a mass phenomenon in early modern Europe and continuing into the Enlightenment, so the scenarios and victims varied on a large scale. Protestant reformers valued only what was mentioned in Scripture and therefore purged the rest of the Catholic world from their communities. There was the Anabaptist

experiment of Münster where citizens were issued an ultimatum by the radical reformers who arrived there: either be re-baptized or leave. (168-169) Meanwhile, Jewish exiles in Salonika and also Protestants in Istanbul enjoyed functional coexistence with Muslims in the Ottoman Empire through the latter's *millet* system governing religious communities. (157-160) Examples like these illustrate that refugees shaped environments just as much as their own situation was shaped by the world that rejected them.

The fourth chapter ("Mind and Body") (184-240) is all about comparative practices among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The rituals and rules that most tangibly divided them pertained to three themes: initiation, presence, and authority. The initiation rituals of circumcision and baptism created boundaries between faiths, while the presence of God in the sacrament of Communion was re-evaluated by Protestants who allowed the laity to sip wine from the Communion cup as only Priests were expected to in Catholicism. Finally, the question of authority was the primary focus of the rift between Catholics and Protestants: Who or what speaks for God? Protestants of all stripes venerated the idea of *sola scriptura* (by Scripture alone), but the Bible was anything but straightforward, and questions of what books should be considered part of the canon challenged the very notion that the laity could handle Scripture in a direct, non-curated format. (213-214) Beyond these themes, Terpstra asks how notions of charity evolved during the Reformation. Charitable works had been emphasized by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike during the Middle Ages, but in early modern Europe the goal for Christians was to improve the spirit and provide character-building discipline as much as relief. Protestant schools and Catholic religious orders waged their wars of influence accordingly. (226-227) The Islamic and Jewish worlds also expanded their relief efforts via *waqfs* (endowments) and local relief efforts respectively. These examples demonstrate that the obligation to provide charity was recognized across all faiths even if the methods were not mirrored. (221-222)

The fifth chapter ("Re-Forming the Body: The World the Refugees Made") (241-308) reads like many other academic books about the Reformation as Terpstra describes the religious world(s) created by the refugees. Every innovation from the printing press to the catechism gets its mention here before ending in a discussion on "confessionalization." What keeps this chapter from feeling derivative are the connections drawn between these old talking points and the themes of Chapters 2 and 4. For instance, the majority of printed material at the dawn of Luther's Reformation came in the form of 16-32-page pamphlets because these were cheaper to produce and helped printers maximize their profits in a world where ten percent or less of the German population could even read. The writers of these works, Luther included, were diligently working to sell a narrative of purgation which festered and boiled into the disastrous German Peasants' Revolt of the mid-1520s. (246-247) The theme of separation reared its head when Protestant clerical standards suggested that priests be trained outside

of their communities from adolescence to read the scriptures in Greek and Hebrew. (262) Renovations of church spaces in the early modern era focused on the presence of God. Protestant church spaces removed altar pieces and statues while emphasizing the pulpit. Catholic churches were constructed on larger scales and adorned with more fabulous, commissioned artwork to inspire worshippers. Jews could not create their own sacred spaces, as they were denied the practice of crafts like carpentry or construction by early modern civil laws, but they could still contract non-Jewish builders to do it for them in places of greater toleration. (284) The mosques of the Ottoman Empire had a hybridized style as they moved into Eastern Orthodox Europe. All of these places of worship were publicly visible markers of religious identity, but that also made them easy targets for violence intended to “purify.” (288)

The concluding chapter (“Re-Imagining the Body”) (309-329) opens on the Yugoslav Wars (1991-2001) which, while not events in early modern history, can still be described according to Terpstra’s framework of purgation and exile. The ethnic cleansing of Catholic Croats and Bosnian Muslims came at the behest of military leaders who were calling for extermination and the destruction of places of worship. And this bloody war was not alone in such rhetoric, considering the Balkan Wars, the Armenian Genocide, the Ukrainian Holodomor, and the Holocaust. As if the connection between the early modern world and the twentieth century could not get any more overt, Martin Luther’s treatise “About the Jews and Their Lies” (1543) was reprinted as part of Nazi propaganda. (311) The final pages of Terpstra’s book affirm that practical co-religious existence did occur in early modern Europe but that obstacles to toleration were becoming systematic. Religion became more about dogmas, definitions, and doctrines, and confessionalization turned religious fears and questions into political action.

One major critique I have is the total lack of footnote or endnote citations, and that there is only a selective bibliography organized by chapters. It can be frustrating for the reader to learn of a unique example of Reformation society only to have no source to learn more. Terpstra’s previous works do not exclude sources in this way, so this decision was likely made by the publisher in order to sell *Religious Refugees* to a more general readership presumably intimidated by footnotes. Even so, that common concern usually results in footnotes becoming endnotes, rather than total exclusion. Perhaps publishing concessions needed to be made in order for *Religious Refugees* to join several dozen other works of nonfiction attempting to hit the market in time for the five-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Or perhaps the publisher simply put their foot down on a page count maximum in order to keep costs low. If that last possibility were the case, the author would have had to weigh the wide scope of the book over the inclusion of citations, which is a difficult call to make.

Is *Religious Refugees* an “alternative history” as the subtitle claims? Terpstra explains that the historiography of the Reformation has classically followed the stories of individual reformers because other commentaries on the spiritual or

intellectual progression of this era can vary widely based on authors' personal values or even nationalities. Even as Reformation historiography has shifted from the stories of great men to analyses of other topics, such as women or the poor, our understanding of the period has been deepened, yet our framework has remained unchallenged. New interpretations and narratives have absorbed the old ones, but not overturned them. (8) I believe this is why Terpstra cites the expulsion of 80,000 Jews from Spain in 1492 as the earliest incident of the Reformation. (2) Other authors may be content with picking another radical thinker, such as Jan Hus or Hans Behem, to take the place of Martin Luther and his "Ninety-Five Theses" as the agents who started everything, but they are then still entertaining the old notion that individual "great men" are the causes of history. Terpstra even goes so far as to call out the Martin Luther narrative as a "North European conceit". (329) But the strongest case for Terpstra breaking ground in the field is the large scope of the book. By including Jewish and Muslim histories, Terpstra challenges the antiquated notion that the Reformation is an era concerned only with a rift in Western Christendom.

Terpstra's approach to refugees and the methods or language of exclusion provides a new framework for analyzing this period of history in a context more stimulating to the modern historian. It is true that the early modern era did not create the first religious refugees, but the persecution started to escalate into a mass phenomenon only comparable to later eras. One must understand, though, that the pre-Enlightenment concept of "religious tolerance" was different from our own. Our notion of the term "tolerance" is that tolerance is positive, progressive, respectful, and accommodating. Meanwhile, to the early modern spiritual body, tolerance was negative, a sign of weakness, and associated with the act of suffering or enduring the existence of the religious other. Religious diversity was becoming a political issue that needed to be solved. (120) Tolerance may have been practiced at local levels of government. In such cases, a threat to the community may be pointed out, yet the authorities lacked the willpower or incentive to do something about it. However, as long as the discourse persisted and became more accessible through vernacular pamphlets and in written law, new generations would be born into the language of purgation and purity and have fewer misgivings about making good on those threats. (74)

Comprehensive studies like *Religious Refugees* do not appear often and are just as rarely this readable. One that comes to mind is Benjamin Kaplan's *Divided By Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (2007), which is a similarly broad study on early modern notions of religious tolerance and the various ways in which religious minorities were treated. Terpstra's book, however, should suffice in fascinating general readers and can potentially challenge long-held ideas about Reformation history, which is the standard by which I recommend it.

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Tortorici, Zeb.

Sins against Nature: Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain.

Durham: Duke University Press, 2018. 344 pages. ISBN: 9780822371540.

Warning: Graphic sexual depictions. Archives are the backbones of historical studies, and, as Zeb Tortorici demonstrates, they even provide glimpses into the sexual history of colonial New Spain via the Inquisition and other records featuring sodomy, necrophilia, bestiality, sex with the “divine,” and sexual abuse by church figures. Tortorici’s *Sins against Nature: Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain* takes cultural history to a new level. Tortorici employs archival sources from colonial New Spain, from 1535 to 1821, to study the accounts of “sins against nature,” provides insights into the sexual history of colonial New Spain, and assesses the respective effects on individuals and communities. New Spain, or *Nuevo España*, for Tortorici comprises “Mexico, Central America, Florida, much of the southwestern and central United States, and the Carribbean,” (2) and eventually (since 1565) the Spanish East Indies. Tortorici suggests that historians should perhaps question their methods when using the archives, especially when exploring sexual history. Zeb Tortorici is an associate professor of Spanish and Portuguese at New York University whose edited collections include *Sexuality and the Unnatural in Colonial Latin America* (2016). Tortorici’s new book, which is the subject of this review, adds to the history of colonial New Spain by exploring archival evidence for “sins against nature,” but his primary goal is to understand archival processes and how one can gain a more profound understanding of the social and cultural history of a much-studied society.

Tortorici’s monograph consists of an introduction, conclusion, and six chapters in between. Tortorici begins his introduction by challenging historians to explore local archives to study sexual history, rather than rely on national or regional archives. He emphasizes that viewing sexuality as something between male and female limits what one can discover of a culture’s sexual history. His first chapter explains the different ways in which a visceral reaction can manifest itself. Based on his theories of how one may explore the archives, he explains that there are several stages of the visceral: first, the visceral affects the witness or witnesses and their testimony; then it affects the transcriber of said testimony which goes on to affect the cataloger or archivist of the respective primary document; finally, the visceral affects those who pull up an archival source, such as Tortorici himself. Using examples of sodomy cases, Tortorici explores this phenomenon. One can, of course, read these examples as cultural or social history, but Tortorici examines how eyewitnesses and the courts came to deal with these instances in order to define the visceral and how it affects our understanding of the archives and of history. Those unfamiliar with historical

methodology may find all this a little too theoretical, but that does not make it any less relevant.

In Chapter 2, while examining cases of sodomy, Tortorici covers the visceral reactions associated with these documents, but he also delves into the problems of misinscription and silences in the archives. Those who transcribed the eyewitnesses' or accused's testimonies had issues with misinscriptions since some cases involved the Indigenous people of colonial New Spain, and because these spoke their own languages, one had to rely on translators to acquire their testimonies. Thus, transcriptions of these translations can be replete with errors, and their original meanings may be lost since there may not have been an equivalent word or phrase in Spanish that properly illustrated what an eyewitness or accused was trying to relate. Tortorici also tackles the issue of silences. He indicates that certain cases appear to not have been well documented to begin with, or that the conclusions of certain cases are either missing or perhaps never existed. Tortorici's discussion of topics like the visceral, misinscriptions, and silences challenges scholars to rethink their methods when reading archival sources. With these concepts in mind, Tortorici goes on, in Chapter 3, to explore more of the culture of colonial New Spain by addressing voyeurism and gestures in the sodomy cases, all the while making sure that readers are aware of the respective archival processes. Tortorici explains how sodomy was defined in colonial New Spain, and how courts judged and punished sodomy according to their Catholic beliefs.

In Chapter 4, Tortorici turns to cases involving bestiality. He recreates the case of one Pedro Na who was accused of having "carnal access" (124) with a turkey. Pedro was found guilty and forced to be publicly shamed by riding on the back of a "saddled animal," (125) while a town crier announced his "crimes." Pedro was then publicly castrated and banished from the provinces of Yucatán. However, what stood out most prominently to Tortorici was the fact that the turkey, which had died due to the sexual acts inflicted upon it, was hung from Pedro's neck while he was publicly shamed and that, at the end of the punishment, the turkey was burned to ashes. This ties into Tortorici's interest in animal history which he feels has been a neglected subject in the study of history and has suffered erasure, much like the turkey being turned to ashes. Tortorici believes that animals have their own agency and that they, even though they are not able to communicate verbally, nonetheless occupy areas of history and play significant roles that should be explored. Studying animal history, along with its erasure, can provide different perspectives from which we can explore certain cultures, and, in the case of Pedro Na, they offer a meaningful example since the turkey is one of the native birds of the Yucatán and thus an integral part of this region's cultural history. Those with weak stomachs may have a difficult time reading Tortorici's analysis of bestiality cases, but it is clear that we have yet a lot to learn from animal history and its implications for cultures around the world.

Tortorici ends his book by looking into the influence of the church and religion when it comes to the sexual history of colonial New Spain. In Chapter 5, we encounter cases of church figures soliciting sexual favors in the confessional or performing “sins against nature,” such as sodomy, outside of their church services. Tortorici in chapter six also explores what he refers to as sexual acts with the “divine,” as there were those who claimed to have had sexual encounters with divine figures or the Virgin Mary. In the cases of those who claimed to have committed “sins against nature” with divine figures, many cases ended with the accused being labeled as having an “‘illness of heart’, melancholy, dementia, fatuousness, locura or ‘craziness’, and other unspecified ‘sicknesses’ of body and soul.” (227-228) Tortorici’s study of these cases allows for an archival shift since many of these cases used to be viewed from a medical perspective rather than a religious one, thus reemphasizing Tortorici’s challenge that we need to examine how we interact with the archives.

Regarding the soliciting of sexual favors in Chapter 5, these cases were seen as instances of favoritism or leniency. Due to the prominence of religion in this region, church figures occupied a higher status than average citizens, let alone the Indigenous. Tortorici delves into the trouble of archiving confessionals, and even though soliciting women was an issue, Tortorici’s main focus is on the solicitation of males, especially young males. His approach to this subject is a backhanded criticism of how sexual abuse of young males has been handled in modern-day Catholic churches. Studying how these cases were archived provides insights into the culture of the respective time period during which these cases never saw much punishment besides accusations of “light suspicion of heresy.” (167) Elements of linguistics, which delve into the social history of this region, furnish us with additional tools to explore cultural history and reexamine our interaction with the archives.

Tortorici’s conclusion sums up his main findings, reminding readers what one must be wary of when delving into the archives since historians have an ethical responsibility to explore all avenues of historical research. Those interested in Tortorici’s historical methodology may wish to turn to such works as *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* by Antoinette Burton (2005), *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* by Kathryn Burns (2010), or *The Allure of the Archives* by Arlette Farge (2013). Those interested in the history of sexuality in Spain or colonial New Spain are advised to consult *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain’s Golden Age* by Cristian Berco (2007), *Butterflies Will Burn: Prosecuting Sodomites in Early Modern Spain and Mexico* by Federico Garza Carvajal (2003), or *Sexo y confesión: La iglesia y la penitencia en los siglos XVIII y XIX en la Nueva España* by Jorge René González Marmolejo (2002). *Sins against Nature: Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain* is aimed at historians, especially historians with knowledge of historical theories and methodologies, and as such may be less accessible to amateur historians or those with a general interest in the history of colonial New Spain. Those devoted

to archival work will certainly relate to Tortorici's intimate relationship with the archives.

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Wallace, Patrick F.

Viking Dublin: The Wood Quay Excavations.

Sallins: Irish Academic Press, 2016. 594 pages. ISBN: 9780716533146.

In *Viking Dublin: The Wood Quay Excavations*, Patrick F. Wallace presents the various discoveries of the Wood Quay/Fishamble Street excavations, conducted in Dublin in the 1970s and 1980s. These excavations were led by Wallace himself as chief archaeologist, and after the excavations ended, in 1988, Wallace was appointed Director of the National Museum of Ireland. It is Wallace's intent to convey what Dublin was like as a town during its first four centuries (ninth-twelfth centuries CE) by presenting both the historical record and the archaeological evidence from Ireland and abroad. (x-xi) The wide range of archaeological evidence found in Dublin is an obvious source of pride for Wallace who repeatedly emphasizes that Dublin has some of the most complete archaeological evidence for a Viking town anywhere in Europe. There are other works on Viking-era Dublin and the Wood Quay excavations, including *Viking Dublin Exposed: The Wood Quay Saga*, released in 1984 with John Bradley as editor, and *Wood Quay: The Clash Over Dublin's Viking Past*, published in 1988 by Thomas Farel Heffernan and focusing on the efforts to preserve the excavation site.

Archaeological findings play a significant role in Wallace's presentation. While the book's introduction provides some historical context to the excavations, most of what is being presented in the subsequent thirteen chapters amounts to evidence overload. Chapter 1, "Origins, Evidence, and Sites," is most concerned with the history of the city of Dublin, including evidence that predates Dublin's settlement by the Vikings. This chapter already presents the reader with a plethora of numbers and data (3), a taste of what is to follow, and with a comparison between Dublin and other areas occupied by the Vikings, notably York. (7) Wallace stresses here, for the first of many times, how well preserved the archaeological evidence is. (17) Chapter 2, "Town Layout: Yards, Neighborhoods, Successions, Maps, and Reconstruction," showcases what the archaeological evidence suggests regarding Dublin's physical layout during this period and includes a site-by-site description. (33-47) Wallace argues that the Wood Quay/Fishamble Street excavations provide great insight into period town layout. (48) The remainder of this chapter describes the layout of the yards and provides a reconstruction of these yards. (53, 57-58) This reconstruction is perhaps Chapter 2's best feature and gives the reader a good idea of what the

town may have looked like. In Chapter 3, "Buildings," Wallace turns to the various buildings identified during the excavations. According to the author, some 600 buildings (both complete and fragmentary) were found, which would be a rather complete set in the history of early medieval Europe. (76) Wallace describes the various types of buildings (79). His reconstructions and models are immensely helpful to understand the various buildings' designs. (87-90) This chapter contains images of roof and floor tiles (103), as well as examples of wooden drains found during the excavations. (112-113)

Chapter 4, "'A Wonder of Ireland': The Viking and Hiberno-Scandinavian Port," focuses on the Vikings' efforts to provide military defenses for the port of Dublin, since they were less concerned with trade and more with protecting the city itself. The chapter starts by discussing three of several banks (fortifications) found during the excavations. Supported by detailed photographs, Wallace shows the development from boulder-clay banks to stone walls. (125-142) The remainder of the chapter turns to weapons found during the excavations, namely those considered to be of Viking origin or at least inspired by the Vikings (but in some cases imported from the Baltic region), once again supplemented by numerous photographs, including those of arrowheads and spearheads. (143-150) The chapter ends with a discussion concerning the governance of Dublin during its Viking occupation. Chapter 5, "The Hiberno-Norman Port: Revetment, Engineering, and Ships," addresses the defensive properties of Viking Dublin's port, the trade activities in that port after the Norman invasion, and how, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the port became more open to ships and trade. (154) It includes a reconstruction drawing by Michael Heffernan of what the Hiberno-Norman port might have looked like. (155) This chapter explains that the revetments (fortifications) found during the excavations offered stability for an embankment. (157-168) Another topic covered in Chapter 5 is the timber used for shipbuilding. The various parts of different ships found during the excavations include some well-preserved planking which most likely belonged to a late twelfth-century ship. (183) There are fascinating images of a "mast crutch" and a "wooden flax beater" (186), as well as the picture of a replica ship named "Roar Egge." (191)

Following Chapter 6, "Environment, Hinterland, and People," Wallace turns to material culture which is the topic of Chapters 7 through 11. Chapter 7, "Wood, Leather, and Textiles," concerns itself with wood craftsmanship and carpentry. One of the more mysterious objects found during the excavations is a furniture piece that includes various incredibly detailed "animal-headed handles." (252) The leather works discovered range from shoes to bags and are of relatively good quality. (259-260) The evidence for textile production ranges from silk and wool-textile fragments to the numerous tools for the manufacturing of textiles. (262-268) The discussion on leather goods and textiles continues in Chapter 8, "Dress, Personal Ornament, and Related Crafts." Here, Wallace speculates on the usage of various items, notably how items such as head

coverings might have been worn, with a series of illustrations showcasing several possible ways. (274) There are silk and woolen scarves that give the reader an idea of how the head coverings may have appeared. (272) Braids and ribbons are among the items commonly found in Dublin, with more than forty silk ribbons among the discoveries. (275) Personal ornaments were made from a wide range of materials, including copper, lead, glass, and amber. (279) The chapter features examples of brooches, buckles, and tags. (279-284) The beads and the amulets made from amber and beads are beautiful and showcase the craftsmen's attention of detail. (289, 294-295) There are also objects made from bone and ivory, including needles, pins, whistles, and motif pieces. (303-304)

Chapter 9, "Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metal," discusses the numerous metal objects discovered in Dublin. Wallace speculates that blacksmiths were among the most valued artisans in Viking Dublin. (310) He lists the types of metalwork they created for professional and domestic settings. It appears that the tools used by woodworkers, stoneworkers, and possibly clothworkers and leatherworkers were made from the same materials; specifically, hammers, axes, saws, and tongs were made from iron. (312-316) The excavations also yielded numerous household items, such as knives, spoons, and forks, (319) as well as items intended for use with horses, such as prick spurs and stirrups. (325) Iron was often used in tandem with copper, silver, and gold, with copper-based evidence being the most common. Lead was also prevalent and used for weights, spindle whorls, and pendant crosses. (335, 339-342)

Chapter 10, "The Wealth of Barbarians': Silver, Coins, Weights, and Commodities," discusses the amount of silver found in Ireland, particularly the different coins (of which there are many) and their various designs. (354-357) Weights were typically made from lead or copper (and very impressive). (361) This chapter also reviews evidence of imports, including walnuts, plums, amber, ivory, pottery, glass, and disc brooches, as proof of long-distance trade. (365-368) Disc brooches and both unworked and finished pieces of amber appear to be of German origin. (369-370) Chapter 11, "The Archaeology of Art, Leisure, Literacy, and Belief," covers items located during the excavations that are considered to have been of domestic or religious use. In this chapter, Wallace explains the influence that Viking art had on art in Dublin, specifically, that the *Ringerike* (Oslo) school of art influenced the Irish the most, which can be seen in the animal-like patterns carved on wooden handles. (387-389) With regard to stone and bone motifs, Wallace theorizes that stone motifs started in Ireland and then spread to other regions of Europe, (393) subsequently mixing with West-Norse metalwork designs. The excavations also yielded examples of craft items used for domestic purposes, such as a wooden toy sword, toy boat, and dog figurine, (405,407) as well as game pieces made from bone and stone. (406)

Chapter 12, "Archaeology, History and Relative Ethnicity," and Chapter 13, "The Archaeology of Early Medieval Dublin: Context and Significance," summarize Wallace's interpretations of the evidence discovered during the

Wood Quay/Fishamble Street excavations and their broader historical implications. Patrick F. Wallace's *Viking Dublin: The Wood Quay Excavations* is a well-written and well-researched piece of scholarship. One of the book's primary advantages are its numerous pictures, reconstructions, and models of objects found during the excavations, which are invaluable for any reader unfamiliar with either the subject matter or the way the information is presented in the text. Undoubtedly, *Viking Dublin* will be of value to those interested in archaeology and anthropology; to the general reader, it is perhaps less accessible. Overall, I am certainly inclined to agree with the author's enthusiastic assessment of his Wood Quay/Fishamble Street excavations and their significance for our understanding of Viking and Irish history.

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Walpole, Garth.

Relics of the Franklin Expedition:

Discovering Artifacts from the Doomed Arctic Voyage of 1845. Edited by Russell Potter.

Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2017. 240 pages. ISBN: 9781476667188.

Tragedies and mysteries, while often difficult to process, have always been popular topics among scholars and the general public. Imaginations run wild, attempting to explain what may (or may not) have occurred. One such mystery captured the attention of Garth Walpole, an Australian historian and archaeologist, and Russell Potter, an American writer and college professor, who dedicated their lives to studying the 1845 disappearance of Sir John Franklin's failed expedition to find the Northwest Passage. Instead of finding a faster route to Asia, Franklin and his entire crew were lost, with only a handful of relics of their voyage remaining. Garth Walpole's and Russell Potter's work *Relics of the Franklin Expedition: Discovering Artifacts from the Doomed Arctic Voyage of 1845* subverts readers' expectations with regard to this mystery in a clever and compelling way. The historiography of polar exploration (meaning expeditions to both the Arctic and Antarctic) is dominated by works focused on the themes of heroism, ecological preservation, and legitimacy over the discovery of geographic locations. Scholars have produced a number of works exploring how and why Franklin's expedition disappeared, including the recently published *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition* by Owen Beattie and John Geiger (2017) and *Death in the Ice: The Mystery of the Franklin Expedition* by Karen Ryan (2018). Instead of devoting their work to the disappearance of the expedition, as other scholars have done, Walpole and Potter thoroughly examine the subsequent missions by the British Royal Navy to find traces of Franklin's crew and the relics which they were able to recover. An in-depth analysis of these

relics, their discovery, preservation, and economic value (both then and now) accompanies this process.

Walpole and Potter begin by offering readers a brief overview of the Franklin Expedition and its mission, namely, to find the legendary Northwest Passage. However, Walpole is quick to note that this will not serve as the focus of this present work: "As part of an examination of these relics [i.e., the relics recovered from the Franklin Expedition], I will address their significance as objects. These objects shared a biography or 'life history,' and like the men were created (born), used (lived) and lost or discarded (died)." (3) For Walpole, these objects served as living examples of the harsh conditions and possible misfortunes that must have befallen the crew. They are living history: "It is my aim, through a close, careful analysis of these relics, to better understand their significance and place in terms of the wider context of material culture studies." (3) By employing a methodology focused on the material remains of the expeditions, Walpole and Potter are able to demonstrate how their archaeological and journalistic backgrounds compliment their historical analyses of the artifacts.

Relics of the Franklin Expedition consists of six chapters, each focusing on the "lifetime" of the discovered relics. It is important to note, however, that these chapters are not equal in length or weight, with the second chapter ("The Continued Search for Relics, 1851-1854") encompassing almost half of the book. (50-149) Conversely, the fourth chapter ("The Material and Social Value of the Relics") is disappointingly short. (160-162) Walpole's methodology is easy to follow, given that there is a clear focus on the relics, and the book proceeds both chronologically and thematically as it explores various aspects of the expedition's economic, political, scientific, and even environmental impacts. Moreover, instead of building their analysis on the works of previous Arctic and British historians, Walpole and Potter emphasize archaeological monographs which inspired them, including Igor Kopytoff's *The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process* (1986). (3-4)

Chapter 1 ("The Material Biography of Relics: A Physical and Spiritual Relationship") takes into account the lack of historical scholarship dedicated to examining how people have interacted with material objects, with Walpole explaining that "[i]n Western thought, objects and people have always been distinctly separate." (5) Walpole insists that for readers to understand the significance of the surviving relics of the Franklin Expedition they must look beyond the traditional meaning that relics hold in Western thought. In the eyes of the authors, "any relic of the dead is precious, [especially] if they were valued living." (7) Walpole and Potter then offer readers a taste of what the rest of the work will be like, with maps, illustrations, and detailed descriptions of objects related to the expedition which were recovered by subsequent search parties. (9-49) Not all of these objects are what one would traditionally expect to find, with campsites, fortifications, and the remains of makeshift huts serving as arguably the most relevant remains available to historians and archaeologists interested in

unraveling what may have happened to the ships and crew. (21-25) Overall, this chapter creates a strong foundation for the remainder of the work.

Chapter 2 (“The Continued Search for Relics, 1851-1854”) serves as the main course of the text and follows the history of five expeditions made by both the Royal Navy and the surviving families of those lost during the Franklin Expedition. (50-149) Frustratingly, this chapter is probably too technical for the wider reading public. At first, it seems promising. It presents a map of northern Canada, which indicates the paths taken by both Franklin’s expedition and those who came looking for them. (54) Discoveries made by the crews of the *Investigator* and the *Enterprise* (ships under the command of Lt. Collinson in 1852 and 1853) soon follow, and Walpole thoroughly examines these relics, which include an anchor, a section of hatchway, and crudely made living quarters on a small Arctic beach. (55-59) Next, Walpole discusses the Anderson Expedition of June 1853, which recovered Franklin’s diary (i.e., the Hudson Bay diary). (59)

Walpole presents these expeditions in chronological order, and he repeatedly mentions that they largely occurred as a result of surviving family members securing enough financial support to initiate them. (50-67) Considering the recovery of Franklin’s diary, one would think that his words may have offered at least some closure to the families of those who had disappeared, however, Walpole and Potter never reveal these families’ reactions to the various discoveries, which will leave most readers disappointed. It is clear from the extent and structure of the second chapter that this book was written almost exclusively for archaeologists interested in the relationship between relics and people. For historians, it is valuable because it demonstrates how to construct an interdisciplinary approach to a complex subject, but it falls short in that it is written for such a comparatively small audience. Historians do their best when they tell stories about the past for others to learn about the human experience. Little information about the lives of those of the past can be gained from this text; rather, there is only familiarity with the relics themselves. The last three chapters of the book, “Examining the Relics,” “The Material and Social Value of the Relics,” “The Relics: Their Past, Present and Future,” relate where the recovered relics found their new homes (in museums, archives, and private collections), and how twenty-first-century scholars have interpreted their significance to the archaeological community. (145-190) The sheer skill needed to so accurately trace the movement of so many artifacts is truly astounding and demonstrates Walpole’s scholarly prowess.

Tragically, Walpole passed away in 2015, soon after the completion of this text. He had spent numerous years meticulously crafting it to what he viewed as perfection. Potter, who had partnered with Walpole in his research efforts, collaborated with Walpole’s colleagues in Tasmania to ensure the text’s accuracy and then saw the work through to publication in 2017. Potter served as the book’s editor, though, according to multiple interviews, he prefers to be referenced as Walpole’s co-author. Potter dedicated the introduction and a

portion of the work's conclusion to Walpole and his legacy. (1-4, 191-194) *Relics of the Franklin Expedition* is well structured, and it provides readers with detailed information on the history of the relics associated with the Franklin Expedition, as well as an account of the subsequent expeditions intended to find potential clues and survivors. Walpole and Potter establish their work in the context of relevant scholarship and offer a well-meaning, if potentially confusing, interdisciplinary approach to their research. Instead of attempting to do the impossible by endlessly theorizing what may have happened to Franklin and his crew, Walpole and Potter give readers tangible evidence of the past and do their best to relate it. However, they admit that, despite their best efforts, "the study of these relics from their deposition, to our present understanding is, like the objects themselves, malleable and not complete." (192)

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Zahra, Tara.

The Great Departure:

Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World.

New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017; first published 2016. 416 pages. ISBN: 9780393353723.

"The Great Departure from Eastern Europe helped to define the 'free world' in the twentieth century," (21) writes Tara Zahra in her new monograph, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World*. What concept of "freedom" is she referencing? Zahra diversifies the traditional U.S.-centric narrative of Eastern European immigration by examining the reasons for this movement of Eastern Europeans to the United States from the 1880s onward. In doing so, she presents two prominent divergences from the traditional story: the first is that immigrants often came reluctantly, seeing the United States as a desperate final option rather than a beacon of hope; the second is that immigration trends were as influenced by the policies of Eastern European nations as they were by the policies of the United States. Zahra illuminates her analysis of broad population trends with stories of individual immigrants. It is among many monographs about transnational history to appear in recent years, including Ana Elizabeth Rosas's *Abrazando el Espiritu: Bracero Families Confront the U.S Mexico Border* (2018), and Erica Lee's *The Making of Asian America* (2016).

Tara Zahra is a professor of European History at the University of Chicago. Her previous works have focused on transnational history, migration and nationalism. She explores each of these themes in *The Great Departure*, portraying the migration of various European peoples to the United States in the face of opposition or encouragement from highly nationalistic governments. The first chapter deals with efforts by the governments of Central and Eastern European

countries to discourage emigration by limiting pro-emigration propaganda. The immigration policies of these nation-states often encouraged the emigration of ethnic minorities, while discouraging the departure of members of the dominant ethnic group. This pattern was continued by the new nation-states that emerged following World War I. Zahra draws a connection from these early nationalist efforts to control borders to the eventual complete restriction of movement under the communist and fascist regimes of the twentieth century.

Zahra also explores the relationship between freedom of movement and the concept of freedom in American rhetoric. In the introduction, she points out that freedom in the United States has always included this concept as exemplified by the ability of settlers to move westward. Whereas the pre-capitalist mercantile states of early modern Europe had sought to bolster their populations, Malthusian pessimism concerning overpopulation had by the nineteenth century convinced European governments to embrace the liberal concept of freedom of movement. Eventually, the governments of Cold War-era eastern bloc countries that closed their borders argued that emigration would lead to a restriction of freedom due to wage slavery, whereas remaining would ensure freedom from exploitation.

The first portion of the book focuses on emigration from Austria-Hungary in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It opens with the trial of sixty-five travel agents in the Galician town of Wadowice, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, now part of Poland. They were accused of deceiving citizens of the Habsburg empire into migrating by promising them false conditions upon their arrival to the United States. Zahra portrays this trial as an example of the policies of the Austro-Hungarian government to restrict emigration. Citizens of the dual monarchy gained the constitutional right of free movement in 1867. However, this right was seldom recognized in practice as local authorities often intimidated locals from taking the steps necessary to emigrate. Nevertheless, between 1876 and 1900, over three million people left the empire, a figure that astounded local authorities. Members of the military establishment were alarmed over the loss of potential conscripts. Religious and political authorities, as well as reformers, saw the departures as symptomatic of poverty, underemployment, and imperial decline. Zahra affirms this critique, arguing that escaping poverty was the primary motivator for emigration, especially in the province of Galicia. Meanwhile, she acknowledges that some individuals may have emigrated for more personal reasons than just the desire to escape.

Travel agents were blamed for the mass departures. Often, they were assumed to be Jewish, and their promotion of emigration was portrayed as a Jewish conspiracy to undermine the nation-state. The Wadowice trial saw the use of traditional anti-Semitic rhetoric by the prosecution, which achieved conviction and prison sentences for the travel agents. This exemplified the Hungarian government's (which was largely independent of Austria with regard to

domestic affairs) uniquely severe restrictions on emigration. Policies like these would serve as examples to post-World War I nation-states. (23-63)

Zahra examines how European states shaped migration policies to maintain their respective nations' self-perception as white. The second chapter begins with Booker T. Washington's and sociologist Robert Park's 1910 journey through Europe to find "the farthest man down" or the people at the lowest point of European society. They observed that the Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary were the closest in economic and social status to African Americans in the U.S. This underscored a comparison of the social situation in Europe to that in the United States. Just as Americans had prejudices about Europeans, the latter had prejudices about Americans, particularly relating to America's relatively recent slave-holding past. Many reformers discouraged emigration to the United States by arguing that Slavs would be used to replace African Americans as an agricultural labor force in the Southern states. They invoked the recent history of the U.S. by asserting that immigrants would be treated as slaves. Such degrading labor would be perceived as a national insult to their European countries of origin. Authorities also feared the exploitation and Americanization of emigrants from their countries, believing they would return with their sense of collectivism and traditional morality corrupted. Meanwhile, men feared the dissolution of the patriarchy, as divorce licenses were easier to obtain in the U.S./

As a measure to prevent the possible exploitation, degradation, and Americanization of emigrants from its territories, the Austro-Hungarian government encouraged immigration to the "colonies" in Brazil, Madagascar, and Argentina. The idea was that this would allow Austria, which had been a latecomer to the colonization race, an opportunity to expand its economic reach, while allowing immigrants to enjoy the culture of their homeland. Zahra includes the early Zionist efforts to colonize Palestine in this category. However, the promotion of these colonies proved to be fruitless as North America remained the primary destination of Austro-Hungarian migrants. (65-104)

Following World War I, new nations, such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Second Polish Republic emerged out of the territory that had comprised the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German empires. These nations sought to strengthen the ethnic homogeneity of their populations by restricting the emigration of the respective dominant ethnic groups from their lands. They simultaneously sought to encourage the emigration of populations they deemed undesirable, particularly their Jewish populations. Zahra points out that many anti-Semitic policies in Eastern European nations, such as those in Poland, Romania, and Hungary, preceded World War II. Nations like Romania and Hungary were complicit in the atrocities of the Holocaust because they corresponded with their own plans for the removal of Jews. (105-142)

Throughout the 1930s, many European governments as well as many European Jews were in agreement that Jews should emigrate from Europe. While U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt was sympathetic to the plight of the Jews,

he acquiesced to popular opinion in the United States and did not alter the quotas imposed in the highly restrictive 1924 Immigration Act. This attitude led to many proposed schemes to settle Jews in remote locations, such as Madagascar and British Guinea. A group of Jews did settle in the Dominican Republic under the leadership of dictator Rafael Trujillo, who was eager to bring white workers into his country. Zahra argues that these schemes were inherently discriminatory, as the people chosen for them were usually only the young and able-bodied. (143-179)

World War II displaced millions of persons, ranging from prisoners of war to concentration camp survivors. Rather than experiencing freedom of movement after the war, these individuals were subjected to restrictions due to many factors. Social workers and international organizations tended to provide vocational training for displaced people. Many of the Holocaust survivors had missed out on educational opportunities and wished to obtain college degrees, especially since many countries only accepted them based on their ability to provide skilled labor. Furthermore, many who had been taken as prisoners of war from the East wished to remain in the West, particularly Soviet prisoners of war who faced accusations of treason upon their return. These displaced persons were often forcibly repatriated. (181-215)

During the Cold War, Eastern-bloc countries halted emigration out of the need to maintain a workforce to rebuild their war-ravaged societies. The authorities expanded on the rhetoric of earlier regimes that to travel to the capitalist West would mean becoming a wage slave while to stay in one's socialist home country would mean freedom from hunger. Zahra points to the irony of this statement, using the restrictive symbol of the Berlin Wall as the prime example of how unfree the restriction of movement truly was. She does not absolve the United States from this restriction, noting that Congress, in the early 1950s, Congress passed laws restricting the immigration of anyone who had ever identified as a communist. (217-253)

Zahra argues that the period between 1989 and 2015, between the end of the Cold War and the recent resurgence of nationalism, may have been a unique time in European history due to the relative freedom of movement in Europe. She does not discount the cultural and economic tension that freedom of movement produces, but argues that its net effect is positive. (254-291) The paperback edition, published in 2017, contains an epilogue in which Zahra openly states her concern over the rise of populist anti-immigrant governments in Poland, Hungary, and the U.S. She points to the irony of xenophobia in Eastern Europe as a region that has often been harmed by such sentiments. Zahra concludes by stating her desire for readers to look at their own immigration histories for perspectives on current events. She argues that restrictions on movement inhibit freedom on both sides of borders. (292-301)

The Great Departure is compelling and relevant. Each chapter blends an analysis of official policies with stories of individuals that illustrate the diversity

of migration experiences. However, some of the early chapters are overloaded with information, obfuscating the themes of these chapters. A looseness in chronological organization also characterizes these early chapters and may put off casual readers. However, the powerful anecdotes make the work accessible to readers looking for a connection to their own ancestral immigration history. The main themes of freedom of movement and the factors that compel people to emigrate are thoroughly explored as the work progresses. Zahra neatly ties up the book with a reflection on the relevance of immigration histories to today's political climate. Given the resurgence of anti-immigrant rhetoric in recent years, it is hard to dispute the importance of this work. *The Great Departure* is essential for students of immigration and anyone seeking historical antecedents to the current immigration situation.

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Reviews (Exhibitions)

Apollo 11: One Giant Leap for Mankind [exhibition].

Curated by William Maple and Shelly DeSimone. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, California. April 29, 2019, to March 1, 2020.

On July 20, 1969, the eyes of the world were fixed on the United States as one of the most historic events of the modern era played out on television screens around the globe. On that momentous day, astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin became the first men to walk on the Moon, effectively ending the space race which, until then, the Soviets had been leading. Millions watched in awe as these two men took their first steps on lunar terrain, and as Neil Armstrong uttered a phrase that would go down in history: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." Though Armstrong and Aldrin only spent two and a half hours on the Moon's surface, this time was filled with various scientific experiments, including one that is still running today. Fifty years have passed since then, and many successful missions have been carried out by NASA, but we continue to celebrate this early, inspirational mission.

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the *Apollo 11* lunar mission, the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in Yorba Linda, California, has opened *Apollo 11: One Giant Leap for Mankind*, an exhibition focused on the events surrounding the mission and President Nixon's involvement in it. This exhibition was created by William Maple, chief designer, and Shelly DeSimone, researcher and writer. Maple, one of CSUF's very own graduates (1984), has worked on numerous projects prior to this, including an extensive redesign of the George H. W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum. Over the years, the pair have completed several projects together, now adding this co-curatorship to their list of accomplishments. Though the mission to the Moon had been initiated in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy, the actual mission did not occur until Nixon's first term as president, which explains the placement of this exhibition. Running from April 29, 2019, to March 1, 2020, this exhibition is included with admission to the Nixon Library and wonderfully highlights this successful event in a presidency that otherwise ended in controversy. Exhibition partners include NASA, the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum, Boeing, the Arnold and Mabel Beckman Foundation, and Immersive VR Education. Other contributing organizations are the Astronaut Scholarship Foundation, Discovery Cube, Virginia Tech University, and the Columbia Memorial Space Center. The entire exhibition flows nicely as visitors are taken from the beginnings of the space race to the 2017 signing of Space Policy Directive 1, calling for a return to the Moon and a journey to Mars, by President Donald J. Trump.

Upon entering the exhibition, visitors are greeted by a model of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik* hanging at the very end of a hallway. While it is not entirely clear which side of the hallway marks the beginning of the exhibition, I began on

the left side which features the black void of space and the iconic picture of the “earthrise” taken in 1968. In bold letters, the first verse of the Bible (Genesis 1:1) perfectly introduces the context of this photograph, and the rest of the exhibition: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the Earth.” Turning to the right, visitors receive a brief introduction to the Cold War which led to the Space Race, along with an outline of the Soviet achievements during this time. Also included is information on Nixon’s involvement in the Cold War and his role on the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Turning the corner of the hallway, visitors come face to face with President Kennedy and are able to watch the speech in which he famously stated, “We choose to go to the Moon,” effectively persuading the American people to support the *Apollo* program in order to surpass the Soviets. From there, visitors enter the exhibition’s first room. The first half of this room is dedicated to the work that led up to the *Apollo 11* mission and features information on the *Gemini* and *Mercury* projects, as well as a small-scale model of the *Apollo 11* rocket and a pressure-suit used to train Neil Armstrong and other early astronauts. The main focal point of the room, though, is a giant, exact recreation of the *Apollo 11* mission command module which makes visitors realize the tight living quarters that three astronauts had to share for the duration of their mission. On the other side of this capsule, visitors are introduced to these three astronauts: Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin, Neil Armstrong, and Michael Collins. A small section is dedicated to each man, and it includes the talking points that were given to President Nixon to have conversational background information on each of the three astronauts. In the last section of this room, there is an area dedicated to the launch of the rocket and the mission itself. Including the goodwill telegram sent by President Nixon and a case of television screens replaying the rocket launch, this section effectively leads to the next part, the actual landing on the Moon.

Stepping into the next room, visitors are greeted by a 3D-printed, life-sized statue of Neil Armstrong in his space suit as he climbs down the ladder of the lunar module on the Moon. Near the statue is an exhibition label explaining the challenges that the men were facing in the lunar module, nicknamed the *Eagle*. With only 30 seconds of fuel left, Aldrin and Armstrong successfully landed the module, and Armstrong famously announced, “The *Eagle* has landed.” Also provided is a timeline of the eight-day mission, though at first glance the way this timeline is displayed may confuse visitors, as the events begin at the right end of the timeline and conclude on the left. The most interactive aspect of this exhibition, and perhaps the entire museum, can be found in this room in the form of virtual reality. Visitors are encouraged to put on the virtual-reality headset and be transported to the surface of the Moon at the exact moment that Neil Armstrong took his historic first steps. With this feature, people of all ages are able to witness history in the making and feel engaged in the moment.

Continuing through the exhibition, the next portion focuses on the geological components of the Moon. Featuring two lunar rock samples collected during the

Apollo 15 and *Apollo 17* missions, the exhibition labels focus on what was learned from these samples, as well as the surface training the astronauts received before embarking on this mission. Additionally, there is a photograph of President Nixon holding a set of tongs used by astronauts to collect lunar samples, as well as the actual tongs themselves. Completing this section focusing on the Moon landing, visitors enter a 1969 living room and are invited to sit and watch the Moon landing just as millions of people all over the world did fifty years ago. In this living room, visitors can also learn of the historic intergalactic phone call between President Nixon, Armstrong, and Aldrin, and are provided with a transcription of what Nixon deemed, "the most historic phone call ever made from the White House." With the astronauts' return to Earth, the exhibition reaches its final section.

This final section focuses on Richard Nixon's involvement with the astronauts when they were welcomed back to Earth. Nixon was present on the U.S.S. *Hornet* when the *Apollo 11* capsule splashed down into the Pacific Ocean. A U.S.S. *Hornet* cap and personalized mug presented to President Nixon are on display in this part of the exhibition. Also found here is an *Apollo 11* patch presented by Buzz Aldrin with an inscription noting its trip to the Moon. One of the most moving pieces of the exhibition, in my personal opinion, is the text of the speech that was to be given by Nixon in the event of a Moon disaster. This speech, tucked away in the National Archives for thirty years, was to be delivered in the case of the astronauts' deaths, specifically Armstrong and Aldrin, if they would have been unable to return to the *Columbia* where Collins was waiting for them. Moving forward and focusing on the mission's overall success, visitors are shown replicas of what was left behind on the lunar surface, including the American flag, a disc of goodwill messages from 73 different countries, and a plaque commemorating the event, engraved with the signatures of the astronauts and President Nixon who remains the only president with his name on a plaque on the lunar surface. The exhibition concludes with a look to the future and the possibilities to come with the recently signed Space Policy Directive 1.

Also in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary, the Smithsonian Institution's traveling exhibition *Destination Moon: The Apollo 11 Mission* is currently being housed at the Cincinnati Museum Center, the final leg of its national tour. That exhibition began its journey two years ago at the Houston Space Center and has paved the way for a reimagined permanent exhibition of the same name at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington, DC, in 2022. Similar to the exhibition on display at the Nixon Library, *Destination Moon* takes visitors through the Moon race and ends with what is happening today. The biggest draw perhaps is the opportunity to view the actual *Apollo 11* command module which has not been on a national tour since 1971. Though it appears to be quite similar to the *Apollo 11* exhibition at the Nixon Library, *Destination Moon* is focused more on the commemoration of a national achievement rather than an individual's involvement with it.

Apollo 11: One Giant Leap for Mankind is a wonderful and informative celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of man's first steps on the Moon. The exhibition is well structured with a well-balanced use of artifacts, informative labels, and interactive elements. Its size is just right, and it features key components that keep visitors engaged throughout their visit. The only element that may take away from part of the exhibition is the virtual-reality experience: I noticed that many visitors gravitated to the cart to wait their turn and watch others experience it themselves; once finished with this feature, they continued through the exhibition without looking around the rest of the room. I do believe, though, that the exhibition designers anticipated this reaction and planned accordingly. While the virtual-reality experience may be a distracting feature, it does more good than harm as it simultaneously keeps visitors engaged while giving them the opportunity to witness the first steps on the Moon firsthand. The exhibition is a good fit for the Nixon Library and shows the president's involvement in this historic event. It appeals to a wide audience as it skillfully teaches about an event that has made an enormous impact not just on the United States of America, but the entire world.

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Chinese American Museum [permanent exhibitions].

Curated by Michael Duchemin, Steven Wong, Sonia Mak, et al. Chinese American Museum, Los Angeles, California. December 18, 2003, to present.

Panels with words like "community," "survival," and "pride" greet visitors inside the main lobby before they enter the three permanent exhibitions in the Los Angeles Chinese American Museum (CAM). Situated in the historic district *Puebla de Los Angeles* (Downtown Los Angeles) and inside the Garnier Building (completed in 1890), CAM houses the exhibitions *Journeys; Origins: The Birth and Rise of Chinese American Communities in Los Angeles*; and *Sun Wing Wo General Store and Herb Shop*. Guests viewing one or all of the exhibitions will notice the nuance of collections that construct the Chinese American experience holistically. Private individuals and academic bodies like UC Berkeley's Bancroft Library have donated artifacts of different periods and other materials that serve to illustrate and articulate the lives and experiences of this community. Audiences can encounter several different types of exhibits: newspaper articles, legal documents, nineteenth-century work attire, and even particulars like family photos, personal letters written in Chinese characters, and personal luggage. To strengthen the various themes, the curators have creatively assembled an ambiance that enhances Chinese culture, including background Chinese-style music and wall designs featuring Chinese instruments, as well as wall panels that emulate Chinese wood screen styles. Combining all these elements, each exhibition proudly commemorates Chinese American history by channeling the

words from the lobby in their displays. The exhibitions run the gamut from forming communities since the first Chinese arrivals in the 1850s, to surviving almost a century of systemic and racist oppression, to activism and political leadership establishing a proud American identity. Audience members will understand and appreciate different periods of Chinese American history and will learn how this community encountered and weathered challenging situations, as well as how it triumphed into the twenty-first century.

The first exhibition is *Journeys*. This exhibition provides crucial knowledge of Chinese American history. Its coverage of the Chinese in the United States begins with the first records of immigrants from China arriving in the western part of the country. Prior to the rest of the exhibition, a fun and creative activity is provided for audiences of all ages. Against one wall there are twelve items usually packed for an international trip, such as a camera, toothbrush, jacket, and dictionary. Next to these items, there is a luggage-shaped silhouette with only six knobs inside the drawing for people to select half of the items to take on a hypothetical voyage. This activity indicates that Chinese immigrants could only carry a few items, which meant that they not only left their country of origin, but also literally other precious belongings, and entered into a strange new world that was very different from the one to which they were accustomed. With this in mind, visitors could probably sympathize with the hard decisions immigrants from China had to make even before crossing the Pacific Ocean.

Visitors are encouraged to view *Journeys* before proceeding to the rest of the museum. Unlike *Origins* which details the Chinese American history in Los Angeles County specifically, or *Sun Wing Wo* which focuses particularly on the turn of the twentieth century, *Journeys* maps an overall timeline of Chinese American history. This introduction can help visitors who are unfamiliar with the subject to avoid being historically lost when viewing the other exhibitions with a narrower focus. One side of the room contains a large horizontal panel from wall to wall that lists pivotal points in Chinese American history with parallel events taking place in China and the wider United States to compliment and place the respective topics into a comparative context. For example, the 1840s section lists events such as Britain's defeat of China in the First Opium War and the California Gold Rush to contextualize how Chinese were able to travel abroad and for what reasons. Below the timeline, Chinese-style bowls contain different amounts of rice to symbolize the ethnic Chinese population in Los Angeles County such as two grains representing sixteen people. The other side of the room has four sections of different stages on the subject, each with panels, displayed objects, and small screens to narrate timeframes of twenty to fifty years. For instance, "Changing Times" (1943-1965) shows Chinese American men taking up arms and joining the U.S. military to fight in World War II. Materials displayed include written documents, a side cap with "American Chinese" written on the surface, and a medal of honor. Each section successfully summarizes events that impacted ethnic Chinese and their response to them.

The next exhibition pertains to the *Sun Wing Wo General Store and Herb Shop*. The most impressive and creative part of the museum, *Sun Wing Wo* recreates a commercial and pharmaceutical store housed inside the Garnier Building in 1895. Late nineteenth-century cabinets, drawers, a counter with a register, wall shelves and folding panels by the window recreate a Chinese-owned store that provided economic and legal assistance to the Chinese community as well as the rest of Los Angeles. One side of the “store” displays recreational products sold at the time, featuring items such as clothing, cigars, and firecrackers. The side with drawers and the register displays items used for practical and pharmaceutical purposes. Labels encourage visitors to pull out drawers and find herbs and physician’s instruments that pre-date contemporary antibiotics or pain relievers. One can open a compartment and see a particular herb sold at the store in the 1890s with a contemporary, Western counterpart next to it. In one drawer, one can find a *Chrysanthemum Morifolium* herb next to a modern bottle of aspirin, both used for similar medicinal purposes (i.e., as anti-inflammatories). The concept is to show how Chinese-owned businesses like *Sun Wing Ho* provided products to alleviate common illnesses or pain, proving that they served the communities around them. The *Sun Wing Ho* exhibition and its interactive activity allow visitors to travel back in time and learn about pharmaceutical information and how it relates to the history of Chinese Americans.

Across from *Sun Wing Ho* begins the third permanent exhibition, *Origins: The Birth and Rise of Chinese American Communities in Los Angeles*. As the title implies, this part of the museum celebrates Los Angeles County’s Chinese community and heritage with both its social struggles and political victories. The ground floor introduces the first section as “Historic Chinatown,” and shows stories and paraphernalia of organizations, employers, and cultural survival before the removal of many parts of the Chinese enclave in the 1930s. One plan even displays the original location of Los Angeles’s first Chinatown before it was uprooted due to the construction of Union Station and the 101 Freeway. A new Chinatown stands close to the museum, but the Garnier Building that harbors CAM is the only surviving building of the original Chinatown. The museum’s mezzanine level contains the other two sections of *Origins*: “The New Chinatown” and “Expanding the Community: Monterey Park.” They narrate how Chinese Americans achieved permanence in L.A. County after 1938. In the Monterey Park section, objects illustrate ethnic Chinese activism against local and state policies that undermined their cultural pride and heritage, such as Monterey Parks’ Resolution 9004 (June 1986) and California’s Proposition 63 (November 1986). Visitors will encounter the community’s anti-Proposition 63 propaganda, protest photographs, and newspaper clippings condemning the bill. *Origins* shows how the community came a long way from enduring systemic oppression to using their voices in favor of cultural preservation.

Visitors from many walks of life can easily navigate the exhibitions at CAM, thanks to labels that offer succinct information. Curators clearly anticipated a

wide audience. The core of the museum's mission is to cater to the preservation and celebration of Chinese American culture and experience. Aside from English and Chinese speakers, the Los Angeles area is home to a large Spanish-speaking population. Thus, CAM offers labels in English, Chinese, and Spanish with the same general information on all three exhibitions, while specific labels for particular objects are only in English.

Although the exhibitions at the CAM advance Chinese American heritage, some areas are intended to help visitors gain a wider understanding of Chinese American history and Chinese culture. Yet some references on the timeline panel in the *Journeys* exhibition might confuse visitors. The sections "1900s" and "1920s" mention the Gentlemen's Agreement ban on Japanese immigration and the formation of Japanese American Citizens League. With no further context, visitors might be baffled as to why this other ethnic group is referenced in the CAM. Some might conclude that, because both communities originate in eastern Asia and allegedly share physical features, writing, and culture, they must have had similar experiences in U.S. history as well. But such generalizations undermine the distinct history and heritage of both respective communities. If the exhibition meant to cross-examine experiences both groups shared, one might wonder why the panels omit information on Korean, Vietnamese, or other Asian groups. The best emendation would be to discard information on the Japanese and the Japanese American experience to avoid distraction, and to focus solely on the Chinese American communities.

The overall impression of CAM is one of cultural enrichment through the abundance of items displayed in the three permanent exhibitions. *Journeys*, *Sun Wing Ho*, and *Origins* deliver a well-rounded narrative through the use of archival and personal items displayed with labels that are easy to understand. From the first immigration settlements in 1850, via employment opportunities and anti-Chinese discrimination in the late nineteenth century, to the preservation of Chinatown against city planning, and both local and state activism, CAM successfully portrays the core aspects of the Chinese American identity: community, survival, and pride. Visitors will truly get a sense of the great scope of the history of this community. The curators' efforts to bring these exhibitions to life will provide passionate historians, proud Chinese Americans, and wandering tourists with a deepened knowledge of and appreciation for the Chinese American experience and contribution to the history of Los Angeles, Southern California, and the United States.

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Eighteenth-Century Pastel Portraits [exhibition].

Curated by Emily Beeny. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California. August 28, 2018, to October 13, 2019.

When one thinks of portraits of the European elite during the eighteenth century, one's mind immediately turns to oil paints. With oil paints, though, the process of creating a portrait is a tedious experience for both the painter and the individual who is being painted. Thus, during the eighteenth-century, there was a change in preference regarding the medium used to create portraits, namely, to pastels which were available in a considerable range of colors, portable, and much easier to use than oil paints. The *Eighteenth-Century Pastel Portraits* exhibition at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California, attempts to show why pastels gained such popularity in portrait-painting during the eighteenth century. In terms of their uniqueness, the portraits in this exhibition are stunning, even those created by supposed amateurs. At the Getty, there are two buildings dedicated to paintings and decorative arts from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. One of its prior exhibitions of pastel portraits was *Fashionable Likeness: Pastel Portraits in 18th-Century Britain*, held from November 1, 2016, to May 7, 2017. Other notable museums with recent exhibitions dedicated to eighteenth-century pastel portraits include New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and its show of eighteenth-century pastel portraits from July 26, 2017, to November 5, 2017. The curator of the exhibition reviewed here was Emily Beeny, an Associate Curator of the Drawings collection at the J. Paul Getty Museum. Beeny has been with the museum since 2016, and her fields of study include French drawings and European pastels. Before coming to the Getty, Beeny served as an Associate Curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena.

The exhibition consists of fewer than a dozen portraits located in one room on the second floor of the Getty's South Pavilion. The room itself is rectangular, about 600 square feet in size. The walls of the room are covered in a taupe-colored fabric, and it is dimly lit in comparison to the South Pavilion's other rooms and hallways which are well lit and brightly colored. However, the dim lighting has to do with the portraits in question, since pastels, unlike oil, are very fragile and prone to fading when exposed to too much light. However, the lighting does not diminish the portraits' beauty. When entering the room, a first reaction is how sparse the room appears in comparison to other rooms in the same building. The exhibition room features only the pastel portraits and a single bench. Something quickly noticed is the noise made by shoes when visitors walk through the exhibition, which, depending on the number of visitors, ranges from annoying to very distracting: it is as if pastels require carpet.

The pastel portraits are displayed around the room. The largest of the portraits are placed in such a way that they are the first ones you see when entering the room. The largest pastel portrait (200.7 x 149.9 cm/79 x 59 inches) is that of Gabriel Bernard de Rieux, a magistrate and banking heir, by French

Rococo artist Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, who is noted for having worked exclusively with pastels. The portrait itself consists of dozens of individual sheets that are joined into a single portrait via a combination of wet and dry techniques. The portrait is incredibly detailed and could easily be mistaken by the untrained eye for a very well-done oil painting. The portrait used as an advertisement on posters for the exhibition is displayed to the left side of the entrance. It shows a young Baroness Maria Frederike van Reede-Athlone, at the age of seven, by Swiss artist Jean-Etienne Liotard. Liotard was initially trained as a miniature painter, but he later moved on to pastels. The exhibition label explains that he traveled extensively and that he painted portraits of influential individuals from Istanbul to London. His portrait of Maria is a sight to behold, particularly the lace of her hairband, her blue velvet cloak trimmed in white fur, and the details of the dog she is holding under her left arm with its black fur and bright eyes.

Men did not create all the portraits in this exhibition; women composed two of them. The more noticeable of the latter is the portrait of Sir James Gray, a British diplomat, by Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera. According to the text of the exhibition, Carriera initially worked as a snuffbox decorator before she became a renowned portraitist in Europe. Her talent was significant enough that she was accepted into the Roman Academy, an impressive feat for a female artist at that time. Carriera's style involved a great deal of blending, which resulted in a softer look when compared to other pastel portraits. The other work by a woman is English artist Mary Hoare's portrait of Lady Dungarvan, later the Countess of Ailesbury (née Susanna Hoare, Mary Hoare's cousin). The exhibition text indicates that Mary Hoare received training as a pastel painter alongside her father, but since she was married at age seventeen, she never completed her training or set up a studio of her own. Therefore, the individuals in her portraits appear with a certain stiffness, and the face of her cousin is "doll-like." Nonetheless, there is a certain charm to the portrait, perhaps due to its amateurishness.

Additional works in this exhibition include the portrait of William Burton Conyngham by German painter Anton Raphael Mengs. According to the information provided, Mengs worked with both oil and pastel paints, and he was known as a painter of historical subjects. Mengs's portrait of Conyngham shows the latter as an Irish gentleman on the "Grand Tour" of Europe. Conyngham's red velvet cloak is the work's main attraction and was accomplished through streaks of dry pastel. Another work on display is the "Portrait of a Man" by French artist Joseph Vivien; however, not much is known about the subject of this painting. The exhibition text informs us that Joseph Vivien was one of the first artists to make use of pastels during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and it is noted that Vivien, who also trained in oil painting, graduated from the French Royal Academy in 1701 as the first "painter in pastel." Vivien's skillful use of colors can be seen in the portrait on display, which was painted on blue paper, with layered pink pastel for the skin and grey pastel for drapery. The

aforesaid Mary Hoare's father, William Hoare of Bath, England, is another artist featured in the exhibition. The subject of his portrait is Henry Hoare "the Magnificent" (the father of Susannah Hoare), and it is easy to recognize the creases in Henry's blue velvet jacket and the embellishment of the brocade fabric that makes up his vest. Compared to his daughter, William appears to have been better skilled or at least better trained. He ran a successful portrait-making business and, according to the exhibition's commentary, created relatively faithful portraits of tourists visiting Bath, England. Henry Hoare kept an extensive collection of William's and Mary's works at his country house, Stourhead, in Wiltshire and Somerset.

Two of the portraits in the exhibition use a different type of medium, namely, vellum or fine parchment. The first portrait using this medium is that of John, Lord Mountstuart, the future 4th Earl and 1st Marquess of Bute. It is a full-length portrait commissioned by his father in honor of his upcoming tour of Europe. The artist, once again, is the abovementioned Jean-Etienne Liotard. Liotard utilized vellum because of its smoother texture in comparison to paper. As a full-length portrait, this work gives more details of the room, including a Chinese screen on John's right and his reflection on the mirror to the left. The other vellum portrait is Englishman Francis Cotes's work featuring the Gulston brothers: the older brother, Joseph (13 years), is wearing a "Van Dyck" costume inspired by the fashion of the previous century; meanwhile, the younger brother, John (4 years), is wearing a dress, a typical attire for a very young boy at that time. It seems likely that, because of the age of his subjects, Cotes painted this portrait in two separate pieces as it is possible to see the connection of the two formerly separate sheets of paper.

Eighteenth-Century Pastel Portraits primarily offers what one might expect. It consists of pastel portraits that are pleasant to view, and detailed labels that describe the subjects of these portraits and introduce the artists who painted them. There is a panel that provides insight on why pastels grew to become the medium of choice when creating portraits. However, the exhibition omits information that could further explain the rise in popularity of these pastel portraits. For example, the Rococo style is closely associated with pastel, but it is not just known for its use of pastel: it is famous for its incredible detail and for being very light and airy. Pastel portraits and the Rococo style were rather opulent and closely associated with the wealthy elite. This can be seen in the portraits presented, as their subjects were either members of the nobility or well-to-do private citizens. The latter is not surprising as sources describe pastel portraits as being preferred by the newly wealthy, and some of the portraits show individuals whose families had recently joined the ranks of the nobility.

Was this exhibition worth the visit? Yes, absolutely. While it has since ended, I enjoyed it immensely. The portraits were delightful to behold, and the exhibition did provide insight into the respective portrait painters and the individuals depicted. However, if one had expected an in-depth discussion of the

social context of the popularity of pastel portraits during the eighteenth century one would have been disappointed.

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Lords and Ladies in Black and White [exhibition].

Curated by Gareth O'Neal. Salz-Pollak Atrium Gallery, Pollak Library, California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), Fullerton, California. July 13, 2019, to September 15, 2019.

The idea of being forgotten by family and friends after our death, as the image of ourselves in the prime of life fades from memory, is a chilling one. Nowadays, the solution is as easy as the “click” of a camera which captures a moment in our life in an instant. However, what if you could be immortalized not just with a photo but with a piece of art? In certain parts of Europe, members of affluent families who died between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries were memorialized by images of their likeness in brass (as well as stone or wood), and while these images remain *in situ* (unless they were destroyed during subsequent periods of iconoclasm), wax-crayon-on-paper copies of these images, so-called “brass rubbings,” were made during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Memorializing a person’s image in brass may seem like an exaggeration to us, especially when compared to the modern-day excessive use of cameras to capture photos of individuals, but these brasses did not just commemorate the dead: they were a means to solicit prayers for them as well.

Lords and Ladies in Black and White, an exhibition at the Pollak Library on the campus of California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), showcases the history of brass rubbings and explains how the original brasses memorialized the dead. Monumental brasses are etchings made in metal sheets of a copper-and-tin alloy called “latten” which are then fixed onto the floor, a wall, or a tomb lid in a church. This method of commemoration was less expensive, lasted much longer, and was less prone to damage than a tomb sculpted out of stone. *Lords and Ladies in Black and White* is not a large exhibition (due to the limited size of the Salz-Pollak Atrium Gallery), but it contains more than enough information and examples to allow visitors to educate themselves quite easily about this art form.

In his design of the exhibition, Gareth O'Neal, the curator and a CSUF graduate student in History, clearly intends to highlight the creation of the brasses and their use for understanding medieval and early modern European history. When entering the gallery, the dimmed lighting suggests a somber attitude, which fits with the theme of memorializing the dead, and this is further enhanced by audio recordings of period music, particularly church music from several centuries. Beginning on the left side when entering the exhibition, visitors learn about the concept of monumental brasses and their origins. The earliest ones were made in the area of today’s Belgium during the thirteenth century,

and the art form eventually became popular in England where up to 250,000 brasses are estimated to have been created, of which now only about 8,000 remain. The brasses feature the seals, badges, and heraldry of nobles, clergy, scholars, and politicians. The etchings bear witness to how these individuals were attired during the various phases of England's history, including the Hundred Years' War, the Wars of the Roses, and the English Civil War. The introductory display case contains four replicas of brasses (or of details from larger brasses), including the *St. John Eagle* from the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul of Northleach in Gloucestershire, possibly the emblem of a clergyman, much like another badge also on display, the *St. Mark Lion and St. John Eagle*, a lion combined with an eagle. The next replica is a *Sheep Footrest and Woolpack* from the same region, showing that even merchants used this art form to memorialize their trade. The fourth replica is a seal, *Sons of Elizabeth Scrope*, from the Church of St. Andrew and St. Mary of Stoke Rochford in Lincolnshire, which memorializes the lady's sons as if it were a miniature portrait, showing to visitors that these brasses were not just symbols of one's profession but truly ways to memorialize individuals.

The exhibition then proceeds to relate the history of the brasses and covers the culture behind funerary monuments. As noted throughout the exhibition, all of those depicted are shown as young, in the prime of life, which is not to suggest that they died young, but to display how they would appear at the Resurrection, a key aspect of the Christian faith. Visitors learn that many monumental brasses feature inscriptions that ask parishioners to pray for the souls of the deceased, which would shorten the latter's time in Purgatory. Ensuring that the deceased's living descendants would pray for those departed thus became an important aspect of the Christian life. However, when it came to these brasses, there later arose quite a bit of controversy in the form of a movement known as iconoclasm, since the second of the biblical Ten Commandments states: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." (Exodus 20:4-5a) Because of this, during the Reformation and the European wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many brasses were destroyed. There was, however, a "Victorian" renaissance for these monumental brasses in the nineteenth century. When Gothic architecture was revived, this art form, too, attracted the attention of academics and amateurs. In the 1960s and 1970s, brass rubbing became a popular leisure activity, only halted due to concerns about erosion. Since then, replicas of the original brasses have been used to keep the practice of brass rubbing alive and to promote interest in English medieval and Renaissance culture.

The highlight of *Lords and Ladies in Black and White* are nine literally larger-than-life brass rubbings of the funerary monuments of various lords (secular and ecclesiastical) and ladies that truly show the artistic grandeur that these brasses

could display. *Sir Robert (or William) de Septoans* is the first on the left, depicted in chainmail armor, longsword in the scabbard, his shield on the side, and his hands in the prayer position. The theme of soldier continues with the next piece, *Sir John D'Aubernon*, another knight in full-body chainmail, sword on the hip, and with a lion at his feet who, while portrayed as pacified, is nonetheless biting Sir John's lance. The curator notes that this piece is unique due to the two weapons showing. Next is *Sir Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond*, a nobleman (incidentally, the father of Anne Boleyn, the second wife of King Henry VIII of England) dressed up with feathers in his hat and a large piece of jewelry on his neck as well as a griffin resting at his feet. To his right, visitors encounter *Lady Margret Cheyne*, the wife of a noble, attired in a simple dress and cloak, and depicted beautifully with two angels beside her. The next rubbing features a couple, namely, *Thomas and Edith Fowler*, the only brass depicting a husband and wife in any college chapel in Oxford or Cambridge. Following them is *Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester* (a daughter-in-law of King Edward III of England), depicted under a decorative canopy and wearing a widow's garb as her husband (Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester) had been assassinated. To her right, visitors can see *Dr. Walter Hewke* who is wearing a liturgical cope, a cape-like vestment which is decorated with the twelve apostles. Next is *Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York*, the second-highest ecclesiastical dignitary in England, fully garbed in priestly vestments. The final piece is *Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely*, who appears in full episcopal vestments and carries a pastoral staff. These nine brass rubbings, which are the exhibition's main attractions, permit visitors a glimpse into pre-modern English (high) society and its culture of memory.

In addition to this main display, the exhibition features a stained-glass recreation (from a window in Hereford Cathedral), which brings some appropriate light into the gallery. In the middle of the room, visitors can see the tools needed to create a brass rubbing, and the included instructions suggests that the process is quite easy (if one has a steady hand and considerable patience, and as long as the paper is carefully affixed to the brass plate and cannot shift). That same display of the tools also contains a brass rubbing "in progress." To make a brass rubbing, rubbing paper is firmly affixed to the brass, then a solid wax crayon is rubbed over the paper (and, thus, the underlying brass) in one direction, and finally a special eraser is used to get rid of smudges. The exhibition's final display shows replicas of so-called "grotesques" and explains that some individuals chose to not have themselves depicted but, rather, a personification or reminder of Death Itself. Such brasses are also referred to *memento mori* (Latin for "Remember that you must die"), thus reminding viewers of the vanity of worldly pleasures when compared to the eternity of the afterlife.

Related exhibitions pertaining to the cultural history of the nobility in pre-modern and early modern Europe have recently been featured at Santa Ana's Bowers Museum and Los Angeles's Getty Center. The Bowers Museum housed

the *Knights in Armor* exhibition, featuring a sizable collection of full-body armor and smaller accessories made between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. The *All That Glitters: Life at the Renaissance Court* exhibition at the Los Angeles's Getty Center illustrated the world of the nobility as reflected by luxury art, manuscripts, and textiles that were indicative of the nobility's wide array of "worldly" passions. All these displays of culture in pre-modern and early modern Europe show that these historical periods were rich with artifacts that showcase various aspects of life.

Lords and Ladies in Black and White successfully communicates the late medieval and early modern practice of how individuals (who could afford it) chose to be memorialized. The rubbings made from their original funerary monuments may not be widely known, but they are well worth the visit, and the history behind this art form, including its extension into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is fascinating. The brass rubbings in this exhibition belong to the Roberta "Bobbe" F. Browning Collection, a 52-piece treasure housed in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collection.

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Lost at Sea: The Explorations of Dr. Robert Ballard [exhibition].

Curated by Robert Ballard. Pacific Battleship Center/U.S.S. *Iowa* Battleship Museum, Los Angeles, California. October 31, 2018, to present.

Although a noted oceanographer and geologist, Dr. Robert Ballard has made significant contributions to the preservation and retelling of pivotal moments in maritime history. The first of these contributions was his 1985 discovery of the wreck of R.M.S. (Royal Mail Ship) *Titanic*. Since then, Ballard has led a multitude of oceanographic expeditions to discover the locations of various other shipwrecks, including the German battleship *Bismarck*, the warships of Guadalcanal, and the U.S.S. (United States Ship) *Yorktown*. Significant pieces of maritime history, recreated in a museum to share both stories and historical treasures with new generations of visitors, are the focus of the *Lost at Sea* exhibition at the U.S.S. *Iowa* Battleship Museum in San Pedro, California. Curated and sponsored by Ballard himself and his Ocean Exploration Trust, this exhibition provides visitors with an interdisciplinary blend of history and oceanography that reconnects famous shipwrecks with the historical events that capture the human imagination.

Once you arrive at the U.S.S. *Iowa* Battleship Museum, the first thing you will notice is the awesome size of the battleship and a group of dedicated docents who take great pride in preserving the history of the battleship. While purchasing tickets, you will see banners for the *Lost at Sea* exhibition and receive a wristband for entry into the exhibition, should you choose to view it. After a

tour through the battleship *Iowa* you will find the exhibition tucked away at the stern of the ship. Small in comparison to other museums and exhibitions related to shipwrecks like the Great Lakes Shipwreck Museum (Paradise, MI), and the Titanic Exhibition (Las Vegas, NV), this exhibition covers several shipwrecks within the scope of naval history from World War I to the Cold War. After viewing a map of Ballard's famous shipwreck discoveries, visitors will enter the exhibition itself.

The *Lost at Sea* exhibition begins as a historical journey back to World War I, namely, the 1915 sinking of R.M.S. *Lusitania*. The first thing to catch the visitors' eyes are the military recruitment and propaganda posters encouraging men to enlist and telling people to ration bread to defeat the U-boats. These are followed by an enlarged photograph of the promenade deck of R.M.S. *Lusitania* with a glass case in front that contains a World War I-era life vest, the replica of an ocean-liner deck chair, advertising, and an enlarged photograph of the *Lusitania's* last captain, William Turner. When visitors look to the other side of the display, they will see images of another ocean liner lost at sea as a result of war.

Opposite the *Lusitania* display is a wall featuring the story of H.M.H.S. (His Majesty's Hospital Ship) *Britannic*, better known as the forgotten sister ship of the famous R.M.S. *Titanic*. This display features images of H.M.H.S. *Britannic* as a hospital ship during World War I, mentioning that she was originally intended to sail as R.M.S. *Britannic*. Also included are images of Ballard's undersea exploration of the wreck and oceanographic maps of the ship at the bottom of the Aegean Sea. In addition, this display features an array of historical images from the ship's captain, advertisements from the White Star Line, photos of the hospital ship ward room, and a notation on the ship's company of nurses. One story that stands out is that of nurse Violet Jessop who was not only a survivor of the sinking of the *Britannic* but had previously survived the sinking of the *Titanic* and was aboard R.M.S. *Olympic* (the *Titanic's* and *Britannic's* sister ship) when it collided with a warship in a harbor. Moving to the right, there are images relating to both the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the sinking of the *Britannic* by German submarine warfare. While this portion of the display relates how each ship met her demise, it may confuse visitors who are unfamiliar with these ships and the stories of their sinking. As the exhibition continues, visitors journey from World War I to World War II. Here begins a display featuring one of Ballard's most notable discoveries: the wreck of the German battleship *Bismarck*.

As this is one of Ballard's famous shipwreck discoveries, this portion of the exhibition goes into depth concerning the story of the *Bismarck*. The first thing you notice is an enormous photograph of the *Bismarck's* forward superstructure and gun turret next to a small-scale model of the ship. This is followed by a display featuring the *Bismarck's* victory over the Royal Navy's battlecruiser H.M.S. (His Majesty's Ship) *Hood* in the 1941 Battle of the Denmark Strait. Featured are a small-scale model as well as images of H.M.S. *Hood*, period navy hats, a radio recording from the 1960 British war movie *Sink the Bismarck*,

detailed photographs, and images relating to the sinking of the *Bismarck*. The display also features images of the *Bismarck*'s shipwreck and video displays of the shipwreck's exploration. Also shown, under the heading "Iron and Blood," is a video of World War II documentary footage of the Battle of the Atlantic and the demise of the *Bismarck*. This footage serves to tell the story of the *Bismarck* but is also a link to the Battle of the Atlantic and another of Ballard's discoveries.

Documentary film images from the Battle of the Atlantic usually show submarines and sinking ships. The *Lost at Sea* exhibition features a display of just how close the battle came to the United States of America, with a map of German U-boat attacks and shipwrecks along the East Coast and the Gulf Coast of the United States. This section of the exhibition is called "World War II and the Homefront: Enemies at America's Doorstep" and focuses on Ballard's discovery of the wreck of the U-166 off the Gulf Coast of the United States near the Mississippi River. Here visitors will see photographs of the sunken submarine in its current condition, a sonar map of the wreck, and a brief history of the submarine's successes on the Gulf Coast in 1942. This is supported by the information that, off the coast of the United States, U-boats sank or damaged 397 ships, resulting in the loss of more than 5,000 lives. Directly below the map of the wreck and the pertaining statistics, you may watch a brief video of Ballard on his voyage to locate the wreck. Following this, visitors move from the Atlantic theater to the Pacific theater of World War II.

The exhibition then takes visitors to the 1942 Battles of Midway and Guadalcanal, regarded as the naval battles that turned the war in the Pacific in favor of the Allies. This section combines Ballard's location of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. *Yorktown* near Midway Island and the location of various American and Japanese warships sunk off Guadalcanal Island. This is further supplemented by the exploration of (future U.S. President) John F. Kennedy's PT-109. This portion is the most thorough part of the exhibition, showcasing World War II artifacts (including a Japanese rifle), photographs and videos from both World War II and the shipwreck explorations, as well as posters and quotations from notable World War II figures. Since the exhibition is located on a warship that was critical to the U.S. Navy's success during World War II, it makes sense that this portion offers the most details. As the U.S.S. *Iowa* was also an active warship during the Cold War era, it makes sense that the exhibition now moves to that historical phase and Ballard's first shipwreck expeditions.

In a corner of the exhibition, one comes across the sinking of the nuclear submarines U.S.S. *Thresher* (1963) and U.S.S. *Scorpion* (1968). In addition to the photographs and models of the submarines and their wrecks, there are maps of their locations and notations from the National Geographic Society. In one of these lengthy notations, one reads about the link between the discovery of these wrecks and Ballard's discovery of the *Titanic* in 1985. The notation starts off with a mention of James Cameron's 1997 movie *Titanic* and notes that Ballard's expedition to locate the *Titanic* was originally a cover story for a covert mission

assigned to him by the U.S. Navy to locate the *Thresher* and the *Scorpion*, with the remaining time to be spent locating the *Titanic*. It also mentions that Ballard's location tactic concerning the debris field used to locate the *Scorpion* and the *Thresher* was the same tactic that ultimately led to the discovery of the *Titanic*. Although the *Titanic* wreck is the most famous of Ballard's discoveries, this is its only mention as one of Ballard's accomplishment in the whole exhibition. If more detail were given to the *Titanic*, this exhibition would be a complete collection and journey of notable moments in naval and maritime history in addition to Ballard's contributions to preserving these moments in time.

Those interested in military and naval history, as well as undersea exploration, will appreciate the *Lost at Sea* exhibition. It constitutes a unique and fascinating interdisciplinary combination of history and oceanography. Highlights include extensive collections of pictures, posters, and maps, as well as images of shipwrecks and of the expeditions to locate them. For military historians, there is also documentary footage and archival material concerning all these warships and their demise. However, since the exhibition is supposed to showcase Ballard's expeditions, his most famous discovery, the *Titanic* shipwreck, should have deserved more attention. Also absent is information regarding his quest to locate shipwrecks in the Black Sea. As the exhibition is placed aboard a museum battleship, it makes sense that the expeditions featured are of particular significance to naval military history. As visitors leave the exhibition, they pass by a continuously playing video of flowers drifting on the ocean in memory of lives lost at sea with quotations from Ballard himself: "You never go to Gettysburg with a shovel and you don't take belt buckles off the Arizona. These are sites that are very treasured by American history. They should be respected accordingly." This is followed by an advertisement from the Ocean Exploration Trust that reads: "Everyone is an explorer. How could you possibly live your life looking at a door and not open it?" Dr. Robert Ballard's explorations have opened doors for scientists and historians alike to explore new frontiers and to journey into maritime worlds and the naval past. *Lost at Sea* is recommended to all who are interested in learning more about these endeavors.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Michael James Thomas of Laguna Beach, California, earned his A.A. in Humanities and Languages at Irvine Valley College in Irvine, California (2010), and his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2012). He is currently pursuing an M.A in History at CSUF, focusing on British naval history. He is a member of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and serves as one of its board members-at-large.*

Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows)

Babylon Berlin [TV series]. Seasons 1 and 2.

Directed by Henk Handloegten, Tom Tykwer, and Achim von Borries. 2017.

X Filme Creative Pool; et al. 8 episodes per season (45 minutes each).

It is 1929 in Berlin, Germany. Evil rises during the country's darkest hour. The Communists are in open protest, the Trotskyites are scheming, the police are brutal, and the Weimar Republic is on the verge of collapse. One detective with a shaky hand, honor, determination, and a scratched-out photo as a lead is Germany's last hope. *Babylon Berlin* is co-directed by three compelling German-born artists: Tom Tykwer, famous for international hits like Academy Award winner *Run Lola Run* (1998) and Golden Globe winner *Cloud Atlas* (2012); Achim von Borries of the European Best Film winner *Good Bye Lenin* (2003) and Golden Bear nominated *Alone in Berlin* (2016); and Henk Handloegten, known for *Paul is Dead* (2000) and *Learning to Lie* (2003). *Babylon Berlin* is a massive undertaking, with millions of dollars poured into making the first two seasons: it has the biggest budget for a non-English TV series, according to *Deutsche Welle* magazine, and a third season (not reviewed here) has been filmed and released (January 24, 2020). *Babylon Berlin* initially aired on *Sky Deutschland* before making its way onto *Netflix* where I viewed the series. The recreations of Germany before World War II are phenomenal, looking more like real life than computer renderings and immersing me to the extent that I eventually felt lost not wearing a vest and trench coat. While I would not recommend watching this show dubbed in English (as too much is lost in translation), such a version is available. I recommend the original German version which comes with subtitles. For the cautious viewer, it should be noted that *Babylon Berlin* is rated "R" due to its lewd language and pervasive nudity.

If your taste in media leans toward action, then this series is comparable to the mini-series *Generation War* (2013) in terms of its immersive and dark depiction of German war hardships, and even has the same lead actor, Volker Bruch. If it leans more in the direction of drama, a look into everyday life in the city, and diseases, then another Netflix series, *Charité* (2017-present), is comparable to *Babylon Berlin*.

The series takes place during the golden age of *film noir*, the late 1920s, when criminals were abundant, and the police were trying to keep up with them. Based on German author Volker Kutscher's 2008 novel, *Der nasse Fisch: Gereon Rath's erster Fall* ("The Naked Fish: Gereon Rath's First Case"), *Babylon Berlin* tells the story of Gereon Rath, a World War I veteran and now inspector sent from Cologne to investigate a pornographic photo, which leads him to an illegal underworld pornographic filmmaker known as *der König* ("the King"). A chase soon ensues as an assistant named Krajewski flees the crime scene and almost shoots down our protagonist, but Rath's new partner, Bruno Wolter, jumps in

just as the bullet flies through the barrel and barely misses him. Wolter keeps the little gun (remember that gun: it becomes crucial during Season 2) and gives Rath the bullet as a condescending “welcome to Berlin” gift. Krajewski is set free, but only because they use him as an informant and as a spy who turns out to be useful to the police come the end of Season 1. Krajewski trembles and suffers from PTSD, just like our protagonist, Inspector Rath, and we see Rath empathize early on with this man who suffers even more than he does, yet Rath can afford the expensive medicine that keeps it all under control, so he does not have to lose his job, which is one of the secrets he keeps from his colleagues.

We go then from the main character’s story to what appears to be a train robbery-turned hijacking. We later find out that the Russian-speaking thieves are Trotskyites who are fleeing Stalin and the Bolsheviks who have taken over the Communist Party. Their aim is to seize the gold that is stashed away on a train destined for Istanbul where Trotsky waits to take his place as the true ruler of the Soviets after being exiled by Stalin earlier that same year. For those who do not know much about the conflicts inside the Soviet Union, the series does not go into any details, almost leaving the audience as ambivalent as the German police force who, whenever a dead Russian appears, simply scoff, “Let them kill each other,” for it is simply a Russian affair. There were supporters of Trotsky around the world, especially in Germany, at the time, and while the events between the Trotskyites and the Stalinist secret police stationed at the Berlin embassy were not officially on record, the creative liberty is impressive and believable.

The gold apparently comes from the aristocratic parents of a traveling singer, Svetlana Sorokina, who had liquidated their assets into gold shortly after the fall of Russia’s imperial family. Svetlana is the last survivor of her family. Actually, her story changes, depending on who she is talking to: she could be greedy, she could be a traitor, she could be a blonde, and so forth. The only thing the audience knows for certain is her exploitation of Alexei Kardakov and the legion of Trotsky supporters. This gold train is essential through Season 2’s finale due to an accidental revelation that the rest of the cargo train is carrying “pesticides” for red-eye scar-man Alfred Nyssen whose company had manufactured Phosgene, a poisonous gas used during World War I. Our hero and his sidekick, Charlotte Ritter, a flapper girl who is trying to make enough money to escape the slums and pay for her sister’s education, must find out why poisonous gas is being sent to Berlin and how it is connected to the photograph, to a mob boss named “the Armenian” (who is blackmailing politicians with secret films of them having masochistic sex in his mansion), to an attempted coup d’état, and to Soviet spies.

At one point, while Rath is investigating the government for illegally building up the German army and air force, he questions a high-ranking Russian who may or may not know anything, and their interaction truly summarizes Rath’s tenuous position between his career and his personal life. To the Russian’s puzzled remark, “I don’t understand you. You work against your own land,” our protagonist quickly replies, “I work for the police.” By this point in Season 2, I

was convinced that Rath was the only man I could trust out of all of the conniving characters in this series who are sneaking around or attempting to benefit themselves somehow. Rath simply wishes to benefit the city in which he now resides: Berlin.

At first glance, *Babylon Berlin's* underlying theme can easily be missed, but after watching Seasons 1 and 2, it becomes obvious to anyone familiar with Weimar Republic Germany: the societal conflicts of the 1920s will lead to the rise of the National Socialists. The two women from Kreuzberg (a district in south-central Berlin), innocent bystanders shot by the police right in front of Rath and Wolter during Communist rallies in early May 1929, soon become martyrs for the Communists after local newspaper headlines read "200 Dead on the First of May." Their bodies are mournfully paraded until the police can answer for their conduct against Berlin's citizens. The "coppers" (as the police are derogatorily labeled) do not give up that easily: the moment they are confronted, Wolter and Rath deny being shot at by fellow police (which they were) while investigating in the Kreuzberg area.

Without spoiling too many plot details, Season 2 introduces us to the "Black Reichswehr" unit, an illegal paramilitary force maintained in violation of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. Characters we witness the most are its main officers like Bock, Gessler, and Seeger, all of them intimidating older men who are up to no good. In secret meetings, they chant "unbeaten in the field," reflecting the prevailing myth that if Germany had had more time it would have won World War I for it had been undefeated in battle. This provides an excellent perspective on post-World War I German sentiments, especially when Gereon Rath has his flashbacks about his brother, Anno, in the trenches in France. While watching the violent clashes between Socialists and the police, the monarchists' lust for revenge on France, and the machinations of mob bosses, blackmailed politicians, and creepy men with facial scars who are slowly exerting their power over the police, we gradually witness the rise of the Nazis in Germany. Be prepared: even though the two seasons reviewed here are essentially one story with extra cliffhangers, there is considerably more drama and less *film noir* in Season 2. The latter also provides more backstory and character development, making *Babylon Berlin* even more suspenseful.

This profound historical drama is a must-see for fans of *film noir* and expressionism. That said, there are some notable historical liberties that need to be addressed. Seeger was indeed a World War I veteran, but he moved to California in 1922 and lived to be 106 and passed in 2007, the last World War I veteran in California. August Benda, head of Berlin's Political Police in the series, is based on a Jewish man, Bernhard Weiß, who was Police Vice President until 1932 when he fled to London. The "Black Reichswehr" conspiracy of 1929 to restore Kaiser Wilhelm II as German Emperor may have happened (there had been re-installation attempts in the past), but there are no confirmed records, only spy stories, granting the writers all the creative liberties they needed.

The ending of Season 2 seems like a real season finale, which is not to say that the ending of Season 1 was not satisfying. It wraps up the first few mysteries, such as the gold train, yet other mysteries remain. We see that some characters who have been alluded to as Nazis are, in fact, Nazis and are trying to take out people in the police and the government simply because they are Jewish. Furthermore, we see a group of Nazi protestors at a train station getting beat up by the Security Police; Svetlana Sorokina is not who she says she is; the crime mob boss assists Rath; and Wolter does something regrettable. The hypnosis scene from the very first episode is identical to the last scene of Season 2, Episode 8, so the doctor in this scene must be someone very important to Gereon Rath. So, time to check out Season 3.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Joshua Kyle Kreeger-Johnston of Corona, California, earned his B.A. in History at the University of California, Riverside (UCR) (2016). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History, focusing on medieval and German history, at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is working in the Corona-Norco Unified School District. He also served as an editor for this volume of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

*Bobby Kennedy for President [TV documentary series].
Directed by Dawn Porter. 2018.*

RadicalMedia; LOOKSfilm; Trilogy Films. 4 episodes (58-65 minutes each).

Years before his own attempt at winning the U.S. presidency, Robert F. ("Bobby") Kennedy led his brother John F. Kennedy's bid for the country's highest office, serving as his campaign manager. Bobby Kennedy's integrity and focus showed, time and again, the abilities and motivation of this true American man. This review pertains to the 2018 documentary *Bobby Kennedy for President*, a tale of Bobby Kennedy's career, his role in his brother John F. Kennedy's cabinet, his own candidacy for president, his assassination, and the aftermath of his tragic death. This documentary has enhanced my respect for and knowledge of Bobby Kennedy, his involvement in desegregation, his interaction with Cesar Chavez, and his tenure as United States Attorney General. While Bobby Kennedy is overshadowed by his brother, this documentary reveals that he was more than just another chapter in the history of the Kennedys, and that he had great promise as a candidate for president in his own right. *Bobby Kennedy for President* is directed by Dawn Porter, an American documentary filmmaker and founder of the production company Trilogy Films. Porter studied at Georgetown University law school and has won various independent film awards for her documentaries.

Bobby Kennedy for President is a limited series of four approximately one-hour-long episodes, each portraying a different phase in Bobby Kennedy's career. The documentary shows a man who matured throughout his life, who evolved from representing one side to representing many sides, and who learned that the laws of the land needed to change to end the mistreatment of minorities. *Bobby Kennedy for President* features footage from those who witnessed Bobby Kennedy's life at one time or another, including celebrity artists like Harry

Belafonte, Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., those involved in his campaign for the presidency, and those present on the day he was assassinated at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, California (June 5, 1968). The documentary suggests that Bobby Kennedy inherited the direction in which his brother had intended to take the country, that he was devastated after his brother's death, and that he initially dismissed his own chances to one day be president. However, after his interaction with those who were seriously disadvantaged and discriminated against, Bobby Kennedy eventually decided to get involved and run for the country's highest office. The documentary also provides a perspective on the years after Bobby Kennedy's death, and it captures the tensions and emotions of those, both young and old, who were touched by Bobby Kennedy's determination and integrity, and who were inspired by his example to get involved both socially and politically.

In Episode 1 ("A New Generation"), we see John F. Kennedy running for office, with his charismatic brother Bobby Kennedy as his campaign manager. Then, while Bobby Kennedy served as Attorney General under his brother, he was viewed as a stern individual, pursuing and exacting justice on anyone who crossed his path, even going after Martin Luther King Jr. in the process. On the other hand, he also once had a conversation with singer-activist Harry Belafonte and received a reality check that not everyone is given the same rights and opportunities; this talk seems to have led Bobby Kennedy to recognize the mistakes of traditional politics and the injustices inflicted on the African American community. The episode finishes with the tragic loss of his brother. Episodes 2 and 3 ("I'd Like to Serve" and "You Only Get One Time Around") address Bobby Kennedy's election to the U.S. Senate, Civil-Rights advocacy, and ultimately his run for the office of president; his interaction with important activists like Caesar Chavez, which earned him the favor of communities that were, at the time, neglected by mainstream politicians; and his assassination. Episode 4 ("Justice for Bobby") deals with the trial of the assassin and with Bobby Kennedy's profound legacy.

Bobby Kennedy for President certainly aspires to be a great documentary. It contains high-quality historical video footage that has been enhanced to meet today's standards of quality and is supplemented with captions. The documentary's contents follow each major step of Bobby Kennedy's life and include his family, friends, and others. The viewer really gets to witness Bobby Kennedy's emotions, from his tears after his brother John F. Kennedy's death to the outrage he felt when he realized the plight of "minorities," and many other angles that purport to show the real Bobby Kennedy. The documentary presents two sides of Bobby Kennedy, that of a sincere family man and that of a man determined to never consider failure as an option. Overall, the documentary is well structured, includes many significant events and important figures, and provides background information that enhances the narrative. Historians and all others interested in the life and legacy of John F. Kennedy's brother will

definitely appreciate *Bobby Kennedy for President*. The documentary provides a clear sense why Bobby Kennedy inspired many of those involved in his life. In addition, the issues covered in this documentary continue to be relevant in today's heated political climate. The creators of *Bobby Kennedy for President* are clearly devoted to accuracy and, by including ample historical video footage, allow the viewer to relive the series of events that inspired many historical figures to reach out to this one man, Bobby Kennedy, who was believed to have the potential to bring unity and healing to this divided country.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Giovanni D. Romero of Ontario, California, is currently pursuing his B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

The Crown [TV series], Seasons 1 and 2.

Directed by Philip Martin, Benjamin Caron, Stephen Daldry, Julian Jarrold, and Philippa Lowthorpe. 2016 and 2017.

Left Bank Pictures; Sony Pictures Television Production UK. 10 episodes per season (47-61 minutes each).

What if you were able to step behind the closed doors of Buckingham Palace and look into the personal lives of the members of one of the most famous families in the world? *The Crown* does just that by dramatizing the life of Queen Elizabeth II of England as she is thrust into queenship following the 1952 death of her father, King George VI. The show focuses on how Elizabeth, from her time as a 25-year-old newlywed, faces joys and trials as a new monarch in the slowly declining British Empire. Throughout the first two seasons, viewers meet familiar historical figures and watch events unfold from the perspective of British leaders. Since the lives of members of the British royal family are highly private, much of what is portrayed in this series are dramatizations of what might have happened. Season 1 of *The Crown* began streaming on Netflix on November 4, 2016. As of fall 2019, there have been two seasons, with a third season to be released on November 17, 2019 (announced by the streaming service via a formal declaration on an easel outside Buckingham Palace). The first season begins in the late 1940s and continues into the mid-1950s. The second season picks up where Season 1 leaves off and concludes in the early 1960s. The creator of the show, Peter Morgan, has worked on his fair share of historical dramas. He has written screenplays for several shows dealing with the British monarchy and contributed to one of the most popular films of 2018, *Bohemian Rhapsody*.

Season 1 of *The Crown* begins with the marriage of Princess Elizabeth (Claire Foy) and Philip (Matt Smith), the newly created Duke of Edinburgh. In the first episode, viewers encounter a happy, united marriage, resulting in the birth of two children and filled with social events as the couple settles in Malta. This picturesque family life changes drastically due to King George's declining health, calling the newlyweds back to London where they take up residence in Clarence House. With one lung removed, King George VI (Jared Harris) is weak, but still able to reign, and just a few weeks after his surgery he once again meets with

Prime Minister Winston Churchill (John Lithgow). When his health complications continue, the King learns that he has been diagnosed with lung cancer and may only have a few months left to live. Following this shocking revelation, he decides that Princess Elizabeth should learn how to rule the kingdom and receive more responsibilities, beginning with the upcoming Commonwealth Tour, much to Philip's displeasure. Before the couple departs, the King takes Philip shooting and clearly lays out his expectations concerning the Princess, stating, "She is the job. She is the essence of your duty." The episode ends with a glimpse of the future as Elizabeth sits behind her father's desk with little realization that it is to be her own in a mere matter of months.

The next episode begins with Elizabeth and Philip embarking on the Commonwealth Tour as the King's health continues to decline back home in London. While the happy couple travels to a secluded treehouse in the African wilderness, the King enjoys what is to be his last night in the company of his other daughter, Princess Margaret (Vanessa Kirby), and his wife, Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (Victoria Hamilton). The next morning, it is discovered that he has passed away in his sleep, and the government scrambles to get into contact with Elizabeth, now "Her Majesty the Queen." Back in Africa, the couple take their time, not aware of the situation at hand. Upon their return to civilization, Elizabeth's personal secretary notifies Philip of the news. Philip in turn goes to break the tragedy to his wife just as she is in the middle of writing a letter to her "papa." With the news of her father's death comes the realization that she is now Queen, and Elizabeth quickly puts her new responsibilities before her own feelings. Once she has announced that she will keep her own name as her royal name, her secretary responds with, "Then, long live Queen Elizabeth." With this simple phrase, both Elizabeth and Philip begin to realize what their future holds. When they return to Buckingham Palace, Elizabeth goes to greet her mother and sister, only to be met with the formality of curtsies, something with which Princess Margaret struggles. As Elizabeth steps into her new role as monarch, she faces new experiences and works to establish her place as Queen which can be seen throughout the remainder of the first season.

With Elizabeth now on the throne, the series is successfully set up and can now focus on the events of her reign. In Season 1, these events primarily include the forbidden romance between Princess Margaret and Captain Peter Townsend; the deadly, thick smog that rolled over London for a number of days in 1952; the declining health of both Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden; and the matters involving Elizabeth's coronation. As she struggles to establish her authority as Queen, Elizabeth also faces issues in her marriage. Philip resents his new boundaries and living in his wife's shadow. In an attempt to quell his frustrations, Elizabeth appoints him as Chair of her Coronation Committee, and while this works for the time being, strains soon return. In Season 1's final episode, tensions between the couple appear to be higher than ever, and the Queen Mother suggests sending Philip to open the

1956 Summer Olympics in Australia and let him enjoy being in his own spotlight. Philip reluctantly agrees but sees it as a punishment rather than an opportunity. With the couple at odds and the nation in decline, the episode ends with a reflection of the past season, as the royal photographer tells Elizabeth to leave behind Elizabeth Windsor as there is now only Elizabeth "Regina."

In Season 2, we see tensions between Elizabeth and Philip even higher than before as he travels the world for five months in 1956 with a crew of men on the royal yacht *Britannia*. Through letters written by Michael Parker, Philip's private secretary and best friend, it is discovered that the men have had little regard for their marriages while abroad. With beautiful, exotic women in every port, this trip appears to be a five-month-long bachelor party rather than a royal tour. With the possibility of infidelity lingering throughout the season, other matters at play include the romance and marriage between Princess Margaret and Tony Armstrong-Jones; dark secrets revealed about the Queen's uncle, the Duke of Windsor and former King Edward VIII; political upheaval in the colonies; and the transition into a new era of monarchical rule. One of the most memorable episodes of Season 2, "Dear Mrs. Kennedy," revolves around a visit from two of America's most popular historical figures, President John F. Kennedy and First Lady Jackie Kennedy. As everyone excitedly awaits the arrival of the beautiful Mrs. Kennedy, Elizabeth begins to be overwhelmed with self-doubt. Next to a woman who is said to be both intelligent and beautiful, she cannot help but feel second best. After a seemingly pleasant evening with the First Lady, word gets back to the Queen that Mrs. Kennedy had some rather rude things to say about her. In an attempt to disprove Jackie Kennedy, Elizabeth travels to Ghana without the approval of her government's cabinet to personally work to sort out the situation there. To stop the impending decolonization, she takes a risk and dances with the African leader, something completely unheard of up until this point, and successfully resolves the issue. It is revealed that this was JFK's plan all along, which leaves Jackie in a difficult situation. The issues between the two women are resolved over afternoon tea, and just a few weeks later Elizabeth finds herself writing her condolences to the widowed Jackie Kennedy. Another pivotal episode from this season is titled "Vergangenheit." Those who know little about the history of the royal family may be as shocked as Queen Elizabeth was to discover that her uncle, the former King Edward VIII, had been a Nazi sympathizer and even traveled to Germany with his wife, Wallis Simpson, to visit training sites and early versions of the concentration camps. On top of this, he appears to have aided in the fall of France as he alerted "Nazi friends" that the Allies had captured their original plans of invasion. The other storyline of this episode shows Queen Elizabeth's interest in evangelist Billy Graham's teachings. After seeing him preach on television, she decides to invite him, much to her mother's and Philip's chagrin. After Elizabeth learns of the issues concerning her uncle, she turns to Graham for guidance, specifically concerning forgiveness. As a Christian she wants to forgive her uncle, but due to the serious nature of his

actions she cannot bring herself to do so. Graham tells her that if she cannot forgive someone, she should forgive herself and pray for the one she wants to forgive. In order to show historical proof of the contents of this episode, it concludes with actual photographs of the former king and his wife's trip to Germany, including a photograph of him looking particularly smug next to Adolf Hitler himself. As Season 2 wraps up, Elizabeth and Philip have seemingly resolved their issues just before the birth of their last child. The final scene includes the majority of the cast as they take a family portrait, which can also be seen as one final cast picture since a new cast portrays the "older" selves of these characters in the just released Season 3.

The Crown is a series that can be enjoyed by a wide audience. Whether you are a lover of history, British culture, or drama, you will find something in this series that captures your interest. Though there are some episodes that may seem a bit duller than others, each is necessary in the continuous narrative of the royal family. Though this is a dramatization inspired by real-life events, it is, in my opinion, interesting to speculate about the family dynamics that might have been at play during some of these historical encounters. If you want to be entertained and watch the extravagance and elegance of the British monarchy unfold on your television screen, I highly recommend this show. That said, if you are looking for the real-life events of the royal family backed by hard evidence, I suggest looking elsewhere, such as the many documentaries on the Queen and her family regularly airing on the BBC and PBS.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Anissa Lopez of Moreno Valley, California, earned her B.A. in History at California Baptist University in Riverside, California (2019). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Narcos [TV series]. Seasons 1-3.

Directed by Andrés Baiz, Josef Wladyka, Fernando Coimbra, Gerardo Naranjo, Guillermo Navarro, José Padilha, and Gabriel Ripstein. 2015-2017.

Dynamo; Gaumont International Television; Netflix. 10 episodes per season (43-60 minutes each).

"Well, I make a living making deals. So, be cool. Relax. You can accept my business ... or accept the consequences. Silver or lead." In Colombia, the hub of what would become the most prolific, violent, and organized drug empire in the world, Pablo Emilio Escobar Gaviria (1949-1993), the kingpin of said empire, said these words to law enforcement officers. At least, this is what the popular Netflix series *Narcos* suggests. Set in the time period between the late 1970s and mid-1990s, *Narcos* recounts and dramatizes the history of the Medellín drug cartel, as well as that of the Cali Cartel which succeeded it. The storyline primarily follows the perspectives of DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) agents Steve Murphy (portrayed by Boyd Holbrook) and Javier Peña (portrayed by Pedro Pascal), as well as Pablo Escobar himself (portrayed by Wagner Moura). The show's creators, Chris Brancato, Bernard Carlo, and Doug Miro, are U.S. American

writers and producers. This review explores the progression of the series season by season and briefly dissects its historical dramatizations that hit and miss the figurative marks of historical accuracy.

The series opens with a statement, an explanation of the term “magical realism:” “Defined as what happens when a highly detailed, realistic setting is invaded by something too strange to believe, there is a reason magical realism was born in Colombia.” What follows is the jarring dramatization of a Colombian nightclub in the city of Bogotá being attacked by Colombian law enforcement in 1989. At first glance, it seems strange to attach a definition of “magical realism” to the macabre sight of innocent Colombians being slain alongside notorious drug lords. To provide additional context, the audience receives a narrative exposition on surveillance, and how its antiquated methods pale in comparison to what is used today. This is an important note to keep in mind as, in *Narcos*, the commonly unreliable nature of surveillance is central to how Colombian law enforcement interacts with the cartel. We are also introduced to many of the main characters, all mobilizing in some way after a main cartel target, Poison, has been identified and tracked down by cellular-phone surveillance. While Poison is shown organizing a night out, we see copious amounts of cash, contraband, and weapons. We briefly see a colorful club filled with individuals dancing, drinking, and lounging. Then follows the merciless, indiscriminate slaughter of all in the nightclub. After the violence, the opening credits roll and the show begins. In a comparatively short review on a series that spans thirty episodes it may seem superfluous to delve into such detail concerning the first six minutes of the show; however, these six minutes set the general tone for most of the series: scenes of luxurious, blissfully ignorant living, followed by either exposition of the nastiness that underpins it all, or by direct expressions of the latter in the form of indiscriminate killing and violence.

The themes and images of grandeur, luxury, drugs, and, of course, the violence that comes with it all, stay consistent throughout the series, as does the theme music chosen to introduce each episode: “Tuyo” (“Yours”), created by Brazilian songwriter Rodrigo Amarante de Castro Neves, is a slow tango with lyrics describing water that kills the thirst, swords that guard treasures, and lights of the moon on the sea. These lyrics seem to lend themselves to a narcissistic viewpoint, fitting of what is to come in the series. Season 1 is generally dedicated to the rise of Pablo Escobar. Even prior to leading his Medellín Cartel, Escobar is already transporting illegal contraband into Colombia. This contraband, as we see in our first encounter with Escobar in the series, ranges from television sets to vehicle stereo systems. The show portrays Escobar’s beginnings through his partnership with the character Mateo “Cuca” (“Cockroach”) Moreno, a Chilean drug lord who introduces cocaine and its industry to Escobar and the latter’s cousin, Gustavo Gaviria. The harmonious relationship with the bribed law enforcement officials of Colombia is apparent in the first interaction we see, but the relationship between Escobar and those who

do not aid his endeavors is first seen clearly in the case of Moreno. As their relationship deteriorates into a power struggle, Moreno bribes the same officials that are allowing Escobar to traffic freely, which ultimately leads to the execution of Moreno and the officials that have accepted his bribes. As Escobar's business begins to bloom, he encounters Carlos "El Leon" ("The Lion") Lehder, the spark to Escobar's explosive international sphere of influence.

Lehder becomes Escobar's lead transporter of cocaine into the United States via a plane route to Miami. The explosion of cocaine distribution and use in Miami prompts local DEA forces to respond by ramping up their efforts to control the epidemic. When it is apparent that billions of U.S. dollars are flowing from the States into Colombia, this, as opposed to the horrific violence resulting from the increased drug trafficking, prompts the sending of a DEA task force to Colombia, including Steve Murphy. As this is happening, Escobar seizes an opportunity to unite with competing contraband trafficking networks in Colombia to combat a Communist guerilla group, M19. Once Escobar succeeds, via retrieving kidnapped Ochoa Cartel daughter Martha Ochoa from M19, the unification of the contraband factions demarks the advent of the Medellín Cartel. The series also depicts Escobar's political rise after this unification, as he eventually becomes a congressman in Colombia. We learn of his lifelong aspiration to become president of Colombia, but this fantasy comes crashing down when he is expelled from parliament following revelations concerning his criminal past. After an extradition agreement with the United States for "narcos" ("drug lords") is passed by the Colombian government, agents Murphy and Peña begin to intensify their search for incriminating evidence on Escobar. Once such evidence is found and Escobar becomes an internationally recognized criminal, he goes into hiding, refusing to show himself while the extradition laws remain on the books. Through relentless violent measures taken against both government officials and Colombian citizens, including the destruction of an airliner (killing 107 innocent people), Cesar Gaviria, the president at the time of the violence, accepts a plea deal on Escobar's terms. This is where La Catedral comes into play, a prison built in Medellín in accordance with Escobar's own directives where he remains for some time free from direct control by the Colombian government. During this La Catedral phase, there are two important developments, namely, Escobar's slaughter of his two close business associates, Gerardo Moncada and Fernando Galeano, and the Cali Cartel's consolidation as a drug empire of its own apart from the Medellín Cartel. Escobar ultimately escapes the prison after a failed raiding attempt by the Colombian military to transfer him and makes his way back to Medellín.

Season 2 follows Escobar after he has eluded Colombian law enforcement officials at La Catedral. Its simpler story line details the downfall of the Medellín Cartel and of Escobar himself, ultimately leading to his death. While stealthily navigating the streets of Medellín, Escobar begins to collect the resources he has at his disposal to regain his firm grip on the Medellín Cartel. However, this effort

is hampered by several antagonists: the Cali Cartel in alliance with the Moncadas, the death squad “Los Pepes,” the Colombian police, and the Colombian people themselves. The first three of these are obvious, as Escobar’s pursuit of expanding his power and wealth has created staunch animosities between him and many groups. The Colombian people, however, are slightly more complicated as a force against Escobar. One of the most dependable factors in Escobar’s rise to power had been his attachment to the people of Colombia. With a certain populist flair, Escobar had given back to the people in the form of money and goods, and as the self-proclaimed voice of the people against the politicians. During his massive struggle with the Colombian government, however, Escobar takes part in a move that completely shatters the people’s support for him: the bombing of the Presidential Palace Mall. The attack kills hundreds of innocent people and marks the end of Escobar’s connection with the Colombian proletariat. These compounding factors, along with the systematic destruction of Escobar’s resources, including many of his associates, lead him to flee Medellín and seek shelter with his father. Once Escobar returns to Medellín after a short, sour stint with his father, he begins planning his return to prominence. It is here that his demise begins. During a phone call to his wife, Tata Escobar, he is tracked by the same surveillance that had led to Poison’s death and is killed on a rooftop while trying to escape.

Season 3 focuses on the Cali Cartel that becomes a drug empire in the power vacuum created by Escobar’s death. The perspective now shifts from Steve Murphy to Javier Peña, Murphy’s partner during the hunt for Escobar. At a gathering with his father, Peña recounts what he may have left behind in his dedicated chase of Escobar, and his father tells him that, although he has found nastiness after he has left his simple town, he should refrain from renouncing what he does best. This is a clear lead for Javier to return to the DEA. While the Cali drug empire is thriving, Peña aids in the investigation of money laundering when the head of the empire, Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela, announces that the empire will disband and return to its “foundational” legal practices. Other factions, including the Juarez Cartel, are involved, but the season clearly focuses on the Cali Cartel. After Gilberto has been apprehended, his brother Miguel takes control of the empire. However, the cartel’s decline continues when Colombian police and DEA forces, supported by informants from within the Cali Cartel, pressure the drug empire. Ultimately, due to informants, Miguel is arrested and tried, and the Cali Cartel crumbles, leaving Colombia cartel-free. The next season of *Narcos* will take place in Mexico and will follow Javier Peña but has already been branded as the first season of an entirely separate series.

Narcos ultimately serves as a well acted and scenically beautiful dramatization of the rise and fall of Colombian drug cartels. Unfortunately, however, it is full of historical inaccuracies. Naturally, as the production does not claim to be historically accurate and touts the old “based on true events” label, it would be unfair to expect ontological and historical prowess. The issue is,

though, that some of the inaccuracies undermine the show's overall narrative. While much of the primary footage is reliable, several details are out of place. For example, Steve Murphy, Season 1's main protagonist, did not arrive in Colombia until 1991, nearly six years after the show portrays him as having been sent there. While the writers of the show suggest Tata's further involvement in the Cali Cartel after her husband's death, Tata Escobar never met with Cali Cartel heads in real life. Tata fled Colombia for Mozambique promptly after Pablo Escobar's death, sharply contrasting with events included in the show's storyline. Regarding similar works, there has been substantial focus on Pablo Escobar's drug empire in the film industry. The bulk of material on Pablo Escobar comes in the form of documentaries and made-for-television mini-series. Documentaries on Pablo Escobar offer a more realistic timeline and series of events, however, *Narcos* is the production with the highest budget to date, allowing its producers to recreate the atmosphere of 1980s-1990s Colombia. Yet, clearly, the deeper pockets of Netflix executives do not include a deeper, meaningful adherence to the historically documented events in Pablo Escobar's life.

Narcos is a fantastic dramatization of the past but, for the most part, cannot be relied on as a source of reliable historical information regarding the Colombian drug trade. It is recommended to watch the show for leisure and to avoid it when searching for any meaningful analysis of the topic it purports to portray.

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Norsemen [TV series]. Season 1 and 2.

Directed by Jon Iver Helgaker and Jonas Torgersen. 2016 and 2017.

Viafilm; Sagveien Resort; Norsk Rikskringkasting. 6 episodes per season (21-30 minutes each).

"Raiding is pretty much our primary industry. We are the Vikings after all," says Arvid to his not-so-loving, nagging wife as he packs for his next expedition outside Norheim. As chieftain of the Norwegian land of Norheim, Arvid is one of the main characters in Netflix's comedy series *Norsemen* which tells the story of a group of Vikings living in the village of Norheim around the year 790 AD as they explore new lands outside their small community and struggle to find a proper replacement after the death of their honorable leader Olav. However, do not let this premise fool you. *Norsemen* presents its viewers with a satirical parody of Viking life that delivers at least a few good laughs. Something of a love child between the surreal comedy of *Monty Python* and the historical drama of History Channel's *Vikings*, *Norsemen* is an entertaining, anachronistic display of the Viking stereotypes that have been widely circulated and engrained into popular memory. By combining what is known of Viking culture with satire,

humor, and contemporary social issues, *Norsemen* presents Viking behavior that reiterates stereotypes while poking fun at its hypocrisies in an amusing, yet at times vulgar, manner.

Conceived by writers Jon Iver Helgaker and Jonas Torgersen, *Norsemen* premiered on October 14, 2016, on NRK1 (Norsk Rikskringkasting 1) in Norway as *Vikingane*. Produced by Viafilm, the series was originally filmed in both Norwegian and English, with the English version premiering on August 18, 2017, via Netflix (USA). Filmed primarily in Avaldsnes and Karmøy in Rogaland County, Norway, *Norsemen* offers sensational views of the land's bountiful nature in stunning cinematography, permitting viewers to imagine the barely disturbed forests of the eighth century. Helgaker and Torgersen have written and directed two seasons, each consisting of six roughly thirty-minute long episodes. The main cast consists of the talented Kåre Conradi, Nils Jørgen Kaalstad, Silje Torp, Trond Fausa, Øystein Martinsen, Jon Øigarden, Marian Saastad Ottesen, and Kristine Riis, who together bring life to their characters and to the situations they encounter.

In *Norsemen*, Viking men and women deal with contemporary issues such as love, friendship, warfare, and work. Season 1 begins with a group of Vikings triumphantly coming home to Norheim after a raid. The crew includes Olav, Norheim's chieftain, Arvid, a brutal Viking warrior, Frøya, a female shield-maiden, and Rufus, an enslaved actor from Rome. Once settled back into their typical lives, Olav becomes ill and is eventually killed by his envious brother Orm. Seizing his opportunity, Orm assumes the leadership position and institutes rules and regulations that only benefit his role as chieftain. Several members of the raiding group find it difficult to readjust to their lives at Norheim, with Arvid noting that sitting at home while everyone else is raiding is "not honorable," which alludes to the Vikings' moral code of honor and shame. The group travels west, using a secretive map that the evil Jarl Varg, leader of a nearby village, wants to obtain. They pillage an area that seems to represent Britain, robbing a group of Christians of their belongings and the money they had saved for a new hospital. The season also focuses on Rufus, a slave freed at Orm's behest, and his desire to turn Norheim into a cultural center. While criticizing the Vikings' lack of art and culture, he creates projects that he believes will compete with the likes of Rome's Coliseum and theaters. The last episodes end with an attack on Norheim by Jarl Varg who instructs his men to rape and pillage all they see. Both sides eventually come to an agreement when Jarl Varg's hands are accidentally cut off; they are hilariously replaced with two makeshift prosthetics of a wooden spoon in one hand and five short bones on the other representing fingers. Embarrassed by his actions as a weak leader and chastised by the community, Orm tries to escape from Norheim with Rufus and Liv, Arvid's nagging wife. The season ends with a huge Norheim celebration of victory and the news of Arvid becoming a new father.

Season 2 of *Norsemen* focuses on the changes of leadership in Norheim and more raids to nearby lands. The season opens with a successful and violent raid in Northumbria led by Arvid. Once they return, the village's lawspeaker declares Arvid the rightful chieftain of Norheim, leaving Orm as a slave. Arvid introduces the idea of "protection money," forcing nearby villages to pay tribute, and he tries to live up to the image of Viking raids as ruthless. The season emphasizes, however, the love triangle between Arvid, his wife Liv, and the shield-maiden Frøya. Arvid falls in love with Frøya as they connect during their raids, but Liv manages to continue to manipulate him to stay in their marriage. Arvid's situation becomes even more complicated as Hilgurd, the widow of the fallen chieftain Olav, claims to be pregnant with his child. Arvid hilariously acknowledges this fact, even though he knows that he never even slept with her. It is revealed that she has lied the whole time about her pregnancy, carrying a pillow underneath her dress and saying that a wolf had come and snatched her baby after its birth. The season also explores Orm's attempts to escape from slavery and reclaim his throne, even accepting assistance from the evil Jarl Varg. He is seen complaining of the slave work and is despised by the slaves themselves as he cannot seem to connect with them. Hostilities linger between Norheim and Jarl Varg, so Arvid and Varg attempt to make peace at the *thing*, a governing assembly. However, Arvid violates the peace by attacking another man, resulting in him having to leave Norheim and becoming an exile. With Orm assuming the role as leader once again, Jarl Varg and Frøya end up in a brutal fight, resulting in her death. The second season ends with the abandonment of Norheim and the Vikings with all their belongings sailing in longships to another land with the goal of colonization. Renewed for a third season, *Norsemen* will hopefully showcase the Vikings' colonization efforts in the same amusing manner that has left viewers intrigued with the series.

Advertised as a series about contemporary issues set within the context of the Viking Age, *Norsemen* plays with stereotypes that have largely been accepted by society and critiques of the Vikings. Throughout both seasons, the characters portray the Vikings as savage pillagers and rapists that lack hygiene and intelligence. For example, the first episode of Season 1, "The Homecoming," shows the crew returning home from a raid in the west. Worried that her chieftain husband might not return home, Hilgurd sacrifices two slaves by decapitating them. The third slave, Kark, amusingly attempts to talk his way out of being killed by focusing on communicating how unreasonable killing three slaves would be because the Norse god Odin should have already been satisfied with the first two. In that same episode, the female Viking warrior Frøya boasts of all the monks she has raped during the raid because "that's what you do when you pillage." She even wears a necklace of severed penises from the men she has overpowered throughout her journeys, much to dismay of her husband Orm. By incorporating a female rapist, the creators mock the Viking rapist stereotype and traditional views of female aggression. Frøya herself is reminiscent of Freydis, a

female Viking warrior mentioned in *Eirik the Red's Saga* and *The Saga of the Greenlanders*, narratives written in the thirteenth century. Freydis accompanied her comrades on expeditions to Greenland and Vinland, killing natives and slaves to achieve their goal of exploration and settlement. The character of Frøya brings to life the written record of Viking shield-maidens, and her comedic relationships with her inept husband Orm and foolish boyfriend Arvid will give viewers at least a few chuckles.

Throughout its first two seasons, *Norsemen* parodies other Viking stereotypes, including those regarding issues of slavery, culture, and homosexuality. Slavery is depicted as gross, grueling work in unsanitary conditions. However, Kark volunteers to be enslaved and enthusiastically offers to do additional work despite living in a chicken coop and consistently being viewed by society as subhuman. One slave, Rufus of Rome, denounces enslavement by convincing Orm that he needs to showcase their culture like that of the Romans while criticizing the Vikings' lack of culture. He schemes his way out of enslavement and dons the position of creative director, leading a team to fashion a theater complex and sculpture to build Norheim as *the* center of Viking culture. The sculpture itself ends up being a mashed pile of discarded swords and other metals welded in an incoherent form. Despite the stereotype of the uncultured Vikings derived from biased Western texts, they were in fact adventurers with a distinct culture that was rich with oral histories, art, and gaming. *Norsemen* also parodies the Viking perception of homosexuality in a comedic, yet vulgar way. According to Viking law, homosexuality was considered shameful unless a person took the active role. In Season 1, Episode 6, "The Duel," Orm takes this norm and interprets it in his own way. Having had sex with one of Jarl Varg's men during the attack on Norheim, Orm defends his actions by saying he did in fact take on an active role by kissing, thrusting his hips, and going along enthusiastically. This scene illustrates the creators' attempts to both showcase real Viking norms and highlight their hypocrisies through the use of humor.

In terms of its writing, Jon Iver Helgaker and Jonas Torgersen have created scripts that are intriguing, hilarious, and at times controversial. Both seasons proceed through a coherent set of chronological events, highlighting contemporary issues within a Viking context. Many of these issues include those between husband and wife, such as Liv pestering her husband Arvid to join her with friends on a double date to discuss poetry. The writers try to have audiences connect to the storylines even if they are portraying a culture that existed nearly one thousand years ago, and they are successful in their portrayal of tension-filled relationships. The addition of curse words also helps audiences connect to such relationships, as we tend to use them on a daily basis (a trait shared by the main characters). The cast outstandingly portrays each character with enthusiasm and commitment, delivering each deadpan comedic line with a sense of seriousness. As a satire presenting surrealist comedy, some viewers may not like *Norsemen*, but there are instances when viewers should at least

appreciate the juxtaposition of Viking culture with modern-day language and social issues. Throughout the series, however, rape is a major theme that is distorted. Characters in *Norsemen* nonchalantly threaten men and women with rape (also called “defiling” in the show) to highlight the stereotype of the Vikings as vicious pillagers and rapists. Jarl Varg, for example, threatens Arvid with raping his wife Liv unless he returns with the coveted map to the west. With the consistent references to rape throughout the series, one cannot help but see this theme as vulgar and derogatory. In the wake of the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment and sexual assault, modern audiences, and especially women, may be reluctant to view a series that discusses such themes even if it is a satire. In an era where sexual violence is blasted by the media showing such scenes runs against the advocacy of the #MeToo movement. Viewers will note the casual reference to the presidency of Donald J. Trump in Season 2, Episode 5, “The Thing.” After being reinstated as chieftain, the self-centered Orm deliberately holds up the white power “O.K.” hand gesture while saying, “Let’s make Norheim great again.” By including this brief reference, writers Jon Iver Helgaker and Jonas Torgersen satirize the actions of the U.S. president who has used similar language during his campaigns.

Despite some aspects that may polarize audiences, *Norsemen* is filmed in the highest quality with amazing performances from its Norwegian cast. Gorgeous landscape cinematography of the forests, lakes, and oceans provides viewers with an idealistic view of the undisturbed land of medieval times. Costume design and props offer viewers insights into the Vikings’ daily life, from the fur coats of the elite to the dirty rags of those enslaved, the weapons utilized, and the homes and tents they lived in. Interestingly, *Norsemen* distorts the traditional Viking imagery of horned helmets. The Vikings themselves never wore horned helmets, a myth that dates back to nineteenth-century artists. In Season 1, Episode 4, “The Raid,” Viking warrior Ragnar explains that the horns on his helmet are “fashion” and that the rest of the crew could benefit from expressing themselves through dress and taking fashion risks. The performances by the talented cast bring Viking culture to life, albeit in a satirical way. Norwegian actor Kåre Conradi delivers a sensational performance, depicting Orm as a self-centered, egotistical, and weak excuse for a Viking. Similarly, Øystein Martinsen portrays the slave Kark with such sincerity that it leaves viewers empathizing with the character and his shortcomings. *Norsemen*, however, does not depict the lives of Viking children or teens, primarily focusing on the adult members of society. This is principally due to its TV-MA rating stemming from profanity and sexual references. It would be interesting, however, to see what outlandish antics teenagers would be up to during this era.

As a parody of Viking stereotypes, *Norsemen* follows in the footsteps of the British comedy troop Monty Python. Whereas *Norsemen* parodies the Viking Age, *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975) parodies King Arthur’s quest for the Holy Grail. Both works use surrealist comedy and satire to present a history that

is still intriguing to contemporary viewers. *Norsemen* also follows the success of and shares similar themes with HBO's *Game of Thrones* and the History Channel's *Vikings*. The fantasy drama *Game of Thrones* largely uses medieval imagery, and its excitement surrounding royal succession is also found in the fight for the position as chieftain of Norheim in *Norsemen* (not to mention a similar degree of murder, blood, and gore). Although factually flawed (especially in its later seasons), the History Channel's *Vikings* presents a somewhat more historically accurate rendition of the Viking Age, while *Norsemen* parodies its drama with more comedic and lighthearted elements. Most importantly, however, *Norsemen* offers a new perspective on the Vikings that encourages viewers to alter their traditional views of actual medieval Norsemen and Norsewomen.

Despite certain drawbacks, *Norsemen* represents Viking life in a way that intrigues audiences and is so silly that it guarantees at least some laughs. Although not everyone may appreciate its deadpan delivery and satire, *Norsemen* leaves audiences with a new image of the Vikings as men and women who probably had to deal with problems pertaining to work and relationships just like the viewers of the show today. This parody acts as a mirror to the social issues and relationships of contemporary society, and using Viking culture as its medium allows *Norsemen* to be an enjoyable viewing experience. With a third season in the works, viewers may get more laughs as the villagers of Norheim attempt to colonize new lands. Whether the characters will succeed or fail in these endeavors, *Norsemen* will likely continue to succeed in presenting Viking behavior that reiterates stereotypes while highlighting its duplicities.

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Taco Chronicles [TV documentary series].

Directed by Carlos Perez Osorio. July 12, 2019.

Netflix. 6 episodes (25-31minutes each).

Netflix's Spanish documentary series *Taco Chronicles* or *Las Cronicas del Taco*, created by Carlos Perez Osorio and Pablo Cruz, producer of films such as *Miss Bala* (2019) and *Sin Nombre* (2009), serves Mexico's rich cultural history on a warm and soft *tortilla*. Which of the six styles of *tacos* is your favorite: *al-pastor*, *carnitas*, *canasta*, *carne-asada*, *barbacoa*, or *guisado*? Each episode includes a particular style's origins, traditional and modern methods of preparation, oral histories of *tacqueros*, and a comical narrative by the *taco*-style itself. The authentic, expertly chosen music complements the film and draws viewers into the scenes as if they were really in Mexico. The cinematography is astonishing and may be classified by some as "food porn," for example due to its heavy use of mouth-watering close-ups of *carne asada* in slow motion. However, I believe

the true essence of this documentary series lies in its interviews which showcase the connections between a nation whose cultural identity has become so intertwined with the *taco* that the two are inseparable.

Episode 1 in the series begins with the stunning shot of a roaring fire that is engulfing marinated pork rotating on a *trompo*. In Mexico City, the *al-pastor taco* is king, and the interviews with random Mexican citizens validate this truth: "If Mexico City had a flag, an *al-pastor taco* would be its emblem." (02:43) Where did the *al-pastor taco* originate from, though? Gastronomic writer Pedro Reyes enlightens viewers by explaining that its roots can be traced back to pre-modern Asia Minor, to the region known as Anatolia in today's Turkey. The Ottoman Empire's cuisine, exemplified by Lebanese *shawarma*, Greek *gyros*, and the Turkish *döner kebab*, entered the New World via Veracruz and settled in Puebla, Mexico, where the lamb and mutton of the Near East were replaced by pork and placed on a flour *tortilla* with some chipotle *salsa*, giving birth to the *al-pastor taco*. Spit-roasted layers of leg or loin meat, thick or thin cuts marinated in *adobo* are the foundation of the *al-pastor taco*, and *adobo* recipes vary with the different *taqueros* who guard their secret ingredients. The episode emphasizes that the best places to find traditional *al-pastor tacos* are the legendary *taquerias* of Lorenzo-Boturini street in Mexico City: *El Pastorcito*, *Gabacho*, and *Los Gueros* are the establishments to visit. The episode introduces the histories of a variety of different people, such as Filemon Herrera Garnica, proprietor of *Los Gueros*, and his 46-year-old *taqueria*, with photographs showcasing the history of his family; interviews with Isidro Hernandez Trejo and the story of how a body shop by day becomes a *taqueria*, *El Vilsito*, by night; or the story of Braulio Ramirez, a boy who works as a waiter for *El Borrego Viudo*. Episode 1 ends by reminding the audience of the importance of not just the *al-pastor taco*, but the *taco* in general when it concerns the connection between food and identity in Mexico. Chef Roberto Solis says it best: "Ultimately, that is what we want to achieve when making a *taco*, to make a connection with people's souls, and if they are not Mexican, they can become Mexican through *tacos*." (26:40)

Episode 2 is all about the *carnitas taco*. What sets the *carnitas taco* apart from the other styles is that it uses practically the whole pig: a single bite might contain a piece of meat from just about any part of the pig. The tenderness and savory meat is indistinguishable; all you know is that it tastes incredible. The history of how *carnitas* came into being is explained by Marino A. Collazos, proprietor of *Cocina M*, who relates that the oldest document on *carnitas* is 500 years old, and that pigs are not native to the Americas but were brought and left in *La Española* by Christopher Columbus. Later, Hernan Cortes brought them from Cuba to Mexico, and the story goes that, in 1521, Cortes organized a huge banquet in the palace of Coyoacan to celebrate the defeat of the Aztec Empire. Cortes had a pig butchered, cooked in its fat, and served with Tlaxcalan corn bread (which is like a corn *tortilla*, only thicker), and this was the birth of the *carnitas taco*. The modern-day version of the *carnitas taco* was born in the city of

Michoacan. According to the documentary, “Michoacan has a very strong pork culture.” (06:00) While the *carnitas taco* is the star of the episode, the actual focus is on the histories of the people who are involved in the *carnitas* business and the importance of all the various people associated with *carnitas* in some capacity. There is, for instance, the significance of copper pots and the history of Antonio Parra from Santa Clara del Cobre, who has been making copper pots for 50 years (and his father before him for 70 years), as copper pots made by hand are believed to give *carnitas* more flavor. Then there is the story of Jaime Ayala and how, for five generations, his family has dedicated everything toward the *carnitas* business. Jaime starts work at 2:30 a.m. and ends once he has sold all his *carnitas*, and then repeats this cycle all over again. Jaime says, “Some people think this is an easy job. But [you are] spending half your life virtually sleepless because our hours of rest are very few. Sometimes in life, we need to lack something, to be in need, to suffer a bit, so that we can value our job, value people, and so that you can value your own life.” (26:20) These histories elevate *carnitas* into a *taco* that demands commitment and love.

Episode 3 highlights the simplicity of the *taco de canasta*. This “basket” *taco* has three fillings, potatoes, beans, and *chicharron* (fried pork belly), and, best of all, it comes to you. *Tacos de canasta* are loaded into a basket on a bicycle in the morning, warm, fresh, and ready for the hungry people who are commuting throughout the city. Think of this like the ice cream man who drives around in neighborhoods, except this ice cream man is a *taco* basket man or woman who is going to give you a delicious, savory *taco* at low cost. The *taco de canasta* originated from a need: men working in factories in the early 1900s would crowd around the food brought to them in baskets, and thus the name of this type of *taco* was born: *tacos de canasta*. There are many great stories in this episode, but the one of Marven, Mexico City’s “Lady *Tacos de Canasta*,” stands out. According to Marven, becoming the basket-*taco* “Lady” was just a coincidence, and it occurred when he went to sell *tacos* at the Pride Parade. He had gone to the parade before but had never dressed up. Videos of him dressed as a woman, selling *tacos* with a very manly voice, went viral, and he quickly embraced the idea of becoming “Lady *Tacos de Canasta*.” Marven explains that, in Oaxaca, *muxe* (a person assigned male at birth, but dressing and acting like a woman), is often referred to as a third gender, a blessing for the family, and considered good luck. Simple and affordable, the *taco de canasta* is for everyone, regardless of social or economic class, and always delicious.

The best-known style of *taco* in the U.S., the *carne-asada taco* (grilled-meat *taco*), is on the menu in Episode 4: “An *asada taco* tastes like heaven. It tastes like home, like family, like friends, like partying. An *asada taco*, it is everything, man.” (00:55) I believe there is nothing more traditional in Latino culture than to enjoy a good barbeque on the weekend, having *carne asada* with friends and family. Because the *carne-asada taco* is so famous, it is a *taco* that brings together people of all races: “*Asada tacos* are the most basic *tacos* in the USA. If an American who

knows nothing about *tacos* comes to a Mexican restaurant, the first thing they will order if they are nervous is *tacos de asada*." (09:45) The story of the *carne-asada taco* began in 1521, when Gregorio Villalobos brought 50 head of cattle from La Habana to Veracruz as milk and field cattle. 300 years later, grain-fed cows made an appearance, such as the Hereford and Angus breeds, and thus the juicy meat many enjoy today became available. When it comes to *carne asada*, all you need is some good grilled meat, a warm *tortilla*, and good *salsa*. This fourth episode does not highlight the *taqueros*, the people who sell the *tacos*, but, rather, the people who prepare the ingredients necessary for the *carne-asada taco*: *rancheros* like Hector Ivan Quiroz Coronado who breed cows and work tirelessly to sell the best meat; *carnicerias* like Nereida Vejar who butcher the animals and cut the meat with precision; and *tortilla-makers* like Ms. Amanda who craft the tasty *tortillas*: "Wherever there's a fire, our country's hearts beat." (25:50)

Episode 5 focuses on an ancient cooking method and, quite honestly, the most difficult *taco*-style, namely, the *barbacoa taco*. This style originated from the Mayan people who perfected a technique called *pib*, where they cooked pheasant, deer, and a species of wild boar (called peccary) underground. The *pib* technique was adopted by other cultures in the region and later evolved through the Spaniards' introduction of lamb and goats, giving birth to the *barbacoa* of today. *Barbacoa* is prepared in a type of well that is lined with agave fronds and agave leaves. At the bottom sits a cauldron full of broth to capture the juice that drips down from the meat so that it can later be used as a soup. The lamb meat is wrapped in agave, sealed by a lid, and buried in dirt or mud. What makes the *barbacoa* special is the amount of work and time that is required to create it, and you can enjoy it only on weekends, typically in the morning when the well is dug up: "Everybody knows *barbacoa* is sold early, at midday at the latest. Fresh from the pit, they sell it, it sells out, and the *taquero* leaves." (21:50) In that regard, the *barbacoa taco* brings together entire communities in Mexico for the weekends, and there is a deep respect for the *barbacoa* and the tradition that has persisted through generations of families.

Guisado, the stew *taco*, is the focus of Episode 6, and it is unique in the sense that it incorporates stew as the main component on top of the *tortilla*. The story of the stew *taco* begins at home, but there are tales of how King Moctezuma II, when he was hungry, requested *guisados* of all kinds, so that he could eat a variety of different *tacos*. Later on, the Mexican Revolution immortalized the *guisado tacos* because of their simplicity and ability to incorporate any meat and herb. For instance, according to writer Alonso Ruvalcaba, a typical *guisado taqueria* "should have some ten different dishes, maybe." (15:50) However, the greater the variety of stews available the more popular your location will be, because part of the fun of stew *tacos* is combining an array of different ingredients to produce something truly unique. Above all else, I believe it is nostalgia that makes the *guisado taco* memorable in Mexican culture, and the episode truly resonates with that belief: "My mom used to make this kind of

stew, but she passed away. That's also the reason why we come here, for the longing." (23:16) The first place where one would eat a *guisado taco* would normally be one's home where it would be prepared by the mother or father, and that memory is what gives the *guisado taco* its profound social value.

Taco Chronicles is an amazing documentary series that captures the cultural history of the Mexican people in a very sentimental way. Historians, the Mexican community, Latinos in general, or just anyone who loves *tacos* or even just food will enjoy this series. *Tacos* are not just nourishment; they reflect the identities by which Mexicans build connections within their communities and with the world. The histories of the people who made and make these *tacos* are insightful and inspiring. The term "street food" is tossed around in almost every episode of *Taco Chronicles*, which reminds me of a similar documentary series, *Street Food* (2019), created by David Gelb and Brian McGinn, which highlights Asian street food and the vital role it plays in the respective Asian nations' cultures. The nice thing about *Taco Chronicles* is that we focus entirely on one country, exploring in-depth the *al-pastor*, *carnitas*, *canasta*, *carne-asada*, *barbacoa*, or *guisado tacos*. So, which *taco* is your favorite? Is it because of taste? Or memory? Or both?

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They Shall Not Grow Old [documentary film].
Directed by Peter Jackson. 2018.

House Productions; Trustees of the Imperial War Museum, London; WingNut Films.
129 minutes (extended cut).

"We were just kids, and it was like a great big game to us, apart from the actual killing." (00:02:51) War is never easy to portray with accuracy. Emotions run high for viewers on all sides of a conflict, especially when such a conflict takes place on a global scale. For many nations and peoples, World War I lives on as a reminder of the carnage and bloodshed of modern warfare. While authors, artists, and filmmakers have attempted to portray the war by focusing on combat, on its complex political origins, or on the conquering of an "evil foreign power," few have attempted to capture the experiences of average soldiers. *They Shall Not Grow Old* is a documentary film commissioned by Britain's Imperial War Museum and directed by Peter Jackson, best known for his work on the *Lord of the Rings* (2001-2003) and *Hobbit* (2012-2014) film trilogies. A departure from Jackson's fantastical films, *They Shall Not Grow Old* received the 2019 award for Outstanding Achievement in Sound Editing from the Motion Picture Sound Editors association, and it is one of only a few recent films to receive a 100% rating on the film review website "Rotten Tomatoes." I believe that the film's success is based on its exploration of what life was like for average British soldiers sent to the front lines in western Europe. It does not concern itself with

explanations about the start of the war, or its conclusion. The audience simply experiences the same information, or lack thereof, that British soldiers received when they were shipped off to the continent.

The opening scene reflects the film's overall tone: a fade-in from black and the sound of men whistling. Then follow photographs of soldiers who served during the conflict, as actors read excerpts from the diaries and memoirs of these same eleven or twelve different men. In excerpts from 1914, they talk about how excited they were to serve their country, to experience war, and to fight alongside their closest friends. However, the tone shifts as the documentary cuts to the endings of these works, with stories of desperation, depression, and hopelessness, with 1917 passing and no end to the war in sight, and all this before the documentary's title even appears on the screen. (00:03:41) This juxtaposition of emotions, brilliantly executed and repeated several times during the film, gives the audience a fair warning of what they are about to experience.

After the opening credits, we see black-and-white footage of peaceful European cities and farmlands across Germany, France, and England, accompanied by audio clips of soldiers talking about the "the peace before the storm of war." (00:03:50) As English and German men are playing rugby, there is news of something referred to as the "Serbian Incident." While some find the news rather shocking, most agree that, despite the sudden outbreak of war, they will continue their fun and games and simply have the war start the next day. Then follows footage from 1914, with countless British men lining up and waiting to enlist. Soldiers discuss how excited they were to sign up for the war, while women and older folks questioned young men who would not enlist immediately. The audience is guided through the process of joining the army. Personal stories of soldiers who lied about their age in order to join are combined with the footage. One seventeen-year-old was told to go home, have a birthday, and come back the next day so that he would be eighteen, while another was congratulated by an officer for the impressive feat of celebrating three birthdays in one afternoon in order to enlist while still at the age of fifteen. (00:10:24)

The audience learns about the daily routines of soldiers experiencing training for the first time. Gear inspections are conducted, and many find that their clothing does not fit their smaller statures. All these soldiers receive during their training is a knife, fork, razor, spoon, needle, thread, toothbrush, half-pint mug, spare pair of socks, and spare shirt. Audio footage of soldiers describes the life of these trainees during mealtime, weapons training, and classroom lectures regarding war strategies. The day began at 6:00 a.m. with breakfast and physical exercises. Marching drills followed, with lunch at noon and weapons training soon thereafter. This cycle was repeated daily, with increased disciplinary measures used on those who stepped out of line or refused to take things seriously. We hear differing opinions concerning the drill sergeants, with some soldiers understanding the need for such harshness during times of war and others refusing to cooperate and, instead, choosing to play pranks on their

commanding officers. These pranks frequently led to group punishments, and sergeants used the group's anger as a deterrent against those who acted out.

Once their training was completed and they had been shipped over to the European continent, the soldiers came face to face with the destruction of war. Photographs and film reels of destroyed villages are juxtaposed against soldiers talking about their excitement to see real combat. As anxious villagers rush out to greet them, the new arrivals catch the glances of the soldiers they have come to replace. The excited talk ceases immediately, and the soldiers concentrate on the hollow expressions and dead stares of their fellow servicemen instead. Doubts about the reality of war begin to creep in.

When the newly trained cadets arrive at the trenches, the film's artistic style shifts, as Jackson and his team have adapted (or "modernized") the original archival footage by adjusting the number of frames per second and by carefully colorizing the material. These techniques create an eerily immersive experience that brings the audience closer to the soldiers they are observing. There is an immediate connection and solidarity between the audience and the soldiers, as both find themselves in an unfamiliar place without knowing why they have been sent there. The documentary then contrasts the daily life of soldiers in the trenches with their previous routines during training. While one third of the force was trying to sleep (either while standing or while lying on the ground or in the mud), one third was working sentry duty, and the final third was digging and expanding the trenches. The days were monotonous, and the audience feels this through the audio commentary from the soldiers' diaries. Struggles with hygiene and the graphic realities of attempting to live in the trenches are put on full display, from soldiers having to boil their tea in water heated by artillery guns, via flies crawling all over them while they are trying to defecate, to lice and maggots infecting almost every ounce of food or drink stored nearby. Jackson does not hold back when depicting the grotesque aspects of soldiers' lives during World War I, and this choice is deliberate. The scenes feel claustrophobic, because soldiers were indeed closed in by the walls of the trenches, forcing them to focus on the outrageous sights all around them.

At this point the documentary arrives at some of its most graphic scenes. Jackson now focuses on the effects of rain and wet conditions on the soldiers serving in the trenches, as well as the effects of gas attacks. The remastered footage displays a World War I gas attack, with the chemicals spreading all around as soldiers dive to the ground, praying they can put on their masks in time. Audio and video footage of men choking is combined with descriptions of organs bursting open or melting, making the audience feel sick to their stomachs. Before allowing the audience to recover, the documentary describes trench foot, a condition which befell many soldiers due to the wet winter conditions of the Western Front. Images and audio descriptions of human skin sliding off from the ankles down permanently burn themselves into the minds of those watching the film. Jackson's skills as a director and cinematographer shine brightest in these

moments, as they ensure that the audience will remember what they have just witnessed, even if they would much rather forget.

The documentary then moves into its final act. The soldiers with whom we have spent our time are told by their commanding officers that a full assault on the German trenches will take place within the next few days. Interestingly, it is never revealed to the audience when this assault will take place. It is clear from the conditions on the front lines and the time spent with the soldiers that it must have occurred in either 1916 or 1917, but an exact date is never given. This is a conscious choice on Jackson's part, as it ensures that the audience has the same amount of information as the soldiers. There is nothing to indicate how much longer the war will last. Could it be the final assault? Or is this a pointless charge toward death with years of carnage remaining? The tension and eeriness of the calm before the battle are captured through the silence of these scenes. There is no background music, only the audio footage of soldiers describing their anxiety and fears concerning the coming storm, with many saying the wait before the assault was more maddening than the actual charge. Jackson builds up the tension by dragging out these scenes for as long as possible, making the audience anxious to see who will survive the coming bloodshed.

The documentary has now reached its climax, as we see the soldiers charging forward into "No Man's Land." Some are immediately shelled to death and taken out by sniper fire, while others make it into the enemy trenches, only to be bayoneted before they can react. Countless deaths occur on screen, and survivors question in voice-overs why they were subjected to such mindless destruction. Almost as soon as it has begun, the assault comes to an end. Survivors hobble back to their own trenches, and soldiers tell stories of mercy killings performed on those horribly mutilated during the charge. Soon after, the soldiers are informed that an armistice has been signed and that the war has come to an end. There are no cheers to this news; rather, the soldiers are confused and dumbfounded. Some describe that they felt as though their way of life had just come crashing down, as if they had been fired from the only job they had ever known. (01:26:14)

As the trenches are left in the distance and the sound of explosions fades, the film returns to black-and-white footage. The soldiers are brought back home and find a world in which they live as outcasts. Family and friends do not want to speak of the war, and civilians fail to grasp the physical, mental, and emotional toll the war has taken on the servicemen. As an audience, we are left with video footage of soldiers relaxing in the park, attending weddings, and spending time with their families. These happy occasions, however, are juxtaposed with images of businesses refusing to hire servicemen and audio footage of soldiers describing the night terrors that would haunt them for the rest of their lives.

While other World War I documentaries, such as *Gallipoli* (2005), *The Millionaire's Unit* (2015), and *25 April* (2015), have focused on the glory of battle and the carnage of modern warfare, none have captured the same emotional

response as Jackson's work. While these films allowed audiences to see what others went through, they do not put the audience in the shoes of the soldiers. Anyone with an interest in World War I or world history in general should be sure to view this documentary; by the same token, anyone squeamish or with a weak stomach may want to look away during certain segments.

Jackson has created a documentary that feels "alive," in which the audience experiences World War I through the eyes of everyday British soldiers who have little knowledge of the international political events that brought the world into one of the bloodiest wars in human history. By omitting supplementary information and focusing solely on the diaries and memoirs of soldiers who served on the Western Front, Jackson is able to bring this vision to life. Whether it is optimism, joy, disgust, fear, desperation, or melancholy, the audience witnesses all that these men who served must have felt. The audience shares in the hopelessness and isolation felt by survivors, when no one seemed to be able to understand what they had experienced and how the war had changed them. As the film comes to a close, we see one final soldier going back to a store he had frequented before the war. The man working behind the counter recognizes him as an old customer. He exclaims: "Where have you been? Working nights?" (01:32:04) Then the screen fades to black, a familiar whistling tune begins to play, and soldiers are heard marching once again.

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Viking [film].

Directed by Andrey Kravchuk. 2016.

Direktsiya Kino; Studio Trite; Dago Productions; Channel One. 128/133/142 minutes (12+/18+/Blu-ray).

Ahmad Ibn Fadlan, a tenth-century Arab traveler known for his encounters with the Rus' Vikings, described the latter as "perfect physical specimens, tall as date palms, blond and ruddy." (Ibn Fadlan, *Risala*) He also characterized these physically impressive Rus' as "the filthiest of God's creatures. They have no modesty in defecation or urination, nor do they wash after pollution from orgasm, nor do they wash their hands after eating. In this they are like wild asses." Ibn Fadlan's account matches the Viking Rus' portrayed in Andrei Kravchuk's 2016 film *Viking*. I will start by examining the film's cinematography and briefly explain the plot. I will then examine its historical accuracy, discuss the music, and ultimately explain why Kravchuk's *Viking* is an okay-to-miss film.

Viking's opening scene is everything a viewer would expect from a film on the Norsemen. The first shot is of a snowy tundra with Viking warriors hunting, riding horses, killing, and fighting each other, with blood and snow everywhere. The cinematography in this scene, along with the rest of the film, is beautifully

done. The hunting portion of the opening scene includes a massive European bison charging a Viking leader who is yelling and egging the beast on. The CGI (computer-generated imagery) used to create the truck-sized bison is magnificent, keeping the audience on their toes, engaged, and awestruck. If only the rest of the film followed suit.

Viking's director Andrei Kravchuk, who has directed five films and five television shows, is mostly known for *The Italian* (2005). When released on December 29, 2016, *Viking* was the third-most expensive film to come out of Russia, with a budget of \$20.8 million. The film grossed \$32.3 million and was met with sub-par reviews. In theaters, the film was released in two versions, one being 12+ for families and the complete version being 18+ (there is also an extended version on Blu-ray). The original film was released in Russian, Swedish, and Norwegian, and then dubbed in English in 2017 and released on Amazon Prime Video in 2018. The version reviewed here is the 18+ version, dubbed and subtitled in English, and available on Amazon Prime Video.

The film starts with a map of Kievan Rus' in the tenth century, explaining that Rus' leader Svyatoslav I has died and that his lands have been divided among his three sons, Oleg receiving the land of the Drevlians, Yaropolk receiving Kiev, and Vladimir receiving Novgorod. Oleg is the Viking in the opening scene who takes on the bison, eventually slaying it (but not without taking a horn to the face and subsequently bleeding everywhere). *Viking* is in the "medieval grunge" category, visually dark, with mud and blood a constant in almost every scene. The beautiful snowy landscapes of Crimea are the only light portions of the film. The feeling, tone, and atmosphere of the film is comparable to *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), *King Arthur: Legend of the Sword* (2017), and *Outlaw King* (2018).

Viking then follows Oleg who gets into a confrontation with his brother Yaropolk. Oleg flees from Yaropolk and dies in the process. Yaropolk is blamed for his death. One of Oleg's surviving soldiers, who had previously served Svyatoslav I, escapes, vowing to enact vengeance upon Yaropolk. This soldier makes his way to the third brother, Vladimir, the film's main character. Vladimir is convinced to form an army of Viking mercenaries to conquer Kiev from his brother Yaropolk and the rest of the lands that had belonged to their father. The film is somewhat historically accurate when it comes to the basics of the rise of Vladimir the Great, the future Grand Prince of Kiev. Beyond that, *Viking* follows Vladimir's career, picking and choosing when to be historically accurate and when to take its own liberties.

The film's historical inaccuracies are a reason for the many mixed and negative reviews. The battles, military strategy, and weapons, while not completely accurate, are acceptable for the time period. There is a lack of chain mail amongst the elite and rich warriors; they all seem to have the same basic leather armor. But these inaccuracies do not go too far, and they do not take away from the film. For example, there are no stereotypical Viking horned helmets or an abundance of pure blonde hair and exaggerated beards. *Viking*

never claims to be a historical film, but after watching the audience is left wondering what the film's main theme might have been. Is it about Vladimir? Is it about the rise of Christianity in Kiev? Is it about the infighting between brothers? Or is it a story of love about Vladimir's multiple wives?

Vladimir eventually kills his brother, takes the latter's wife (now his second), and becomes the Grand Prince of Kiev. With his brothers out of the picture, he seeks to establish himself as a strong leader. To do so, Vladimir brings back the worship of his late father's god. This god demands blood in the form of human sacrifices. Vladimir obliges. *Viking* first introduces Svyatoslav's god, then Christianity. The late Yaropolk's wife (now Vladimir's new wife) happens to be a Christian, as are some of Yaropolk's former soldiers, a few of whom are now serving Vladimir. Throughout the film Christianity is brought to the forefront, whether in the form of a soldier's prayer or via Vladimir's second wife explaining monotheism to him. The establishment of Orthodox Christianity in Kiev seems to be one of the film's underlying themes, but the audience is left unsure what the main takeaway might be. To add to the confusion, Vladimir's second wife and his first are constantly at odds about which religion to follow, about political strategy, or about the lack of attention one receives in comparison to the other, and *Viking's* forced sex scenes and romantic moments with these two women often seem contrived.

The story continues with Vladimir fighting soldiers who had previously served Yaropolk and are now aligned with a nomadic Turkish tribe which relies on horses. This tribe is called the Pechenegs, an actual people in this historical setting who warred against the Kievan Rus' for hundreds of years. Vladimir cannot fight these forces on his own, as his mercenary forces are not being paid well enough, and he does not have the resources available to change that. Enter the Romans. Throughout the film the term "Romans" is used to denote the Byzantines (which is what they called themselves, too). For the sake of this review, I will keep consistency with the film and use the term "Romans."

The Romans come to Vladimir in his time of need with a job offer. They need help putting down a rebellious section of their vast empire and want to hire the Rus' to do their bidding. Vladimir agrees on one condition, namely, that once the rebellion has been put down, he can marry the Roman Emperor's sister, Anna. The film follows Vladimir into a visually and audibly stunning battle scene. One of the film's positive attributes is the music, composed by Igor Matvienko. This battle scene is one of many that give off a grandiose atmosphere. The soundtrack features ancient instrument replicas synthesized with modern-day technology, and the symphonic music during the battles and dramatic sequences creates an epic feeling. Once the battle is won, Vladimir is allowed to marry Anna, but he must first leave his father's god, convert to Christianity, and be baptized.

Vladimir then enters a massive and beautifully ornate Orthodox church. He is introduced to Christianity and the fundamentals of Holy Confession and Baptism. Before the priest, Vladimir admits to killing his brother and breaks

down crying. This scene seems too abrupt: Vladimir breaks down crying two minutes into the conversation. There is no lead into his emotional breakdown. This adds to the feeling of a weak Vladimir, a main character in whom it is hard to put too much stock. Throughout the film, Vladimir fails many times and does not seem strong enough to lead his people. The film's ending seems to be about Vladimir's religious conversion and healing. He shows himself as a true Christian after Holy Confession, receives baptism, and begins building churches in Kiev. The film lights up during these final scenes, there is no more mud or blood or grit, and Vladimir's entire kingdom receives mass baptism to the accompaniment of joyous music. The ending seems abrupt and forced, leaving the audience thinking, "Oh, is it over?" *Viking* concludes with an intertitle of Romans 8:24: "For we are saved by hope."

Viking's Vladimir is depicted as a lost leader who, at times, seems confused and weak. He routinely walks into situations not as the agent, but as the regent. This is, of course, not the actor's fault (Danila Kozlovsky); it is the fault of the writers. Vladimir is certainly not portrayed as one would expect, namely, as a strong, determined, and courageous leader. In an attempt to humanize this historical figure, the writers have created an inconsistent character who only remotely resembles the historical Vladimir who established Orthodox Christianity in Kiev, who aided the poor, and who created a better education and court system. Even the title of the film is questionable: *Viking* is not about Scandinavian Vikings; it is about the establishment of Orthodox Christianity in eastern Europe, about the Rus', and about Vladimir. A more apt title would have been: *Vladimir the Great: The Story of the Kiev Rus'*.

The cinematography, the music, and the CGI are done extremely well. However, the same cannot be said for the English subtitles and dubbed voices. Granted, many dubbed films run the risk of looking cheap, but *Viking* takes this to an extreme. There are many instances where the dubbed English voice does not even match the character that is talking on screen. In some cases, the voice actors do not match the "expected" voice of the on-screen actor, which creates many unpleasant moments in the film. The subtitles were either done by a computer program or a poor translator. For example, the words "trader" and "traitor" routinely get mixed up. In one important scene, a character says, "A gift from God," and the subtitles read, "A gift of from." This takes the audience out of the moment who are now watching the subtitles to see what other mistakes may occur. When the film changes locations, and there is an establishing shot on the screen, the name of the new location appears for no more than half a second. There is simply not enough time to read even "Kiev" or other intertitles and thus establish shot locations. The cheap English audio and poor subtitles certainly take away from *Viking's* beautiful cinematography and atmosphere. Thus, while the actors and director have done a good job, the production company and writers have made *Viking* an okay-to-miss film.

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Yesterday [film].

Directed by Danny Boyle. 2019.

Decibel Films; Dentsu; Etalon Films; Perfect World Pictures; Working Title Films. 116 minutes.

“Yesterday, all my troubles seemed so far away / Now it looks as though they’re here to stay / Oh, I believe in yesterday.” (00:13:40) The film *Yesterday* is a romance, but it is not merely a romance of love. It is a romance of history. The story begins with an amateur singer, Jack Malick, from the United Kingdom, whose songs no one seems to care for, except for his manager, Ellie. Ellie is very much in love with him, but he is unable to declare his love for her. He is ready to give up on trying to make it as a singer when she tells him that miracles happen. And one soon does. As Jack bicycles home, he is hit by a bus at the exact moment all the electricity goes out in a global blackout. He wakes up to find that he is the only person who remembers the songs of the Beatles, a wildly popular band in the 1960s, especially in Britain and the United States.

Jack tries to remember as many songs as he is able, and with the help of Ed Sheeran, a famous British singer today, as well as the help of a materialistic American producer, Jack becomes a worldwide phenomenon. But as Jack gains fame, he starts to lose Ellie. He is still powerless to declare his love for her, and their paths, with his new-found fame, diverge. Captivated by his success, he is unable to declare to all that the songs are not written by himself but by a band that no longer exists. But through the Beatles’ songs he sings (“In My Life,” “The Long and Winding Road,” and “Help!”) and a meeting with a still-living John Lennon—a once-member of the Beatles, poet, and activist—Jack is able to overcome his obstacles. Lennon tells Jack that, although not famous in this alternate life, he is happy, for in his life he fought for what he believed in, and he fought for love. Jack seems to understand now. Jack is able to go back into the world, declare the truth of where the songs came from, and declare his love for Ellie. They marry, have children, and live happily ever after (with the song “Obladi Oblada” in the background, and “Hey Jude” during the end-credits).

History plays a central, romantic role in the film. Through the beautiful songs and lyrics of the Beatles, which are made completely new again, and through the physical meeting with John Lennon, Jack is able to get what he needs to change and better his life. This is obviously not possible, but it is the dream of history: to recreate the past as if it were completely new and to meet its characters and places as if they were real. And a dream of another order is to see how those characters would react to today and see how we would react to them. The film tries to do this by creating a world where those individuals are still alive in our

present and their works and actions are new in that present. And it presents those works and actions as relevant and important. The film is traditional and classical in that regard. Its premise is that there are certain things that carry over and would be recognized through time and space: love, beauty, truth, and courage. Some reviews have been critical of the film in that they believe it assumes that the Beatles' popularity would carry over to today. But those reviews seem to miss the point of the film. The film is primarily about Jack. We see through him and his life how those songs are relevant. Jack's life and his problems are similar to ours. Are love, courage, and honesty still important? Do these not carry over in time? *Yesterday* says that they do, and Jack's problems seem regular enough that it is convincing.

There are other films on the Beatles, even those in which they play themselves, such as *A Hard Day's Night* (1964). But those films are not situated in our time as this one is. There have been films that try to bring the past into the present and see how we would react. One example is *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (1989) in which historical personages are brought into 1980s San Dimas, California, by two teenagers. That film succeeded because it seemed to bring out something of those personages and how they are relevant and important today. *Yesterday* captures something of the Beatles and John Lennon and shows us how they are relevant and important today. Accordingly, the film succeeds as well.

The film is directed by Danny Boyle who has directed such films as *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008) and *Steve Jobs* (2015). It is written by Richard Curtis who has written such films as *Notting Hill* (1999). These films also make extraordinary people and circumstances relatable to us. And they have some of the magic and charm of Hollywood. This film carries some of that magic as well, albeit more literally: the notion that we can recreate the past as if it were completely new and real. While we cannot make it real again, as this film does, we can make its principles relevant and, to some extent, new again. The film is recommended.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Amer Hamid of Woodland Hills, California, earned his B.S. in Computer Science at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana (2003). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), focusing on American history and English literature.

Reviews (Games)

Hearts of Iron IV [strategy video game].

Developer: Paradox Development Studio. Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, Linux, Macintosh operating systems. Release date: June 6, 2016.

The eve of World War II is a rather popular time period in every medium, from books and movies to video games. Therefore, when this time period is included in someone's new work, the quality must be exceptional to be worthy of widespread attention. *Hearts of Iron IV* is just such a video game, focused on World War II and exceptional in its own right. This review focuses on both the type of game *Hearts of Iron* represents, but also how this game might find application by people of the historical profession or persuasion.

As a game, *Hearts of Iron IV* is a profoundly enjoyable experience. This is the fourth installment in the *Hearts of Iron* series. All the games in this series focus on the World War II era, but this latest installment expands the timeline by starting in the 1930s. The player can choose between a major or a minor nation, with an obvious gameplay focus on picking a country that had a bigger stake in the war, such as the United States, Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, and Japan, since these nations had a more varied experience than, say, Turkey or China. Once a country is selected, the player must lead the country through the pre-war years and prepare for the upcoming upheaval. The first major events that take place are always the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War. Both the player and the simulated Artificial Intelligence world powers react to these events and attempt to come out on top. The game presents the player with an almost infinite number of choices right off the bat. One of the most impactful early-game decisions the player can make is the allocation of all factories already built in the country the player controls. This detail alone is one of the most engaging aspects of the game. Factories are needed to produce all weapons, equipment, tanks, ships, planes, and transport vehicles for one's army. In addition, the player can allocate factories to the production of non-war related luxury goods to produce tradable resources that could mean the difference between a fully fueled air force or one with only half the efficiency and range. One of the mechanics that really makes the decision-making process agonizing is the fact that, in this game, factories become much more productive the longer they produce the same thing. Thus, a line of infantry weapons that represents cutting-edge technology takes almost twice as long to produce as the same quantity of the old line when one switches all the factories over. Accordingly, troops run out if there is not a slow phasing process. The same situation occurs with tanks and planes. It might take two or three months to see one brand-new plane, whereas the allocated factories since 1936 will produce older-model planes at twice or sometimes three times the rate of the new one.

This minute attention to every little detail of the process is where the real enjoyment can be derived from this simulation of World War II.

The same process applies to navies, to politics, to trying to change the system of government in one's chosen country, and to the battles the player chooses, for example, who heads what army and how long it stays in a specific area. Every part of the game lets the player customize how the events of the war unfold, and there is real enjoyment to be derived from that experience. The game is endlessly deep, allowing players to be as detail-oriented as they wish. The national-focus system is very streamlined, but it still offers pivotal choices. For example, as the Soviet Union, one can choose to focus on establishing the same political patterns that played out during the war, increasing relations with Germany, and signing non-aggression pacts. However, the player also has the option to ignore this completely, and instead focus on the military or air force, preparing for the eventual German invasion by securing the western borders of the nation. As the United Kingdom, the player can choose to focus on nation building, home defense, colonial elites, or an endless list of considerations and choices that ultimately shape what parts of the empire are developed and what parts are ignored. If the player chooses to develop the Raj (i.e., the British sovereignty in India), for example, armies moving through that area will be better supplied and move more quickly, leading to an easier invasion of Manchuria, which ultimately allows for a strong defense against Japan. Ignoring this and focusing on Africa, however, leads to an exposed flank in Asia, but allows the player to better negate the power of Italy by removing its few colonial holdings from play early. This leads to fewer resources for Italy to utilize when it is building its military, as the iron and oil from Libya and Ethiopia now fall under Allied control. The player can choose to fortify Gibraltar or interfere politically instead and try to stop the civil war before it occurs. A fortified Gibraltar allows for an invasion of Spain that could leave Hitler open on three fronts instead of two. These sorts of decisions permeate every single aspect of the game, leaving the player with an almost inhuman number of choices, and that is just looking at two of the countries involved in the war. However, this is not a snap-decision, high-octane, or explosions-and-gunfire type of game. There is a strong emphasis on micromanagement of multiple different systems at the same time, but there are never really any split-second decisions or fantastical effects to keep your attention. Those who appreciate a well-laid-out plan and its perfect execution are going to be the people who can enjoy this type of game.

The second aspect of this game that goes beyond whether it is fun to play or not is the fact that this game serves as a real tool to simulate the events of World War II. The applications are endless, but here is an example of a typical situation that can occur in this game: I play as a non-Allied country, in this case Turkey, and I am threatened by the Soviet Army slowly approaching from the East. As a precaution, I need to equip an army and air force that can hold their own against the Soviets. To do this, I need to find a way to acquire rubber to make my aircraft

production faster, as my current lack of a rubber resource is making the process take far too long. The only reasonable trading partner with rubber to spare and enough of a relationship to trade with me is Germany. At this point, the player can imagine the historical dilemma some leaders had to face in order to protect their countries. The choice of no rubber and a Soviet overlord vs. Nazi rubber and a free country seems to be an easy one for the player to make. I find this sort of engagement with the simulation to be very interesting. Anyone trying to play as the German nation can see that opening up an eastern front while the United Kingdom still stands is a terrible call; similarly, the war is almost too easy to win for Germany if that specific choice is not made. Applied to an introductory college or even High School History class, this type of teaching tool has infinite untapped potential. At the very least, the demonstration of the various battles in real-time simulation, including all of the various things that could have gone awry, offers a vivid illustration to what students are already learning about the war from books and lectures.

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Kingdom Come: Deliverance [single-player action-adventure video game].

Developer: Warhorse Studios. Platforms: Xbox One, PlayStation 4, Microsoft Windows/PC. Release date: February 13, 2018.

If you are planning to slay a dragon, murder a king, or save a girl from the tallest tower of a thousand-foot-high castle, I must apologize on behalf of Warhorse Studios, because none of these scenarios occur in this game. On the other hand, if you long to travel on horseback down the sandy streets of early fifteenth-century Rattay in Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire (modern-day Rataje nad Sázavou in the Czech Republic), drink mead with a new friend, or replenish your belly with food from the local market, this game is for you. This review of *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* will address gameplay and historical accuracies, of which there are plenty. The director, Daniel Vávra, is a Czech-born writer, director, and co-founder of Warhorse Studios, who previously worked on such popular video games as *Mafia* (2002), *Mafia II* (2010), and *Wings of War* (2004). Up front, I need to mention that this game is rated “M” (mature) for its lewd language, graphic blood (which you must clean off your blade to avoid upsetting concerned locals), and nudity (which can be avoided by not soliciting whores at the bathhouse or accepting the priest’s invitation to become wasted on alcohol), but what would you expect in a game that is set in the European High Middle Ages?

The opening monologue gives a simplistic overview of underlying historical tensions going into this game. The great emperor Charles IV had died in 1378, the same year in which the Papal Schism had begun, an event mentioned in the game. The schism, which will last until 1417, has divided Europe into two groups, namely, those who side with the pope (or anti-pope) in Avignon and

those who side with the pope (or anti-pope) in Rome. Charles IV's son Wenceslas IV ("the Idle") has taken the throne. He neglects affairs of state to the point that he even fails to arrive at his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, upsetting both the pope and his own barons who turn to Wencelas's half-brother Sigismund for help. Sigismund originally plans to kidnap the king to bring him to Rome, but ultimately decides to consolidate power for himself, first by attacking Wencelas's allies, like the main character's city of Skalitz (modern-day Strážná Skalice), which is where the game begins, in 1403.

This game is not for the faint of heart. Unlike the more popular games currently on the market in this genre, you will not be able to figure out the basic mechanics in ten minutes. Actually, it feels as if the player's character barely knows what is happening during the game. It is as if the player is actually catapulted into the Middle Ages as the lazy son of a blacksmith who simply wants to enjoy his girl and his friends, while having an unremarkable frame, face, personality, and demeanor. The player's character, Henry, or "Hal" as your father calls you, seems to relate to the stereotypical player behind the controller: lazy, drunk, up late, living at home, whining to mom about working, and incompetent with regard to combat or any skills of the tongue, especially when thrown into a dire situation of life and death. Everything about the main character, from his looks to his presence in Bohemia, is average. Refreshingly average.

The game constantly reminds the player how useless Henry is, "failing even to pass [...] [the] lowest expectations" after an archery test with Captain Bernard. Bernard actually appears to be your antagonist, compared to the lords who at least watch over you. While I must recommend training with Bernard as often as possible (because every time you swing your sword or axe, your, i.e., Henry's, swings increase in speed and potency), Bernard often belittles you as if he wants to wrap you in bubble wrap (if there had been such a thing back then). You cannot simply shoot arrows from one hundred yards away and expect to hit a character in the head, let alone catch a rabbit the first time it comes within hand's reach. Even if you train and level up in your archery skills, or take a "perk" that grants Henry a steadier hand when intoxicated, the lack of a reticle will force any player to throw down the controller in shame. On a brighter note, defeating an enemy, accordingly, feels earned. Every hit, slash, or attack parried is a thrill greater than defeating an arduous boss. I once spent two hours trying to kill bandits for a mission, when I could have simply done it with the help of the guard. No coddling will occur during this experience.

There are certain things that I was not expecting, but they are interesting and realistic. I never thought that I would get wasted with a priest and gallivant notoriously through the town of Uzhitz (modern-day Úžice). We even get to experience a sermon by Jan Hus of Prague on the corruption of the papacy, sowing the seeds of and foreshadowing Protestant rebellions. Henry has to know

it well enough, so the crowd does not grow too restless, because Father Godwin is too hungover to give the sermon himself.

Swords actually spark when hitting armor, leaving dings and scratches that constantly need to be repaired by an armorer or tailor, or you risk them breaking off during combat. If you do not wash yourself sufficiently, you are treated to disgusted looks from villagers or merchants when you attempt to sell your goods. The game you hunt rots within a day, only slightly prolonged by cooking. Henry's only real sources of revenue are occasional missions and looting the bodies of Cumans (i.e., Turkic nomadic people) and bandits that he somehow manages to kill. It is easier to kill an enemy if you sneak up on them and knock them out first, which the game never explains to you. I only realized the possibility of crouching because the controller layout is similar to medieval fantasy games like those of the *Elder Scrolls* series. Again, there is no coddling throughout the game. You have to figure everything out on your own, or pay someone to train you, just like in the real world. In the game, Henry's first interaction with his mom is her waking him up from a hangover, telling him to get to work and run some errands. Henry is so inept that the second mission of the game is literally titled "Run," tasking the player with trying to escape from the forces of King Sigismund as he raids Skalitz and kills almost everyone close to you. It took me five attempts to manage to simply flee. I would say the experience is like walking for the first time, except I fear Warhorse Studios may make players do that in their next development project.

In *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*, you cannot simply sleep all day anywhere. Henry becomes exhausted easily, and he has to find a bed every day or will talk gibberish and pass out. I attempted to learn all of the game's mechanics during the first mission, only to find myself being caught stealing, thrown in jail, and dying during a raid. If you wish to avoid paying fines for a crime, such as for walking around town with a lit torch, you can, later in the game, simply spend a night at the local jail. When in jail, Henry is literally given no food or sleep, thus his character's statistics plummet. Trust me: Do not eat rotten food! I nearly died. The random orange pot soup surprise suspiciously cooking on everyone's fireplace, on the other hand, is fine to consume, plus, unlike when eating food from a shop's inventory without buying it, no one will accuse you of stealing, and it costs no *Groschen* (coin used in the Holy Roman Empire).

The game's footnotes rival those of the famous and notorious *Assassin's Creed* franchise. A codex entry will pop up for every blacksmith you pass, for every charcoal burner you smell, and for every historical figure that talks down to you (and they are easy to notice since they have actual names rather than simply being referred to as "villagers"). If you click on such a codex entry, you are greeted by a meaty synopsis on the person, place, or item in question, alongside a realistic medieval depiction. The maps in this game are superb. As soon as they are available to the player, world maps and city maps are not only easily discernable, but immersive in their art, style, and form, making you feel like you

are staring at an intricate tapestry every time you access a map. Speaking of the maps and their realism, this game is loaded with real history, and its places are real places. I even compared the map in *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* with a Google-Maps version of the modern-day Czech Republic, and the images lined up almost perfectly (one notable exception is Skalitz, which is farther away than the game suggests). The place names in the game are the medieval German (or Bohemian) names, rather than the modern Czech ones.

For a comparatively small, yet ambitious enterprise like Warhorse Studios, it must have been exceptionally hard to replicate real-world interaction and authentic maps without going over budget. Nonetheless, *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* is enjoyable, even though its graphics are five to ten years behind those of other, big-name franchises. Major game critics, such as IGN, gave *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* an eight out of ten for its story, attention to detail, and focus on realism, while criticism was aimed at its technical bugs. I had heard that the game was buggy upon release, but I never encountered anything game-breaking (i.e., glitches that make completing the story impossible), but Warhorse Studios now has had a year since the game's original release to tie up loose ends. The game's graphics may be subpar for the taste of some players, but they are good enough to not be a distraction.

Does hyper-realism help or hinder the gameplay experience? From the aspect of escapism and glorious graphics, I actually did not enjoy this as much (especially when compared to games in the *Elder Scrolls*, *Witcher*, *Dragon Age*, and similar series). However, as a historian, I loved discovering the cultural history of early fifteenth-century Bohemia, something that is not too common in games currently available. There are, nonetheless, a few obvious flaws. When coming to a water trough (apparently dispersed throughout medieval Bohemia), you can simply press a button and your face becomes washed; even today we do not (yet) have the technology to wash ourselves in an instant. Also, Henry can (initially) barely hold a bow, but when he jumps on a horse he is simply an equestrian god. Finally, I wish *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* would re-create medieval Czech or at least use an accent for the sake of an immersive experience. I certainly enjoy it when the language, or at least the accents, are those of native regions.

I thought I would be able to visit Prague, but that never happened, which is probably realistic to the life of a medieval blacksmith's son who normally would have never ventured beyond his own town, let alone into the capital. I just wonder why Prague is mentioned so often in the dialogue if the creators did not plan for Henry to explore it at least once. The ending is disappointing as nothing that Henry is trying to accomplish actually comes to fruition. Yet, by the same token, how often, in real life, do we get the companion we want, or the sword (or whatever else) we desire, or perhaps even the justice we have been denied? While maybe less satisfying from the perspective of fantasy or personal imagination, this ultimately adds to the game's realism or at least makes me

want to purchase that next expansion pack, which is probably what Warhorse Studios wants me to do anyway.

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Sekiro: Shadows Die Twice [single-player action-adventure video game].

Developer: FromSoftware. Platforms: Xbox One, Playstation 4, Microsoft Windows/PC. Release date: March 22, 2019.

The encounter with the *tengu* of Ashina, who is Isshin Ashina in disguise, reveals how our protagonist received the name Sekiro: "Another rat. Ah, but those eyes ... a starving wolf. Before I kill you, tell me your name. Tell me your name! No name to give? You *shinobi* [i.e., male ninja warriors] are all the same. You die nameless, with no one to mourn you. However ... your left arm. A prosthetic *shinobi* arm, it reminds me of ... [bursts out laughing] that's it ... a one-armed wolf. I like it! Which means ... 'Sekiro.' This is what I shall name you." *Sekiro: Shadows Die Twice*, directed by Hidetaka Miyazaki and developed by FromSoftware, is a game that takes place in a fictionalized version of Japan's Sengoku period (mid-fifteenth to sixteenth centuries). *Sekiro* is Miyazaki's latest directed game. For those unfamiliar with Miyazaki's work, he is mainly responsible for directing the popular *Dark Souls* series, which pioneered a brand-new subgenre in gaming, the "souls-like" experience. A true souls-like game, at the very least, has to incorporate a punishing death system which forces the gamer to repeat a section or level while losing anything gained in the last playthrough. This death system is almost always accompanied by a boss checkpoint system that rewards skill-based gameplay rather than button smashing. In a nutshell, expect to die repeatedly throughout the game as you encounter every exploitation and secret that might get you that survival edge. *Sekiro* incorporates these elements so well that, in my opinion, it surpasses its predecessors, the *Dark Souls* games. *Sekiro* owes its success to the beauty, difficulty, and rich narrative that it so perfectly demonstrates.

The game begins with a cinematic video accompanied by exquisite narration, regardless of the language chosen (I recommend Japanese). A wounded, nameless soldier staggers through Japan's crimson forest in the fictionalized lands of Ashina, stumbling onto a ravaged and war-torn landscape. The soldier collapses at the sight of the brutality before him. In the distance, two *samurai* battle to the death, one wielding a *katana* (sword), the other a *jumonji yari* (a Japanese cross spear). The sheer size and power of the man wielding the spear sends the swordsman flying backward when they clash. For a brief moment, the camera is on the swordsman's blood-covered face; his concentrated expression is daunting. In a matter of seconds, the duel is settled. Impaled at the neck by his

adversary's *katana*, the spear-wielding giant falls to the ground: "Master swordsman Isshin Ashina [has] staged a bloody coup and wrested control of the land." The video continues, and what follows is an introduction to the protagonist we will be playing, a small boy. Alone in a field of corpses, an unknown *shinobi* glides his *katana* across the boy's face, cutting him immediately, yet the boy shows no fear, no pain, and no emotion whatsoever. Instead, the boy grabs the *katana*'s tip and invites death. The nameless warrior asks: "Will you join me, starving wolf?" The boy nods and is taken away, in time becoming a master *shinobi*. Fast-forward, the boy, now a man named Wolf, kneels in front of a slightly ajar *shoji* (a traditional Japanese architectural door), and his father, Owl, the *shinobi* who had taken him in years ago on the battlefield, tasks him with protecting his master. In the video's final scene, some time has passed. It is winter, and a lone woman carrying a *wagasa* (an oil-paper umbrella) is seen walking across the snowy landscape. She reaches a cliff and down below lies Wolf, motionless. She drops a note and says "*Shinobi* ... Open your eyes. For the sake of your master."

Wolf or Sekiro, depending on who addresses him, begins by leaving the crevice in search of his master who is being kept against his will in a nearby tower. After a brief introduction to Sekiro's basic mechanics, you scale a cliff and speak to your master, Kuro, the Divine Heir, a child whose ancient bloodline grants immortality. You are given your *katana* and tasked with securing a safe route to escape with Kuro, but you are impeded by Genichiro, a leading member of the Ashina clan and the grandson of Isshin Ashina, the swordsman who had staged the coup decades prior. In a short cinematic video, Wolf approaches Genichiro in a field of white flowers, with the full moon overhead. Then you fight Genichiro and, whether you win or lose, the outcome is the same: you lose your arm and become unconscious. When you next awaken, a mysterious man, designated simply as a sculptor, tells Wolf that he has rescued him and fitted him with a *shinobi* prosthetic arm, "a fitting fang for a one-armed wolf." A *shinobi* prosthetic is an integral tool necessary to advance in the game, with upgrades available through discovery or by defeating bosses. The sculptor bids Wolf farewell and advises him to come back whenever upgrades are necessary. There is no real direction where the player should go or what the player should do next, however, valuable information is hidden throughout the game for players willing to piece together the lore.

The story of *Sekiro* revolves around immortality and the consequences of either seeking or obtaining it, and it is up to the player to sever these ties of immortality. The game presents various forms of immortality. First, there is Sekiro's master, Kuro, the Divine Heir, whose blood contains the Dragon's Heritage or true immortality. Second, Sekiro's blood pact with Kuro has enabled him to resurrect after death, yet at the cost of infecting the civilian population with a disease referred to as Dragonrot which, if left untreated, is fatal. Third, the Rejuvenating Waters that come from the Divine Realm where the Divine Dragon

resides will grant immortality at the cost of losing one's sanity and, ultimately, humanity. Finally, the last form of immortality is a result of experimentations by the Senpou monks who have tried to create their own Dragon's Heritage, but instead, perhaps unknowingly, have created Dragonrot which results in centipedes infesting their host's body, moving the corpse after the host has died. The burden of immortality existing in the world causes misery for everyone, and Kuro struggles with the burden of his birthright and feels guilty for having given Sekiro immortality, while wishing to rid the world of immortality. Kuro tells Sekiro: "I wished to save you. I'm sure that I would do the same thing given another chance. However ... undying begets stagnation. The Immortal Oath, the Rejuvenating Waters, the Dragonrot. They all corrupt men to the point that they no longer live as men. I wish to sever the chains of stagnation bred by the Dragon's Heritage. Wolf, will you help me achieve this aim?"

Sekiro is a massive game with so many noteworthy subjects that could be discussed in greater detail, so I wish to touch upon some of these themes, if only briefly. The game is impressively detailed with regard to actual historically accurate Japanese architecture, combat technique, attire, and Japanese mythology. Throughout the game, the immense Japanese castles are incredibly authentic, down to the smallest details. For example, the castle walls curve to prevent climbing by invaders, and the rocks rendered in the walls are of different shapes and sizes because the Japanese built their walls without any mortar, instead placing perfectly fitting rocks on top of each other. Furthermore, in the walls surrounding the castles, there are holes in various shapes, either triangles or squares; these are called *sama* (loopholes) and are defense mechanisms used for shooting arrows or firearms. In the game, the enemy units use these *sama* for their explicit purpose. Architecture aside, the combat techniques used by the *samurai* throughout *Sekiro* are impressive and believable. When killing opponents, Sekiro impales them through the neck, head, or open spaces in an enemy's armor, and not through solid metal armor as in other games. By utilizing real-world sword techniques like *itto-ryu* (the one-sword school), the fighting animations come alive. The attire worn by the *samurai* or *shinobi* is detailed and functional. The most common form of Japanese armor found in *Sekiro* is *mogami dou* which consisted of five solid pieces of sheet metal, with four hinges, all laced together. Finally, the most fascinating aspect of *Sekiro* is its heavy use of Japanese folklore, my favorite being the folklore surrounding the red-eyed carp, which ties into a famous Japanese folk story, *Yao Bikuni*. This is the story of a fisherman who catches a strange fish with a human face. He offers the fish as a meal to his friends. However, one friend notices the human face on the fish and warns the others not to eat of it. The friends secretly wrap their pieces to dispose of it later, except for one who is drunk on *sake* and later, carelessly, gives his piece of the fish to his daughter. The daughter eats it but appears to be unharmed. Over time, the girl grows up and gets married, but eventually stops aging altogether, living to the age of 800 years as a Buddhist

priestess before taking her own life. In Japanese folklore, the fish is referred to as *ningyo*, a human fish or mermaid whose flesh grants immortality. In *Sekiro*, the folklore comes to life with a different spin in the form of a giant carp with a human face and a warrior priestess named Yao who eternally guards the entrance to the Fountainhead Palace, an area just before the Divine Realm. Priestess Yao is infested with centipedes, the implication being that she has eaten of the giant carp's flesh either willingly or unwillingly, has gained immortality, and now has to fulfill the eternal task of guarding the entrance. Immortality is the focus in *Sekiro*. It affects everything you do until the very end, and *Sekiro* offers four possible endings.

Sekiro: Shadows Die Twice is an amazingly detailed game that highlights Japanese folklore, architecture, and history in an entertaining way. *Sekiro* will appeal to gamers who desire a challenging game with skill-based mechanics; historians will appreciate the rich folklore and landscapes that tie the lore together; but anyone will appreciate the sheer beauty of the game. I recommend playing the *Dark Souls* series or *Bloodborne* for a more European or British take on history. *Sekiro's* four endings consist of a bad ending, a good ending, an alternative ending, and a true ending, yet I believe they all embody the same message. They all center around the idea that death is positive, and that those who do not embrace death only live half-lives. The bad ending features Sekiro betraying everyone and becoming the embodiment of *Shura*, a Buddhist demigod of war (*asura*). The good ending, alternative ending, and true ending result in Sekiro having one final battle with Genichiro who ultimately loses against Sekiro. Beaten, Genichiro sacrifices his life to bring forth a demon who takes the form of his grandfather, Isshin Ashina; this can be attributed to Genichiro's obsession with protecting the Ashina clan, and, since his grandfather had represented the peak of the Ashina clan, Sekiro would now have to face Ashina in its perfect form. However, Sekiro defeats the demon Isshin, which results in Isshin bowing down and requesting an honorable death: "Well ... Done ... Sekiro ... Farewell." Afterward, Sekiro is presented with options: in the good ending, he spares Kuro and kills himself, allowing Kuro to live a mortal life after feeding his master the dragon's tears, which had been obtained after defeating the divine dragon (the dragon's blood grants immortality, while the dragon's tears grant mortality). In the alternative ending, Sekiro feeds Kuro the dragon's tears, kills Kuro in his mortal state, and lives the rest of his life as a sculptor, waiting for the next *shinobi* who might require his aid. Finally, the true ending is only achievable by fulfilling various requirements and gaining the frozen tears from the Divine Child of Rejuvenation, which will allow Kuro's spirit to be transferred. It is referred to as the true ending because it leaves a cliffhanger for future sequels. In the true ending, Sekiro feeds Kuro the dragon's tears and the frozen tears, allowing Kuro to pass away peacefully. Sekiro then picks Kuro up and says: "We must leave this place, my lord." The following scene has the child of the Rejuvenating Waters transfer Kuro's spirit into her heart, and thus, together, Sekiro and the

child of the Rejuvenating Waters embark on a journey to rid the world of immortality: "Let us depart to the west. To the birthplace of the Divine Dragon."

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Total War: Three Kingdoms [strategy video game].

Developer: Creative Assembly. Platforms: Microsoft Windows, Linux, Macintosh operating systems. Release date: May 23, 2019.

It is the year 190 CE, and China is roiling with unrest and primed to be united under one powerful warlord. The Yellow Turbans (peasant rebels) have overtaken much of the land that the Han rulers had held, and all of China is waiting for the one who will finally put an end to the chaos. *Total War: Three Kingdoms* offers players the chance to become that warlord. Whether one is a fan of the series, a real-time strategy fan in general, or one who is not fond of video games in general but has a love for history, this game has something of value for everyone. After a brief overview of the setting and visuals, this review will examine the game from the point of view of each of these three categories of potential players, and highlight what makes the game worth the purchase.

First and foremost, a look at the setting of the game and how the gameplay is structured. Ancient China is a rather rare subject in historical fiction. The most famous work on the period is the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, a fourteenth-century novel generally believed to have been authored by Luo Guanzhong. The text begins with the Yellow Turban Rebellion and the unrest it caused in many different parts of China. Several soldiers of fortune rise to prominence in this era, as they join forces and crush the rebellion. These soldiers, noticing the weakness of the Han (the current ruling dynasty of China), attempt to wrest control of the country for themselves. The most successful of them early on is the clever Cao Cao, who uses his political savvy and cunning to dominate the northern kingdom of Wei. He is challenged for ultimate control of China by Sun Quan, a military leader from south of the Yangtze River, who unites the kingdom of Wu under his banner. Finally, in the western kingdom of Shu, a distant relative of the Han emperor, Liu Bei, leads a quiet honorable life until he comes to prominence as someone who will stand for the weak and downtrodden. Together, these three leaders embody the titular Three Kingdoms, and the struggle among them to control all of China is the main story of the novel. These aspects of the story are the game's most significant literary influence. Many of its themes and ideas are featured in the game, among them, most importantly, the story of Liu Bei, Sun Quan, and Cao Cao as the essential protagonists, as well as Dong Zhou who is considered, above all the other warlords, as the antagonist. The player starts the game by choosing one of the legendary warlords of the era, and the game's base version offers twelve respective choices. While the usual suspects are present,

including Liu Bei, Dong Zhou, and Cao Cao, so are lesser-known warlords, including Kong Rong or Ma Teng. There is even a “Bandit Queen” character named Zheng Jiang, an amalgam of some lesser-known bandits, that provides a slight twist on the standard warlord formula. The character you choose will dictate how you play the game, with Cao Cao offering a wealth of sneaky and diplomatic options that are not available to someone playing as Sun Jian, who gets significant bonuses for being in hostile territory and waging open warfare. The game is split into two different sections, namely, the campaign map where diplomacy, trade, espionage, and grand strategies take place, and the battle map where the units on the campaign map decide how many troops are present and in what configuration they are deployed for the actual battle.

The quality of the visuals is comparable to that of other current games in this genre. The way the game looks is also consistent with the *Three Kingdoms* novel, as the artistic style is extremely emotive of ancient Chinese paintings and artwork in general. The campaign map is among the most beautiful in the series. The details and the effort put into it is apparent. There are little villages and large towns, all animated with water and lighting effects that make even the most underperforming computer yield a pretty impressive image. The battles are also really well done, with choreographed moves saved for hero characters and such, but not too prevalent as to distract from the tactics of the battle. This all leads to a perfect balance between a consistent play experience and an impressive visual impression.

For fans of the series, nothing said so far is too jarring, as everything with Creative Assembly has been fairly consistent these last few years. Anyone who has kept up with the *Thrones of Britannia* (reviewed in the 2019 volume of this journal) or any of the *Total War: Warhammer* titles will immediately see some familiar aspects taken from these two games. Units that take several turns to muster, hero characters who are dominant and overpowered, and a family tree: these are all concepts introduced in past titles that finally made it to the standard historical titles. The most extensive change for past *Total War* players is going to be the espionage system, which is a real highlight of this game. Unlike in past games, there are no priests or spies or anybody along those lines to engage in espionage; rather, the whole system is now run via a more organic and realistic system. Spies are assigned to a specific faction, and they infiltrate that faction and serve on the council of the rival faction. If they do well enough they can be assigned cities or lands. If a player were to try to capture said cities or lands, the spy would be able to facilitate that action, making the battle easier by opening gates, or splitting off with major portions of the rival army in tow. This system is probably my favorite innovation in the *Total War Saga*.

For those who have not played a *Total War* game in the past, this title is an excellent opportunity to join the series. In the way this game is structured, there are significantly more streamlined processes than in some of the older games, which favor newer inductees to the *Total War* universe. The family tree and

technologies from the *Shogun* and *Rome* series are all far less well implemented and explained than their counterparts in *Three Kingdoms*. The uncomplicated battle mechanics and the relative similarity of all the units also make the game far easier to pick up and play. For example, *Warhammer* titles have factions with such divergent units as goblins, dragons, vampires, elves, griffons, and steam tanks. To manage and learn how to utilize all of these is difficult for someone trying to focus on playing a strategy game that contains enough complicated systems as it is. The approachability of the game is also evident from how many available tools there are for support and help (hand-holding if you will) to which new players have access. If new players so desire, they can follow a direct path, with detailed missions that direct them toward a given end. For anyone looking to get started in the *Total War Saga* or explore a real-time strategy game with amazing graphics, *Total War: Three Kingdoms* certainly is a solid choice.

Finally, for the non-gaming historian, this game features a records mode that sticks to the details of the original time period without fancy frills or additions. The records mode recounts the story of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, except that the generals are normal humans instead of overpowering demi-gods. Cavalry, infantry, and ranged units work in the same rock-paper-scissors configuration as they had in previous titles. For anyone trying to experiment with a simulation of ancient Chinese battles, this mode is the perfect tool.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Amr Mohamed Richeh of Anaheim, California, earned his B.A. in History (2017) and his M.A. in History (2020) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

Department of History (Awards) 2019/2020

Student Award Recipients

Samantha Atherton ♦ *Nancy Fitch Women and Gender History Award*
Jovane Castrejon ♦ *Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award*
Grace Ceja ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Fausto Cervantes ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*
Marbella Garcia ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*
Raumi Majd Kinan ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*
Elizabeth Krueger ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*
Andres Munoz-Ramirez ♦ *Jorice Maag Local History Scholarship*
Ahmad (Edward) Shaykh El-Najjarine ♦ *Titan Shops History Student Scholarship*
Victoria Nevens ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
James Marshall Novak ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*
Erin Perkins ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Miguel A. Quirarte ♦ *Lawrence B. De Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award*
Christopher Dean Robbins ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*
Osvaldo Ruvalcaba ♦ *Titan Shops History Student Scholarship*
Christi J. Terry ♦ *Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History*
Melanie Therrien ♦ *Ronald Rietveld Fellowship on the Era of Abraham Lincoln*
Isaiah Colton Thompson ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*

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Submission Guidelines for Volume 48 (2021)

The Welebaethan: A Journal of History invites authors to submit their scholarly articles and essays (including article-length theses); editions of archival materials (e.g., manuscripts, oral histories, and historical photographs); as well as reviews (e.g., of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, and games that are of interest to historians) for publication consideration; reviews must pertain to items with a publication date or release date of January 1, 2018, or thereafter.

Submissions should be authored either by undergraduate or graduate scholars at California State University, Fullerton, who are currently matriculated or have graduated within one year before the journal's next publication date (summer 2021); or by undergraduate or graduate scholars from other institutions, as long as a brief recommendation written on letterhead by a faculty member from the author's home institution is sent directly via e-mail to the journal's faculty advisor by the respective deadline (see below). Authors do not have to be History majors. Multi-author submissions may be considered. Authors may submit more than one item for publication consideration but must send each item attached to a separate e-mail (see below).

Citations must follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Bibliography-Notes style). Authors should consult the journal's current volume as a guideline when they prepare their citations. Submissions must be in the form of MS Word documents, carefully proofread, and with as little formatting as possible. The responsibility to obtain copyright clearance and permission to publish with regard to archival materials and images rests with the authors and will be required in writing. Note that "public domain" does not equal copyright clearance or permission to publish.

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6. *the name of the class for which the submission was originally produced;*
7. *the name of the professor who taught the class;*
8. *the semester and year (e.g., spring 2020) during which the submission was completed;*
9. *the institution (e.g., CSUF) where the submission was completed;*
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Complete submissions will be acknowledged via e-mail within fifteen business days. All submissions will undergo triple-blind review (usually by CSUF's matriculated scholars, faculty members, and alumni). Decisions will be communicated to authors within twenty-five business days after the respective deadline (see below). Acceptance for publication is provisional and contingent upon an author's collaboration with the editors and timely consent to final galleys. *The Welebaethan* is an online publication <https://www.welebaethan.org/> and registered with the Library of Congress: ISSN 2692-501X. Inquiries should be sent via e-mail.

Deadline for fall submissions:

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