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THE  ELEBAETHAN

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A Journal of History



Volume 50 (2023)

California State University, Fullerton  
Department of History

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

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### Original Cover Art

*Weleba's Brilliant Legacy*. Original artwork by James Marshall Novak ([Vaporcoast.Art@gmail.com](mailto:Vaporcoast.Art@gmail.com); B.A., History, CSUF, 2022), featuring four multi-colored variations of an early-1970s portrait of Shirley A. Weleba (the scholar of African history for whom *The Welebaethan: A Journal of History* is named), an Africanesque background, and orange-tree branches with blossoms and ripe fruit—all in celebration of the journal's 50<sup>th</sup> volume.

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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*

*The Welebaethan* serves as a reminder of the expertise and devotion of the faculty and student body at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), to understanding the past. Over the past half century, it has served as a wellspring of unique and innovative research, become a starting point for additional study, and fostered lasting collegial relationships between students and faculty. In its own way, the voice of *The Welebaethan* has been woven into the fabric of the people and history of the university.

Vanessa Gunther (former faculty advisor to *The Welebaethan*)

For fifty years, *The Welebaethan* has been a bastion of the CSUF community, a record of the faculty and student-scholars who have roamed CSUF's sprawling campus and those who still traverse its hallowed corridors. For fifty years, the scholarship of budding historians has found a home in its pages, providing opportunities. For fifty years, the spark of innovation has inspired research and study, encouraging the further education of its participants and readers. For fifty years, the journal has been lovingly perused by authors, editors, and faculty, forging new relationships.

Continuing this long tradition, we are ecstatic to present Volume 50 (2023) of *The Welebaethan*. Once more, as it has done so many times before, the journal offers a variety of articles, essays, editions, and reviews that, we hope, will interest our readers. We embarked upon this journey with the knowledge of what the year 2023 meant for the journal, and we are excited to celebrate such a significant anniversary. On this, the golden jubilee of *The Welebaethan*, we would like to take the opportunity to reflect on the past year and the longer impact of the journal. The legacy of the journal is reflected in the volume's cover art, which was meticulously created by James Marshall Novak, an esteemed alumnus of our History program. The artwork features four multi-colored variations of an early-1970s portrait of Shirley A. Weleba, a scholar of African history at CSUF and the namesake of *The Welebaethan*.

As has been the standard since its inception, *The Welebaethan* contains a myriad of articles and essays by our fellow graduate and undergraduate historians at CSUF, but also—as a testament that the journal accepts submissions from scholars elsewhere—an article from a scholar at Rowan University in New Jersey. Spanning an extensive range of time periods and subject matters, the fourteen articles and essays focus on such topics as the Rus' expression of *Romanitas* between the tenth and fifteenth centuries; eighteenth-century sermons for soldiers in Great Britain; race, religion, and the development of slavery in colonial Virginia; the activism of women, lesbians, and people of color during the HIV/AIDS epidemic in San Francisco, California; improving Holocaust education through digitized culture; the "Lost Cause" movement and the debate over Confederate monuments; and the emergence of Hip Hop Studies in



America and its historical relevance. Such scholarship is evidence of the very expertise and devotion spoken of by Vanessa Gunther, a former faculty advisor to the journal.

In addition to celebrating fifty years of *The Welebaethan*, 2023 also corresponds with the fifth year of the journal as a purely digital enterprise. Since moving to an online format, the journal has been able to include editions and reviews, many of which are transcribed and composed by members of CSUF's "History and Editing" seminar (HIST406A). This volume in particular features seven editions of unpublished documents and oral histories from CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) as well as the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), including an English land indenture from 1826; a Civil War diary from 1863; letters in Spanish that reveal early California history from the Mexican period and early years of statehood (1845–1876); and our first ever postcard collection, which contains twenty-three century-old cards with images from across southern California. Also included are three transcriptions of interviews: one with Nellie Pando Rocha who lived in an original Orange County *colonia*; one with Joseph Milton regarding his recollections of Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement in the United States; and one with Joseph Cordova about the Sephardic Jewish community in Los Angeles. Finally, this volume presents twenty-four reviews of items that are of interest to scholars in the humanities and social sciences, including books, museums, exhibitions, films, television series, podcasts, and games. It must be noted that the opinions expressed in this volume's articles, essays, editions, and reviews belong, of course, to the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the journal's editors.

The publication of the fiftieth volume of *The Welebaethan* could not have been accomplished without the staunch dedication and constant support of the faculty in CSUF's Department of History and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences. We must first extend our gratitude to Jochen Burgtorf, our faculty advisor, whose seemingly endless wisdom and knowledge about all things having to do with language and grammar, Baylor Guide and Chicago Manual of Style formatting, and keyboard shortcuts has guided us through the editing and publication process: our thanks for all you have done cannot be fully expressed in words alone. We sincerely thank all those involved in our triple-blind review process—from CSUF faculty, staff, students, and alumni to "external" members of the historical community—for their time and effort in offering comments, insights, and suggestions. On that note, we would like to thank CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta for its backing of the journal. We give special thanks to Lisa Tran, the Chair of CSUF's Department of History, for her support of *The Welebaethan*. Our profound appreciation also goes to Natalie Garcia and Patrisia Prestinary, head archivists of COPH and UA&SC respectively, for providing

access to the manuscripts and oral histories transcribed in the enclosed editions. And we are so incredibly grateful to Mariea Daniell Whittington, a distinguished alumna of CSUF's Department of History and our illustrious website administrator, whose commitment makes the journal's online presence possible. Finally, we must thank you, dear reader. As you peruse the articles, essays, editions, and reviews, you bear witness to the culmination of but a single journey in a larger tradition. We offer our thanks to those who came before us and extend our well-wishes to those who will come afterward. Here is to fifty more years, at least, of *The Welebaethan*!

Fullerton, June 11, 2023

RACHEL JENSEN of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in History and English (2015) at Rider University in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she was a member of the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu-Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned a Single Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2017) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).

ERIC MORALES of Anaheim, California, earned a B.A. in Communication Studies (2015) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).

JACOB NIKOLSON of San Marcos, California, earned a B.S. in Business Administration (2020) at California State University, San Marcos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the History Student Association (HSA) and the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).

ISIAH COLTON THOMPSON of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).

Michael A. Conti

## *Rus' Expressions of Romanitas between the Tenth and Fifteenth Centuries*

**ABSTRACT:** *Two Romes have fallen, and the third still remains: this idea – contrasting the decline of Rome (476) and Constantinople (1453) as capitals of the Roman Empire with the endurance of Moscow – surfaced in a sixteenth-century letter written by the monk Philoteus (Filofei) of Pskov to Grand Prince Vasili III of Moscow. On the basis of textual, architectural, and artistic evidence from the tenth to fifteenth centuries, this article argues that the Rus' developed a Romanized identity and expressed it in their faith, myths, and art. It further asserts that the "Moscow as the Third Rome" doctrine is an extension of this Romanized identity and continues to be relevant today.*

**KEYWORDS:** *medieval history; Rus'; Russia; Rome; Constantinople; Moscow the Third Rome; Russian Primary Chronicles; myth; art; Romanitas*

### *Introduction*

Two Romes have fallen, and the third still remains: this idea – contrasting the decline of Rome (476) and Constantinople (1453) as capitals of the Roman Empire with the endurance of Moscow – surfaced in a sixteenth-century letter written by the monk Philoteus (Filofei) of Pskov to Grand Prince Vasili III of Moscow.<sup>1</sup> In situations of instability, it is not uncommon to seek legitimacy by looking to ancient paradigms; accordingly, the Rus' and later Russians developed a sense of *Romanitas*, or Roman-ness, and have expressed it since their conversion to Orthodox Christianity in the late tenth century. This article argues that, although the Rus' and later Russians developed a unique identity, Roman-ness featured prominently between the tenth and fifteenth centuries in their faith, myths, and artistic expressions. My research shows that Russia's Romanized identity predates the "Moscow as the Third Rome" doctrine, has been a continuous concept, and – as evidenced by the words and actions of Russian President Vladimir Putin – remains significant in the modern era.<sup>2</sup>

Primary sources for the Rus' cover their official baptism in 988 and the subsequent centuries. They include the fourteenth-century *Laurentian Text* and the sixteenth-century *Nikonian Chronicle*, which are the respective first and last compilations of the Russian Primary Chronicles, as well as the *Hypatian Codex*, also known as the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these chronicles, there is

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<sup>1</sup> For an English translation of Filofei's letter, see Philoteus of Pskov, "Filofei's Epistle to Grand Prince Vasili III" [1515–1521], in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Basil Dmytryshyn, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1991), 259–261.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Editor, "Full Text of Putin's Speech on Crimea" [March 18, 2014, The Kremlin, Moscow], *Prague Post*, March 19, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1973); *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1425 to 1520*, trans. Serge A. Zenkovsky and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1989); *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, trans. George A. Perfecky (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973).

the late fifteenth to early sixteenth-century origin myth known as the *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir of Great Russia*.<sup>4</sup> Source anthologies edited by Basil Dmytryshyn and Simon Franklin supplement these texts; these anthologies include Hilarion of Kiev's eleventh-century sermon "On Law and Grace," and Philoteus of Pskov's abovementioned sixteenth-century letter.<sup>5</sup>

Scholars have analyzed medieval Russia and highlighted the pro-Roman themes of early Rus' society, but there do not appear to be works that explicitly look at them as examples of Russian *Romanitas*. Marius Telea's 2015 article discusses Byzantine motives to convert the Rus' in the tenth century to prevent further war.<sup>6</sup> Works by Alexander Avenarius (1988) and Justyna Krocak (2016) analyze the formation of pro-Byzantine religious and political thought in Rus' following its people's baptism.<sup>7</sup> Monographs by Olga S. Popova (1988) and Dmitry O. Shvidkovskii (2007) shed further light on how the Rus' legitimized themselves and expressed their new identity through architecture and art.<sup>8</sup> Alexander Maiorov's 2019 article discusses a Rus' prince wearing Byzantine-influenced regalia while under Mongol occupation,<sup>9</sup> and Dana Picková's 2017 article analyzes the Latin Roman and Byzantine-influenced myths in the *Tale of the Grand Princes*.<sup>10</sup>

This article takes a thematic approach and uses a comparative methodology. To illustrate Russia's Romanized identity during the medieval period, recourse to ancient Roman sources, such as Virgil's *Aeneid* and Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, is necessary to draw parallels between the ancient Romans and the medieval Rus'.<sup>11</sup> For instance, I compare the *Aeneid* to the *Tale of the Grand Princes*, a narrative that

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<sup>4</sup> *The Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir of Great Russia*, trans. Rufina Dmitrieva and Jana Howlett (Cambridge: typescript, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Dmytryshyn; *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, trans. Simon Franklin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> Marius Telea, "Mission and/or Conversion: Strategies of Byzantine Diplomacy," *International Journal of Orthodox Theology* 6, no. 3 (2015): 81–105.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus': The Problem of the Transformation of Byzantine Influence," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988): 689–701; Justyna Krocak, "The Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought in Kievan Rus' (as Exemplified by Ilarion of Kiev, Kliment Smolatič, and Kirill of Turov)," *Studia Ceranea: Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe* 6, no. 6 (2016): 61–74.

<sup>8</sup> Olga S. Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984); Dmitry O. Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Alexander V. Maiorov, "Byzantine Imperial Purple in Ancient Rus'," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 20, no. 3 (2019): 505–527.

<sup>10</sup> Dimitri Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine," *Speculum* 28, no. 1 (1953): 84–101; Dana Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs in *Сказание о князьях владимирских* (The Tale of the Princes of Vladimir)," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica*, no. 2 (2017): 253–267.

<sup>11</sup> Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. John Dryden (Urbana: Project Gutenberg eBook, 1995); Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, trans. Daniel Spillan (Urbana: Project Gutenberg eBook, 2006).

created a sense of legitimacy for the Russians, as they took the title of “Tsar” (derived from the Latin term *caesar*) and proclaimed themselves heirs of the Roman Empire. As for the latter (Livy), I relate his founding myth of Rome to the narrative concerning the foundation of Kiev in the *Russian Primary Chronicles*.

In emphasizing that the “Moscow as the Third Rome” doctrine has been engrained in Russia since well before Filofei’s sixteenth-century proclamation, it is my hope that this doctrine will be taken more seriously in western scholarship, as it has been invoked in the modern era following Russia’s annexation of the Crimean Peninsula in 2014. Considering such events, it is unlikely that military actions in eastern Europe will stop at the locus of Vladimir the Great’s 988 baptism (i.e., Crimea or Kiev). The Russian Orthodox Patriarch’s annual visit to Kiev over the past years, Russia’s continual support for armed uprisings in Ukraine, and Russia’s 2022 invasion of Ukraine suggest that Moscow’s re-taking of the first capital of Rus’ – in addition to other territories of the former Soviet Union – is a logical next step.

However, before investigating the Romanized faith, myths, and artistic expressions of Rus’, it needs to be established what is meant here by Roman-ness. When comparing the Rus’ to the Romans, this article repeatedly refers to the Eastern Empire (i.e., Byzantium). Although the idea of being Roman is often associated with the Latin west, Byzantium was the eastern half of an empire that continued to exist and operate well after the fifth century. Yet, modern scholarship continues to push the idea that *Romanitas* was strictly tied to the Latin west and the city of Rome. According to historian Anthony Kaldellis, “the indisputable fact that the Byzantines firmly believed themselves to be Romans has not received the attention and emphasis that it deserves in modern scholarship. This is because both Greek and western European scholars have had an interest in downplaying it, as the former wish to find a national identity behind a Roman façade while the latter believe that the Roman legacy is fundamentally western and Latin.”<sup>12</sup> Kaldellis further explains that “the Romans, either of Old or New Rome, formed a coherent and continuous society unified and defined by the institutions of their state, the most longevous in history, and the customs of their society: the *res publica*...Roman soldiers fought and died for their *patria* Rome, and the emperor swore an oath of office like everyone else. That is why he was always the emperor of the Romans and not a Hellenistic monarch who simply was the state.”<sup>13</sup>

To illustrate the notion that the Byzantines were in fact Roman, one may look to Emperor Constantine the Great’s founding of Constantinople (i.e., the Second Rome) in the fourth century. According to Sozomen’s fifth-century *Ecclesiastical*

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<sup>12</sup> Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 43. On the Romanness of Byzantium, see also Anthony Kaldellis, *Romanland: Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, 43–49.

*History*, Constantine traveled to Greece with the intent to found a city that would be equal to Rome.<sup>14</sup> He initially went to the “foot of Troy near the Hellespont,” then changed his mind at the behest of God, went to the town of Byzantium in Thrace, and “enlarged the city, surrounded it with high walls, populated it with people from Rome and other countries, constructed a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes, and other embellishments, named it Constantinople and New Rome, and constituted it the Roman capital for all the inhabitants of the Eastern Empire.”<sup>15</sup> Lastly, Constantine “created another senate, which he endowed with the same honors and privileges as that of Rome, and he sought to render the city which bore his name equal in every respect to that of Rome in Italy.”<sup>16</sup> Considering that Constantinople was established by a Latin Roman emperor, populated by Roman citizens, given a senate with the same rights as that of Rome, and was pronounced the capital of the eastern half of the empire, any notion that its emperor and citizens were somehow not Roman is anachronistic. This notion becomes even more questionable when one looks to the so-called “fall” of the Western Empire.<sup>17</sup>

Historians Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal explain that “by the end of the fifth century, the Roman government in the west had ceased to function, as Roman garrisons were withdrawn and Germanic tribes settled as far south as the river Somme by 450.”<sup>18</sup> If the Western Empire ceased to function by the middle of the fifth century, why was the eastern half not seen as a logical successor? Thatcher and McNeal elaborate that the idea that the eastern Romans were not the rightful monarchs of the Roman Empire stems from the coronation of Charlemagne in 800.<sup>19</sup> They suggest that, despite the fact that “there had been no emperor in the west since 476, and that the emperor of Constantinople had lost control of that part of the Roman Empire, the west still regarded itself as a part of the one great empire. In the eyes of the pope, the coronation of Karl the Great (Charlemagne) was the *translatio imperii* (transfer of empire) and the final act in a rebellion against the control of the emperors of the east.”<sup>20</sup> However, primary

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<sup>14</sup> Sozomen, *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, trans. Edward Walford (London: Bohn, 1855), 53–54.

<sup>15</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Walford, 53–54.

<sup>16</sup> Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. Walford, 53–54.

<sup>17</sup> In an acclaimed 1997 TV documentary, the host (archaeologist John Romer) pointedly comments on the rise of Constantinople by stating that “Rome didn’t fall; it just got poor.” See *Byzantium: The Lost Empire*, hosted by John Romer, directed by Ron Johnston (1997; Silver Spring: Discovery Communications, Inc., 2003), DVD, Episode 1, 00:34:45. For this reason, the term “fall” is placed in quotation marks here.

<sup>18</sup> Editors’ comments, in *A Source Book for Mediæval History: Selected Documents Illustrating the History of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Oliver Joseph Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal (Urbana: Project Gutenberg eBook, 2013), 27.

<sup>19</sup> Editors’ comments in *Source Book for Mediæval History*, ed. Thatcher and McNeal, 48.

<sup>20</sup> Editors’ comments in *Source Book for Mediæval History*, ed. Thatcher and McNeal, 48.

sources show a more ambiguous picture as Charlemagne was apparently not satisfied with the pope simply giving him the crown and title and “wished to peacefully acquire the title of ‘emperor of the Romans’ through negotiations, because he still regarded the eastern emperors as the legal successors of the Roman Empire.”<sup>21</sup> Ecclesiastical historian Henry Mayr-Harting emphasizes that, while Charlemagne was reluctant to call himself “emperor of the Romans,” he wanted to be an emperor to convert and rule over the recently-defeated Saxons.<sup>22</sup> After Charlemagne had sent his ambassadors to Constantinople in 812, Emperor Michael I sent his own representatives who “addressed him [i.e., Charlemagne] on this occasion, in Greek, as emperor and *basileus*.”<sup>23</sup> However, the papal coronation of an emperor in the west would not occur again until that of Otto I in 962, and political scholar Walter Ullmann explains that this event was, once again, less about creating a Roman emperor and more about seeking a protector, as papal control of Italy had been in contention.<sup>24</sup> Considering the 162-year gap between these coronations, it seems that the title of “emperor of the Romans” was symbolic rather than literal in the west, and it is no wonder that any imperial title in the west was rejected by Roman emperors like Basil I (r. 867–886) and Nicephorus II Phocas (r. 963–969) who thought of western “emperors” as usurpers.<sup>25</sup>

Meanwhile, well after the “fall” of the Western Empire in the fifth century, the eastern emperors continued to function and were routinely referred to as Romans. For example, Agathias, a sixth-century historian during the reign of Emperor Justinian I, explicitly called Anastasius I Dicorus (r. 491–518) “emperor of the Romans.”<sup>26</sup> Several centuries later, in her *Alexiad*, Anna Comnena referred to her father Alexius I Comnenus (r. 1081–1118) also as “emperor of the Romans.”<sup>27</sup> However, a particularly poignant instance that drives home this point is the Constantinopolitan imprisonment of an envoy of the western “emperor” Otto I in 968/969 for referring to Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas as “emperor of the Greeks”

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<sup>21</sup> Editors’ comments in *Source Book for Mediæval History*, ed. Thatcher and McNeal, 58.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, “Charlemagne, the Saxons, and the Imperial Coronation of 800,” *The English Historical Review* 111, no. 444 (1996): 1127.

<sup>23</sup> “Royal Frankish Annals on the Recognition of Charlemagne by the Emperor of Constantinople [812],” in *Source Book for Mediæval History*, ed. Thatcher and McNeal, 58.

<sup>24</sup> Walter Ullmann, “The Origins of the Ottonianum,” *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 11, no. 1 (1953): 120–121.

<sup>25</sup> Ludwig II, Holy Roman Emperor, “Letter from Ludwig II to Basil I [871],” in *Source Book for Mediæval History*, ed. Thatcher and McNeal, 110; Liudprand of Cremona, “Report from Constantinople to Holy Roman Emperor Otto I [968],” in *Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, trans. Ernest F. Henderson (London: George Bells and Sons, 1905), 443.

<sup>26</sup> Agathias, *The Histories*, trans. Joseph D. C. Frendo (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 7.

<sup>27</sup> Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (Cambridge: In Parentheses Publications Byzantine Series, 2000), 3.

rather than “emperor of the Romans.”<sup>28</sup> Sources from both sides of this conflict for imperial universality reveal that the Eastern Empire continued to act in accordance with the *res publica* from Constantinople; Charlemagne really only accepted the imperial title after receiving permission from Emperor Michael I; there was no papal coronation of an emperor in the west for another 162 years; and later Byzantine emperors refuted the notion of Charlemagne and his successors as emperors of the west. From the eastern perspective, the 30<sup>th</sup> surah of the *Qur'an* refers to the Greeks as Ar Rûm (“the Romans”).<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, after their eleventh-century invasion of Asia minor, the Seljuks named their new political entity the sultanate of “Rum” (i.e., the sultanate of “Rome”). Although Rus' sources often refer to the Byzantines as “the Greeks,” they also refer to the city of Constantinople as “Tsar'grad,” which is a combination of the Latin term and title *caesar* and the Slavic word *град* (“city”). Thus, the Eastern Empire's *Romanitas* was broadly acknowledged. Due to geographical proximity, it was Byzantium (and not the city on the Tiber) that provided the Roman frame of reference for the Rus', as the latter had little to no contact with the city of Rome.

Following this explanation, I now turn to the question of how the Rus' expressed *Romanitas* between the tenth and fifteenth centuries via their faith, textual myths, and artistic expressions. The first chapter (“Faith”) investigates the death and remembrance of Vladimir the Great in 1015, the establishment of Rus' religious and political identity in Hilarion of Kiev's “Sermon on Law and Grace,” and the adoption of military saints. The second chapter (“Myth”) considers the narrative surrounding the founding of Kiev, a prophecy that foretold the liberation of Constantinople in the late fifteenth century, and the *Tale of the Grand Princes*. Lastly, the third chapter (“Art”) looks at the construction of St. Sophia's Church in Kiev, the *Ostromir Gospel* of 1056–1057, and the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle's* account of Prince Danilo Romanovych of Galicia donning Byzantine regalia. While the sources for some of these examples hail from later centuries, five of the nine instances that are analyzed here pertain to the eleventh century; the reason for this focus is that the eleventh century, which started only twelve years after the official baptism of the Rus', was a pivotal time in the shaping of Rus' identity. Early ideas and artwork set trends that continued in later centuries, such as the adoption of military saints, the architectural themes of Kiev's St. Sophia, and the *Ostromir Gospel*. Along the same lines, some of the later sources used here derive from previous and undated sources such as the *Laurentian Text*, the *Nikonian Chronicle*, and many themes found in the *Tale of the Grand Princes*.

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<sup>28</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, “The Embassy of Liudprand the Cremonese Bishop to Constantinopolitan Emperor Nicephoros Phocas on Behalf of the August Ottos and Adelheid,” in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona (Medieval Text in Translation)*, trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 267–269.

<sup>29</sup> *The Qur'an*, trans. Edward Henry Palmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 124.



## I. Faith

Nothing speaks to identity like faith, and this was no different in the Middle Ages. This chapter looks into the conversion of the Kievan Rus', and how they developed and expressed their identity by drawing on the Bible and Roman ideology. But before doing so, some information on the key source cited in this chapter is in order, namely, the *Laurentian Text*, the first official compilation of the *Russian Primary Chronicle* that covers Rus' history up until the early twelfth century. It is named after its copier, Lawrence (Lavrentiy), and it was copied between January 14 and March 20, 1377, for Prince Dmitriy Konstantinovich of Suzdal', a town located east of Moscow and the home of a northern cadet branch of the Rurikids (i.e., the early ruling dynasty of Rus').<sup>30</sup> The manuscript from which Lawrence made his copy was a much older work, attributed to Nestor, a monk of the Crypt Monastery in Kiev, from the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries.<sup>31</sup> However, Nestor's version of the text has not survived, and the *Laurentian Text* is actually based on an 1116 revision by Sylvester of St. Michael's Monastery in Vydubychi, a village near Kiev.<sup>32</sup> The text is biased in favor of the princes of Vladimir-Suzdal', but the subjects of analysis in this chapter—the baptism of Vladimir the Great (988), his death (1015) and remembrance, and the deaths of princes Boris and Gleb (1015–1019)—are relatively unchanged across the *Russian Primary Chronicles*.

The official baptism of the Kievan Rus' in 988 is often seen as one instance of a long-standing strategy implemented by the Byzantines to ally with or assimilate their neighbors.<sup>33</sup> While that may be true, this interpretation takes agency away from the Rus'. The greater context to this narrative is that Vladimir I ("the Great"), the leader who would convert his people, had unified his territories through war against his brothers from 978 until 980.<sup>34</sup> According to the *Laurentian Text* of the *Russian Primary Chronicles*, in 986, after consolidating his domain, Vladimir was visited by envoys sent by the Muslim Bulgars, Catholic Germans, Jewish Khazars, and Orthodox Greeks, who all attempted to convince him to convert to their respective religions.<sup>35</sup> The chronicle then explains how, after much deliberation, Vladimir was impressed by the Greeks' faith, took his army to the city of Cherson (near today's Sevastopol on the Crimean Peninsula), captured it, and offered it back to the Byzantine co-emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII in return for their unwedded sister, Anna.<sup>36</sup> The Roman emperors supposedly replied, "It is not meet for Christians to give in marriage to pagans," and required that Vladimir be

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<sup>30</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 4.

<sup>31</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 4.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Telea, "Mission and/or Conversion," 85.

<sup>34</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 91–93.

<sup>35</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 96–98.

<sup>36</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 111–112.

baptized before an arrangement could be made; the grand prince accepted, was baptized in the city of Cherson, returned to his capital at Kiev, and converted his people in 988.<sup>37</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes's eleventh-century *Synopsis Historiarum* explains that the marriage of Anna Porphyrogenita (i.e., the Purple-Born) to Vladimir benefited the Byzantine rulers as well, as it led to an alliance with the Rus', who subsequently aided in putting down a rebellion led by the Byzantine aristocrat Bardas Phocas the Younger.<sup>38</sup> While these retellings of events were likely constructed to favor their respective "side," the result of the events of the 980s was the emergence of the Kievan Rus' as an Orthodox Christian entity that would need to establish its own new identity.

Historian Samuel H. Cross, semantic scholar H.V. Morgilevski, and medieval architectural historian Kenneth John Conant point out that Christianity was not a new religion in Rus', as it can be traced back to at least the early to mid-tenth century.<sup>39</sup> There is also the famous case of Princess Olga, Vladimir's grandmother, who accepted baptism between 948 and 955 from Emperor Constantine VII with the assistance of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch (944–959) and took the name "Helena."<sup>40</sup> However, Cross, Morgilevski, and Conant eloquently explain the significance of Vladimir I's baptism when they state that "almost exactly thirty years after his grandmother's baptism, Vladimir I adopted Christianity and definitively brought the rising Kievan state into the sphere of European civilization."<sup>41</sup> After this establishment of Orthodox Christianity in the Rus', their new identity was "shaped by Holy Scripture and often came with pro-Byzantine motifs."<sup>42</sup>

One particular instance of this Romanized identity expressed through faith can be found in the *Russian Primary Chronicles*. After Vladimir had established control over Rus', converted his people to Orthodox Christianity, installed his sons as rulers over neighboring principalities, and collected tribute for a period of over thirty years, the *Laurentian Text* records the events leading up to and following Vladimir's death. Between 1012 and 1014, Vladimir's son and ruler of Novgorod, Yaroslav ("the Wise"), refused to pay his annual tribute of two thousand *grivny* to Kiev.<sup>43</sup> This event led to Vladimir "calling for the reparation of roads and the building of bridges" as he prepared for war against his son.<sup>44</sup> But before this war

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<sup>37</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 112–117.

<sup>38</sup> Ioannes Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 319.

<sup>39</sup> Samuel H. Cross, H.V. Morgilevski, and Kenneth John Conant, "The Earliest Mediaeval Churches of Kiev," *Speculum* 11, no. 4 (1936): 477.

<sup>40</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 82.

<sup>41</sup> Cross, Morgilevski, and Conant, "Earliest Mediaeval Churches of Kiev," 478.

<sup>42</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 689.

<sup>43</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 124.

<sup>44</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 124.

could commence, the grand prince suddenly became ill and died on July 15, 1015.<sup>45</sup> The beginning of a Romanized identity in Rus' is reflected especially in the chronicle's eulogy of Vladimir, as it states:

When the people heard of this [i.e., Vladimir's death], they assembled in multitude and mourned him, the boyars as the defender of their country, the poor as their protector and benefactor. They placed him in a marble coffin, and buried the body of the sainted Prince amid their mourning. He is the new Constantine of mighty Rome, who baptized himself and his subjects; for the Prince of Rus' imitated the acts of Constantine himself. Even if he was formerly given to evil lusts, he afterward consecrated himself to repentance... Even if he had previously committed other crimes in his ignorance, he subsequently distinguished himself in repentance and almsgiving... Vladimir died in the orthodox faith. He effaced his sins by repentance and by almsgiving, which is better than all things else... The people of Rus', mindful of their holy baptism, hold this Prince in pious memory.<sup>46</sup>

This passage reveals on several levels how heavily the Byzantines were influencing Rus' and its identity. For instance, the placing of Vladimir's body in a marble coffin is likely a direct reference to the marble sarcophagi widely used throughout the Roman Empire to bury notable citizens, priests, and emperors.<sup>47</sup> The mention of the grand prince being sainted is also a Roman tradition, as the Latins deified great emperors and the Byzantines sainted theirs; since the latter had played a key role in converting the Rus', it is logical that Vladimir was sainted. An even more explicit showing of Roman-ness is the comparison to Constantine, as the grand prince had imitated his actions and baptized his people. At first glance, the use of "imitated" might imply that the chronicle is using a figurative comparison to Constantine. Historian Marshall Poe goes so far as to call this a matter of rhetorical flattery rather than literal comparison.<sup>48</sup> However, considering that Vladimir had consolidated his domain through civil war, married into the Roman imperial family, and adopted the Orthodox faith, the notion of rhetorical flattery would be an oversimplification: on the other side of this debate, historian Alexander Avenarius explains that the respective term, *podobnice* ("imitator"), is deeply rooted in Byzantine ideology.<sup>49</sup> Avenarius further explains that the word "occurs in two variants and is always connected with the definition of the Byzantine emperor's relationship to God or Christ, as the emperor is to either imitate the deeds of Christ (*mimesis theou*) or should be like him."<sup>50</sup> A point of

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<sup>45</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 124.

<sup>46</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 124–126.

<sup>47</sup> For an in-depth approach to the study and virtual reconstruction of Roman sarcophagi, see Eliana Siotta et al, "A Multidisciplinary Approach for the Study and the Virtual Reconstruction of the Ancient Polychromy of Roman Sarcophagi," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 16, no. 3 (2015): 307–314.

<sup>48</sup> Marshall Poe, "Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a 'Pivotal Moment'," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 49, no. 3 (2001): 413–414.

<sup>49</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 694.

<sup>50</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 694.

interest in this passage is the comparison to Constantine rather than God or Christ, and Avenarius asserts that this is because Vladimir and other Slavic leaders may have recognized the Romans as the supreme entity in their religious hierarchy.<sup>51</sup> In light of the fact that the Rus' were a newly converted people who had not yet established a political ideology around their new faith, this interpretation is plausible.

Another curious aspect is the *Laurentian Text's* statement that Vladimir "baptized himself and his subjects" as Constantine had done. Baptism is not conducted on or by oneself but is performed by a priest: Constantine was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, while Vladimir was baptized by the Bishop of Cherson and Princess Anna's priests.<sup>52</sup> This could be a matter of mistranslation, as languages that are not from the same family do not translate uniformly, and the understanding that Vladimir and Constantine were baptized by someone else might have been implied. There is a more literal but unmentioned comparison that could be made between the two rulers. It pertains to the procurement of relics to make a non-holy entity into a holy one. According to the *Laurentian Text*, Vladimir's actions after his baptism included "sending and importing artisans from Greece to build a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin."<sup>53</sup> When it was completed, he entrusted it to Anastasius of Cherson, appointed Chersonian priests, and "bestowed upon the church all the images, vessels, and crosses which he had taken in that city."<sup>54</sup> The pertinent part of this quote is the transfer of items from the Byzantine city of Cherson that were placed in Vladimir's church dedicated to the Holy Virgin in Kiev. While it is difficult to know with any certainty whether the chronicler intended to refer to this, these actions are directly comparable to those of Constantine and his mother, Helena, who took relics from sacred sites and transferred them to Constantinople to make that city into a holy site; considering that Vladimir's maternal grandmother Olga had taken the baptismal name of "Helena," the implied comparison was probably not a coincidence. Lastly, the theme of emerging from darkness into light is a recurring theme in biblical texts (e.g., Isaiah 9:2; 1 Peter 2:9), and the absolution of the grand prince's sins through his repentance, conversion to the Orthodox faith, and almsgiving was a standard way for great rulers to atone for their sins. In sum, the death and remembrance of Vladimir I that references Holy Scripture and Byzantine ideology conveys a sense that a form of *Romanitas* was emerging in Rus' as early as the eleventh century.

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<sup>51</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 695.

<sup>52</sup> Jerome's fourth-century chronicle names "Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia" as Constantine's baptizer in 337. See Jerome of Stridon, *A Translation of Jerome's Chronicon with Historical Commentary*, trans. Malcolm Drew Donalson (Lewiston: Mellen University Press, 1996), 42; *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 113.

<sup>53</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 119.

<sup>54</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 119.

Later in the eleventh century, we see another example of the Bible and Byzantine ideology being used in Rus'. It appears in the work of Hilarion of Kiev who served as metropolitan under Yaroslav the Wise, grand prince of Kiev (r. 1019–1054), and is known as his sermon "On Law and Grace," likely given during the consecration of St. Sophia's Church in Kiev (c. 1050).<sup>55</sup> Alexander Avenarius explains that the sermon contains "two ideological concepts, whose elements draw on two different sources and traditions."<sup>56</sup> Pro-Byzantine motifs include the fact that the Orthodox faith was brought to Rus' via the baptism of Prince Vladimir and the comparison of the grand prince to Constantine the Great.<sup>57</sup> While both motifs have already been addressed in the *Laurentian Text's* eulogy, the second motif delves further into Byzantine ideology and Holy Scripture.

Justyna Krocak, a historian of philosophy, explains that "On Law and Grace" is often divided into four parts: "On Law and Grace, How Grace spreads and reaches Rus', The encomium of Vladimir, and the prayer (Confession of Faith) in which the author indicates that he knew of and identified himself with the results and teachings of the Church Fathers."<sup>58</sup> Krocak maintains that Hilarion was cognizant of and trying to maintain the tradition of Byzantine theology in his sermon, as it "promotes the New Testament over the Old, refers to the Old Testament's parable of Hagar and Sarah and interprets it as a notion of God's Grace, and refers to pagan times as one in which Rus' lands were desolate until the dawn of Christianity fertilized it."<sup>59</sup> However, there are passages in the sermon that separate the Rus' from the Romans. For example, Hilarion relates how Christianity came to Rus' and refers to Constantinople as "the New Jerusalem," suggesting that Constantinople was a Christian conduit rather than a pivotal reference for the conversion of Rus'.<sup>60</sup> Further, despite the fact that St. Sophia's Church is based on Justinian's Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, Hilarion compares it to Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> The proclaimed uniqueness of Rus' continues in the third part of the sermon, which is a eulogy to Prince Vladimir I.

While this third part is also translated in Simon Franklin's anthology,<sup>62</sup> historian Basil Dmytryshyn's translation and commentary make it more accessible to modern readers:

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<sup>55</sup> Krocak, "Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought," 63.

<sup>56</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 693.

<sup>57</sup> Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 693.

<sup>58</sup> Krocak, "Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought," 64.

<sup>59</sup> Krocak, "Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought," 64–65.

<sup>60</sup> Hilarion of Kiev, "Sermon on Law and Grace," in *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, trans. Franklin, 23; Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 695.

<sup>61</sup> Hilarion of Kiev, "Sermon on Law and Grace," in *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, trans. Franklin, 23–24; Avenarius, "Metropolitan Ilarion on the Origin of Christianity in Rus'," 695.

<sup>62</sup> *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'*, trans. Franklin, 17–26.

“With panegyric voices, Rome praises [Saints] Peter and Paul because they brought to them [i.e., the Romans] the belief in Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Asia, Ephesus [the ancient city in Asia Minor] and Patmos [an island in the Dedocanese archipelago] praise John the Theologian. India praises Thomas; Egypt praises Mark...Let us, therefore to the best of our abilities, praise humbly our great and wonder-creating teacher and mentor, the great *kagan* [i.e., leader] of our land, [Prince] Vladimir.”<sup>63</sup>

On the surface, this passage explains how portions of the world came to learn of Christianity and exhorts listeners to thank the grand prince for the conversion of his people, but closer inspection reveals that this is more than a show of gratitude, as Vladimir I is actually placed on the same level as the apostles. Krocak asserts that, in the eyes of Hilarion, Vladimir’s conversion of the Rus’ was “a deed that put him on par not only with the Byzantine emperor but also with the Evangelists.”<sup>64</sup> While the conversion of a people can undoubtedly be seen as a great act, it does not quite explain why Hilarion chose to praise Vladimir rather than the apostles who had brought Christianity to the Romans in the first place, namely, Peter and Paul. Offering a plausible explanation, Dmytryshyn points out that the Kievan state was, at that time, in “dispute with Constantinople and was trying to frame itself as having the same dignity, rights, and status as the Byzantine Church.”<sup>65</sup> It would therefore be logical for the Rus’ to fashion for themselves a new identity that would emphasize their continuing sovereignty. By placing Vladimir amongst the apostles, the Rus’ would gain legitimacy as a Christian entity, and working within the framework of Byzantine ideology kept them tied to the Romans’ heritage. Krocak concludes her article by saying: “the inspiration for Hilarion of Kiev and other chroniclers, both Byzantine and Old Rus’, was the Bible...Old Rus’ chroniclers were partly inspired by the Byzantine ones and partly by a sense of ‘Slavic sensitivity...’ the time between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries can be defined as the formative time for Russian outlook.”<sup>66</sup> In sum, the eleventh to the thirteenth century was a period during which the Rus’ underwent a period of accelerated change and saw the need to reestablish themselves. While it is apparent that they wished to maintain their own ideology, they developed it by aligning themselves with the Romans by comparing Vladimir I to Constantine the Great. They crafted a political and religious identity around Holy Scripture; and they did so within a Byzantine framework. Their actions went well beyond flattery or figurative comparisons.

In addition to drawing from Holy Scripture and Byzantine ideology, the Rus’ further developed their identity between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries by adopting military saints. The Rus’ looked to two saints in particular, princes Boris and Gleb, who were brothers and two sons of Vladimir the Great. The *Laurentian*

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<sup>63</sup> Hilarion of Kiev, “Sermon on Law and Grace,” in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Dmytryshyn, 46.

<sup>64</sup> Krocak, “Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought,” 65.

<sup>65</sup> Editor’s comment in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Dmytryshyn, 45–46.

<sup>66</sup> Krocak, “Role of the Bible in the Formation of Philosophical Thought,” 71–72.

*Text* relates how these brothers were murdered and sainted after Vladimir's death. It explains how Svyatopolk, Vladimir's eldest son, hired assassins in Vyshgorod (modern central Ukraine) and sent them to Boris as false emissaries. When these hired men arrived at Al'ta (a river in modern central Ukraine), Boris was supposedly singing morning prayers in his tent, knew that he was about to meet his end, chanted several more prayers, and laid on his couch; the assassins then entered his dwelling and stabbed him.<sup>67</sup> Thereupon, the wounded prince was carried off to Svyatopolk, who ordered two Varangians (a term often used to describe people of Scandinavian descent) to finish him.<sup>68</sup> The *Laurentian Text* continues: "The impious Svyatopolk then reflected, 'Behold, I have killed Boris; now how can I kill Gleb?' ...he craftily sent messages to Gleb to the effect that he should come quickly, because his father was very ill and desired his presence."<sup>69</sup> Despite warnings from his brother Yaroslav that this was an attempt to have him murdered, Gleb decided that it would be "better to die with his brother than to live on in this world," and he was killed by one of his servants before Svyatopolk's men could seize him.<sup>70</sup> Once Yaroslav had won the subsequent war against Svyatopolk, he had the bodies of his murdered brothers buried beside the Church of St. Basil in Vyshgorod.<sup>71</sup> While Boris and Gleb are not mentioned in the *Russian Primary Chronicles* beyond their appointment as rulers over the cities of Rostov and Murom—and died in rather unceremonious ways, they would be sainted alongside their father, Vladimir the Great.<sup>72</sup>

Since Boris and Gleb died in a fashion that carried no particular glory, it stands to reason that chronicle writers would have a difficult time portraying them. Monica White explains that the brothers became saints in a non-traditional sense because, rather than dying as the result of religious persecution, they "were innocent victims of violence and...had posthumous careers as military intercessors."<sup>73</sup> The practice of venerating military saints is grounded in Byzantine tradition. According to White, the "cults of military saints took shape and became increasingly prominent in the Byzantine court and army beginning in the late ninth century. This process continued with new vigor in the East Slavonic principality of Rus, which adopted Christianity as its official religion during the

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<sup>67</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 126–127.

<sup>68</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 127.

<sup>69</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 128.

<sup>70</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 128.

<sup>71</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 129.

<sup>72</sup> The appointment of Boris and Gleb as rulers of Rostov and Murom is recorded in the entry for the year 988. See *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 119.

<sup>73</sup> Monica White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 137.

reign of Basil II.”<sup>74</sup> According to White, “groups of texts and artefacts reveal that the idea of martyrs functioning as military protectors appealed to the princes of Rus.”<sup>75</sup> White demonstrates that the Rus’ initially imported the ancient military saints of Byzantium, but they chose to portray them as individuals rather than as a phalanx in the Byzantine tradition. Furthermore, White explains that “[e]arly Rus’ iconography emphasized the saints’ warrior qualities over their martyrdom by invariably portraying them wearing armor and holding weapons rather than martyrs’ robes and crosses as is often found in Byzantine art.”<sup>76</sup> An example of a Byzantine military saint who is often portrayed in both styles is Saint Theodore Tiron, who was martyred in the fourth century.<sup>77</sup> However, while the Rus’ “imported an ancient corps of holy warriors from Byzantium, it was the saintly brothers Boris and Gleb who were looked to for success by their descendants. In both the Byzantine and Rus’ context, it was the martyrdom of the saints that granted their posthumous powers, and a number of texts makes explicit comparisons between Boris and Gleb and various members of the corps of military saints.”<sup>78</sup> These texts draw on the Old Testament and prove the worthiness of Boris and Gleb by comparing their deeds to those of patriarchs, prophets, kings, and other saints.<sup>79</sup> White concludes that “the similar means by which the attributes of martyr and warrior were expressed for both groups of saints is a strong indication that the emerging cult of Boris and Gleb was modeled on that of the holy warriors.”<sup>80</sup>

It would appear, then, that yet another Roman tradition was adopted and morphed in early Rus’. Yet, rather than merely taking the saints of the Romans, the early Rus’ venerated the murdered sons of Vladimir I. Moreover, they did so in a fashion that was unique to them, as the sainted brothers were seen as martyrs because they did not rise against their impious older brother. However, the *Laurentian Text’s* account of these assassinations is questionable. It was common for writers in Antiquity and the Middle Ages to embellish events, even more so when it came to the deaths of royalty. Thus, it would be just as likely, for instance, that Boris and Gleb were simply taken by surprise and murdered, which would create even more of an impetus to fashion these descendants of Rurik into saints after their deaths. Comparing their likely fictitious deeds to those of patriarchs, prophets, kings, and other saints furthered the notion that these brothers were

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<sup>74</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 94.

<sup>75</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 132.

<sup>76</sup> Monica White, “A Byzantine Tradition Transformed: Military Saints under the House of Suzdal’,” *The Russian Review* 63, no. 3 (2004): 494.

<sup>77</sup> Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2003), 44.

<sup>78</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 132.

<sup>79</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 139.

<sup>80</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 132–133.



worthy of veneration. The striking similarities in the depictions of these two groups of saints strengthen the idea that the Rus' were expressing a unique identity that included a sense of Roman-ness. Although White mentions that this practice started in the tenth century, it continued into the thirteenth century in the house of Suzdal', suggesting that it became well established in Rus' religious ideology.<sup>81</sup>

A curious development occurred, however, as the tradition progressed. According to White, the princes of Suzdal' went back to the ideal of a collective force of saints while maintaining the martyr-warrior model.<sup>82</sup> White allows that a number of factors may have contributed to the cultural significance of Boris and Gleb. For example, the Rus' also included Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian martyrs in their various prayers.<sup>83</sup> The fact that the custom of venerating saints and martyrs can be traced back to various sources is logical, as Christianity was adapted to the many civilizations that adopted it. Yet, since the Rus' were already heavily influenced by the Romans, imported the Byzantines' existing group of military saints after their conversion, added Boris and Gleb to their pantheon, and expressed the martyr-warrior ideal in both an individual and group context, they were most likely adopting and morphing yet another Byzantine tradition. When added to the remembrance of Vladimir the Great with its Romanized themes and the establishment of a religious ideology in the Byzantine tradition, the expression of *Romanitas* in Rus' certainly appears to go beyond mere imitation or copying: it showed signs of emulation—of matching or even surpassing—that would conveniently fit the eventual narrative of “Moscow as the Third Rome.” However, since the Romans continued to operate during this period, these instances demonstrate that Rus' *Romanitas* was rather more implicit or imaginative at this time.

## II. Myth

All civilizations have their harrowing and grandiose myths, and the Rus' were no different. This chapter considers the Romanized tales of early Rus'; more specifically, it looks at the founding of Kiev in the *Laurentian Text*, at a fifteenth-century prophecy that foretold the liberation of Constantinople, and at the *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir of Great Russia*. While there are other myths in Rus' and Russian history, these particular narratives either predate or coincide with the “Moscow as the Third Rome” idea. They established Kiev as a legitimate Christian capital, framed the Russians as the heirs of the Byzantines, and justified Russia's taking of the title of “Tsar.”

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<sup>81</sup> White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus*, 168.

<sup>82</sup> White, “A Byzantine Tradition Transformed,” 494.

<sup>83</sup> John H. Lind, “‘Varangian Christianity’ and the Veneration of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian Saints in Early Rus’,” in *Identity Formation and Diversity in the Early Medieval Baltic and Beyond*, ed. Johan Callmer, Ingrid Gustin, and Mats Roslund (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 107.

The narrative of Kiev's inception and founding is a particularly intriguing instance of the Rus' expressing their Roman-ness, as it begins in the first century with the mission of St. Andrew, the brother of St. Peter, who was on his way to Rome. It is recorded in the *Laurentian Text* as follows:

When Andrew was teaching in Sinope [i.e., modern northern Turkey] and came to Cherson (as has been recounted elsewhere), he observed that the mouth of the Dnieper was nearby. Conceiving a desire to go to Rome, he thus journeyed to the mouth of the Dnieper. Thence he ascended the river, and by chance he halted beneath the hills upon the shore. Upon arising in the morning, he observed to the disciples who were with him, "See ye these hills? So shall the favor of God shine upon them that on this spot a great city shall arise, and God shall erect many churches therein." He drew near the hills, and having blessed them, he set up a cross. After offering his prayer to God, he descended from the hill on which Kiev was subsequently built, and continued his journey up the Dnieper. He then reached the Slavs at the point where Novgorod is now situated. He saw these people existing according to their customs, and on observing how they bathed and scrubbed themselves, he wondered at them. He went thence among the Varangians and came to Rome, where he recounted what he had learned and observed. "Wondrous to relate," said he, "I saw the land of the Slavs, and while I was among them, I noticed their wooden bathhouses. They warm them to extreme heat, then undress, and after anointing themselves with an acid liquid, they take young branches and lash their bodies. They actually lash themselves so violently that they barely escape alive. Then they drench themselves with cold water and thus are revived. They think nothing of doing this every day, and though tormented by none, they actually inflict such voluntary torture upon themselves. Indeed, they make of the act not a mere washing but a veritable torment." When his hearers learned this fact, they marveled. But Andrew, after his stay in Rome, returned to Sinope.<sup>84</sup>

This tale is fascinating, as it essentially speaks to the early Slavs' pre-destined path to Christendom. Firstly, the use of Andrew, rather than Peter, as the apostle for this tale was likely a reference to the fact that the Rus' were destined to be Orthodox (rather than Roman) Christians; equally intriguing—since St. Andrew was the "protokletos," the "first-called" apostle, the *Laurentian Text* suggests the Rus' were first called to Christendom by the "first-called" apostle, thus setting aside any notion of Petrine precedence. Secondly, the consecration of the grounds where Kiev would eventually be founded could be seen as providing legitimacy to the city as a "locus" of Christendom; in fact, this would have given Kiev an elevated status over Constantinople (the Second Rome), as Kiev's founding would then have predated the "founding" of Constantinople (or the renaming of the city of Byzantium) by two centuries. This status would also raise Kiev above other cities in Christendom, as these did not convert until the late fourth century, furthering the authority of Rus' as a Christian entity. Thirdly, Andrew's supposed account that the Slavs were bathing and committing daily self-flagellation to a point near death would have suggested that these people were rugged, yet civilized, and already familiar with or predisposed to practices of the monotheistic faiths: the fact that the Slavs apparently thought nothing of their self-inflicted torture points to the idea that they were predisposed to being an especially pious

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<sup>84</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 53–54.

people, while their act of bathing displayed their advanced state as a civilization. From the perspective of a growing Orthodox Christian principality in the Middle Ages, this tale is especially authoritative, and it would have lent the Rus' an air of legitimacy. Yet, not surprisingly, a closer look at the origin of this narrative reveals it to be a construct.

A good starting point in deconstructing this tale is the faith of the Kievan Rus' before their official baptism. Until that point, the Rus' were pagan, and this can be seen in various entries of the *Laurentian Text*. For example, in 907, when Prince Oleg (r. 882–912) launched an attack against the Byzantines, he inflicted many casualties, forced the Greeks into capitulation, and secured trading rights.<sup>85</sup> The chronicle then states that “the Roman Emperors Leo VI and Alexander [i.e., likely Alexander Porphyrogenitus, Basil I's third son who would succeed Leo] agreed to peace, bound themselves to the terms of the treaty by oath, kissed the cross, and invited Oleg and his men to swear an oath likewise.”<sup>86</sup> It continues: “according to the religion of the Russes, the latter swore by their weapons and by their god Perun, as well as by Volos, the god of cattle, and thus confirmed the treaty.”<sup>87</sup> Another instance of invoking Perun can be seen in 945, when Prince Igor (r. 912–945) won another victory against the Romans and called upon the god to punish any who would violate their peace agreement.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, Vladimir I's baptism of the Kievan Rus' was not a smooth endeavor, as linguist Roman Jakobson explains that “the Christianization of the Slavs was a gradual process that occurred between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, and it occasionally spurred pagan revolts.”<sup>89</sup> Considering the chronicle's various entries that explicitly refer to pagan gods of old Rus' and the fact that the Slavs resisted conversion, where does this legendary tale of St. Andrew's journey to Kiev come from? According to the translators' footnote in the *Laurentian Text*, “The legend of St. Andrew in Rus' developed in Kiev during the eleventh century and is referred to ca. 1075 in a letter of Roman Emperor Michael VII Ducas [r. 1071–1078] to Prince Vsevolod I Yaroslavich of Kiev [r. 1078–1093].”<sup>90</sup> The legend is not just interesting; it furthers the theme of the Rus' building their identity with elements from the Bible. Moreover, the description of Kiev's actual founding contains Romanized themes.

Some of the themes of Kiev's founding are loosely reminiscent of those associated with the founding of Rome. After the consecration of Kiev's foundation, the chronicle continues as follows:

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<sup>85</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 64–65.

<sup>86</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 65.

<sup>87</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 65.

<sup>88</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 74.

<sup>89</sup> Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings 7: Contributions to Comparative Mythology: Studies in Linguistics and Philology, 1972–1982*, ed. Stephen Rudy (New York: Mouton, 1985), 3.

<sup>90</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 224.

While the Polyanians [i.e., an East Slavic tribe between the sixth and ninth centuries] lived apart and governed their families (for before the time of these brothers there were already Polyanians, and each one lived with his *gens* on his own lands, ruling over his kinsfolk), there were three brothers, Kiy, Shchek, and Khoriv, and their sister Lybed. Kiy lived upon the hill where the Borichev trail now is, and Shchek dwelt upon the hill now named Shchekovitsa, while on the third resided Khoriv, after whom this hill is named Khorevitsa. They built a town and named it Kiev after their oldest brother.<sup>91</sup>

The idea of siblings founding Kiev evokes the story of Romulus and Remus who overthrew their Etruscan kings and founded Rome. This narrative is recorded in Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* from the first century BCE and relates how these two brothers began construction of the eternal city and were debating after whom the city should be named. Livy states: "For as they were twins, and the respect due to seniority could not determine the point, they agreed to leave to the tutelary gods of the place to choose, by augury, which should give a name to the new city, which govern it when built."<sup>92</sup> After "Romulus chose the Palatine and Remus the Aventine hill to make their observations, Remus spotted six vultures while Romulus saw double that number."<sup>93</sup> Because Remus saw his omen first and Romulus saw a larger number of vultures, they both asserted their claims to the kingdom.<sup>94</sup> Their disagreement ultimately led to the death of Remus and Rome being named after Romulus. Some of these themes (namely, the siblings, several hills, and the naming of the city) are also present in the telling of Kiev's founding. Since Kiev's consecration is a topic in the aforementioned 1075 letter of Emperor Michael VII Ducas to Prince Vsevolod I Yaroslavich of Kiev, it stands to reason that there was a Roman inspiration for the telling of this event. The *Laurentian Text* conveniently inserts a distinctly older sibling whose seniority is acknowledged by his brothers. Although this makes for a less harrowing story, the lack of fratricide is logical as it keeps the tale in accordance with the Bible's Sixth Commandment which prohibits murder. Another noteworthy detail that is not mentioned in the chronicle is that Kiev, too, features seven hills, making it further comparable to Rome. While there are many cities that share this geographical feature, when added to St. Andrew's prophecy, Kiev's founding myth appears to be another example of *Romanitas* emerging in early Rus'.

The next textual myth to analyze in this chapter arose during the second half of the fifteenth century and pertains to the 1453 conquest of Constantinople and a prophecy that foretold its liberation by the Russians. The main source for this is the *Nikonian Chronicle*, which will be used here along with an article by historian Dimitri Strémooukhoff that describes and references the prophecy.<sup>95</sup> The *Nikonian*

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<sup>91</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 54.

<sup>92</sup> Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, trans. Spillan, 10-11.

<sup>93</sup> Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, trans. Spillan, 11.

<sup>94</sup> Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, trans. Spillan, 11.

<sup>95</sup> *Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1425 to 1520*, trans. Zenkovsky and Zenkovsky; Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome."

*Chronicle* is the last official compilation of the *Russian Primary Chronicles*; work on this text commenced in the office of the Metropolitan of Moscow in the sixteenth century but was later moved to the court of Ivan IV (“the Terrible”), Grand Prince of Moscow (1533–1547) and Tsar of all Rus’ (r. 1547–1584).<sup>96</sup> The chronicle is named after the last noteworthy person who owned this manuscript, Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow and all Rus’ (in office 1652–1658/1666).<sup>97</sup> Thought to be edited by the Metropolitan Daniel, “a ‘professional’ indefatigable moralist” in the words of Serge A. Zenkovsky, the chronicle is considered one of the more objective compilations.<sup>98</sup> The chronicle will be used here to highlight the relative insignificance of the conquest of Constantinople in its entry for 1453. Since the text of the prophecy concerning the liberation of the Second Rome does not appear to be available in English, I will be referencing and basing my analysis on Strémooukhoff’s description of the prophecy.

From a modern perspective, the Ottomans’ 1453 conquest of Constantinople should have been a momentous event for a people who would later proclaim themselves as the Third Rome. However, according to the editor’s note pertaining to the *Nikonian Chronicle*’s entry for 1453, the chronicle’s text is interrupted “by various stories concerning Constantinople and its fall that had no immediate significance for Russian history before it resumes with the reign of Vasili II.”<sup>99</sup> A plausible explanation for this lackluster response is that the Rus’ were still under Mongol occupation at this time and would not be sovereign again until 1480, following the battle of the Ugra River.<sup>100</sup> Many myths arose shortly after the Rus’ had liberated themselves from Mongol occupation. In the mid-fifteenth century, the duchy of Moscovy (the Rus’ entity that overthrew the Mongols) was on the rise and looking to establish itself as a champion for Russian unity;<sup>101</sup> as Strémooukhoff explains, the Muscovites had “abandoned their local character at this time in favor of a pan-Russian identity and were looking to cement their place in the history of Christian empires.”<sup>102</sup> According to Strémooukhoff, there were three possibilities for the Russians to consolidate their position: “to admit that the fall of Byzantium was not final, and that the imperial city would be liberated by

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<sup>96</sup> *The Nikonian Chronicle: From the Beginning to the Year 1132*, trans. Serge A. Zenkovsky and Betty Jean Zenkovsky (Princeton: The Kingston Press, Inc., 1984), xiii.

<sup>97</sup> *Nikonian Chronicle: From the Beginning*, trans. Zenkovsky and Zenkovsky, xxi.

<sup>98</sup> *Nikonian Chronicle: From the Beginning*, trans. Zenkovsky and Zenkovsky, xxx–xxxii.

<sup>99</sup> Editors’ comment in *Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1425 to 1520*, trans. Zenkovsky and Zenkovsky, 95–96.

<sup>100</sup> The fifth volume of the *Nikonian Chronicle* details the 1480 Battle of the Ugra River. See *Nikonian Chronicle: From the Year 1425 to 1520*, trans. Zenkovsky and Zenkovsky, 211–215.

<sup>101</sup> Strémooukhoff, “Moscow the Third Rome,” 88.

<sup>102</sup> Strémooukhoff, “Moscow the Third Rome,” 88.

the Russians; to admit the supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire of the west; or to set up Moscow herself as a definite empire and the successor of Byzantium."<sup>103</sup>

One might assume that the Muscovites tended toward the last option, but it was, in fact, the first option that appealed to them at this time,<sup>104</sup> probably because the Rus' remained under Mongol occupation until 1480 and would need to liberate themselves before they could claim to be the heirs of Rome. Strémooukhoff explains that, by the mid-to-late fifteenth century, a prophecy was circulating that foretold events in the seventh millenary of the Orthodox calendar:

We find it referred to in various versions of the Russian account of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. The author, after having described the fall of the imperial city, adds: "If all the predictions of the time of Constantine the Great, such as were made by Methodius of Patara and Leo the Sage, if all the predictions concerning this great city have come to pass, then the ultimate prophecy will come to pass also, for it is said: 'The Russian tribes will battle against the Ishmaelites with the help of her erstwhile inhabitants, will conquer the city of the seven hills [Constantinople], and will reign there'."<sup>105</sup>

Later in the article, Strémooukhoff notes that the prophecy specifically describes Constantinople's liberators as a "fair-skinned people;" logically or perhaps even conveniently, the Muscovites assumed this role.<sup>106</sup> Strémooukhoff indicates that this prophecy could have been fashioned as early as 1472 and further cemented by that year's "marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Palaiologina, the heiress of the Paleologues."<sup>107</sup> The prophecy's reference to "predictions of the time of Constantine the Great" likely refers to an older prophecy according to which the first Byzantine emperor had supposedly said that the city would only fall during a lunar eclipse. On May 22, 1453, there was a lunar eclipse, followed by additional omens:<sup>108</sup> according to Kritovolous's contemporary *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, "a dense fog covered the whole city, lasting from early morning till evening. This evidently indicated the departure of the Divine Presence, and its leaving the City in total abandonment and desertion."<sup>109</sup> On May 29, 1453, the city was taken, fulfilling the "predictions of the time of Constantine the Great."

The fifteenth-century prophecy reflects the Romanized identity of Rus' in several ways. Firstly, combining the alleged fourth-century predictions with a prophecy that Russians would be liberating Constantinople speaks to how the Rus' saw themselves as inseparable from the Romans. Secondly, mentioning that the Russians would be fighting the Ishmaelites (a reference to the Ottomans and

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<sup>103</sup> Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome," 88.

<sup>104</sup> Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome," 88–89.

<sup>105</sup> Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome," 88–89.

<sup>106</sup> Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome," 89.

<sup>107</sup> Strémooukhoff, "Moscow the Third Rome," 89–90.

<sup>108</sup> Pierre Guillermier and Serge Koutchmy, *Total Eclipses: Science, Observations, Myths, and Legends* (New York: Springer, 1999), 85.

<sup>109</sup> Kritovolous, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 59.

their Muslim faith) alongside the city's "erstwhile inhabitants" and ultimately reign in the city conveys the sense that they were looking to inherit Rome's legacy; this is further supported by the description of the liberators as a fair-skinned people. Thirdly, the potential origin of the prophecy in the context of the 1472 marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Palaiologina, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor (Constantine XI), underscores a strong interest on the part of the Rus' to legitimize themselves in the event of Constantinople's reconquest. Finally, the prophecy illustrates that the Rus' viewed Constantinople as the Second Rome, as it refers to the city as "the city of the seven hills," a descriptor traditionally assigned to Rome in Italy.

While a prophecy like this could become self-fulfilling in the event of Constantinople's liberation, it could certainly serve as the basis for an ideological dream, and indeed, as history has shown, the prophecy's theme would carry at least as far as the eighteenth century and the reign of Catherine II ("the Great;" r. 1762–1796).<sup>110</sup> Although historian Daniel B. Rowland asserts that the "Moscow as the Third Rome" idea was not taken seriously by sixteenth-century Muscovites—who, as Rowland asserts, rather subscribed to the idea of themselves as the New Israel,<sup>111</sup> the evidence suggests otherwise. Rowland's analysis is based on themes from the Old Testament, which makes his assertion plausible. However, while the Rus' constructed their religious identity on the basis of the Old (and New) Testament, they did so within a Roman framework. Considering the *Laurentian Text's* Kiev prophecy of St. Andrew and the ways in which the Rus' adopted their Romanized faith, the idea of "Moscow as the Third Rome" appears to have come to fruition by the fifteenth century.

Another myth to consider here is the *Tale of the Grand Princes*, a narrative that contains Latin Roman and Byzantine themes, and created legitimacy for the princes of Muscovy as they took the title of "Tsar." The dating of the *Tale* seems to be a matter of debate, as scholar of Slavic literature Dmitrij Čiževskij asserts that it appeared for the first time in 1523, and argues that attempts to date it before this time are not convincing.<sup>112</sup> However, historian Dana Picková explains that the main themes of this work have "survived in more than thirty manuscripts with the texts varying and being subjected to redactions."<sup>113</sup> According to Picková, the practice of "continually expanding, modifying, and reducing texts was common

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<sup>110</sup> Catherine the Great's planned but never-realized "Greek Project" intended to retake Constantinople. She also named her grandson "Constantine" and groomed him for the Greek throne. For Catherine's reign and her "Greek Project," see Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

<sup>111</sup> Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow—The Third Rome or the New Israel?" *The Russian Review* (Stanford) 55, no. 4 (1996): 595.

<sup>112</sup> Dmitrij Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature: From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (Berlin: De Gruyter Inc., 1971), 252.

<sup>113</sup> Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs," 259.

in medieval Rus', and it makes critical analysis of primary sources difficult."<sup>114</sup> While allowing that there "has not been a satisfactory or united opinion on the date of the text's creation or the identification of its author," Picková surmises that the predominant themes of the legend point to as early as the late fifteenth century and no later than 1523.<sup>115</sup> This range of dates creates the possibility that the text might be outside the scope of this article; however, it is included here because it emerged at the dawn of Moscow's rise to prominence and either predates or coincides with the "Moscow as the Third" Rome proclamation.

There are two main parts to the *Tale of the Grand Princes* that express Roman themes, both from the Latin and Byzantine heritage. Starting with the inspiration from the Latin west, the tale explains that, after Augustus had won the civil war against Mark Antony and taken his imperial title between 31 and 27 B.C., he appointed his relatives and other men of note as rulers over various territories.<sup>116</sup> An especially noteworthy appointment is recorded as follows:

Prus, his [i.e., Augustus's] relative, [was appointed to rule] on the shores of the Vistula river in the city of Marbruck and Thurn and Khvoiny and famous Gdansk and many other cities along the river called Neman which falls into the sea. And Prus lived many years until the fourth generation and that is why the Prussian land is named thus even to this day... And at that time a certain military Novgorod leader by the name of Gostomysl was close to death... So they went to the Prussian land and obtained a certain prince by the name of Riurik who was of the family of the Emperor Augustus and the envoys from all the Novgorodians petitioned him to come and be their prince and Riurik the prince came to Novgorod with two brothers: one was called Truvor, and the second one Sineus and the third one was his cousin by the name of Oleg. That is when Novgorod became Great Novgrad and Grand Prince Riurik became the first prince of it.<sup>117</sup>

Yet again, the reader gets the impression that the princes of Rus' were a storied people. By referring to Riurik as a relative of Augustus, as well as his appointment in the lands of Novgorod, the Tsars of Muscovy could claim legitimacy through a lineage to the Latin Roman emperors. However, similar to the other myths discussed in this chapter, we are dealing with a mostly fictitious story, albeit containing an essence of truth. For instance, while he is credited as the first ruler of Rus', Riurik was of Scandinavian descent, and he lived more than seven centuries after the time of the first Roman emperor. The *Laurentian Text* records the selection of Riurik to rule over Novgorod as occurring between 860 and 862, and specifically describes him as being from "a particular Varangian tribe known as the Russes, just as some are called Swedes and others Normans, English, and Gotlanders."<sup>118</sup> Also according to the *Laurentian Text*, Riurik was asked to rule over the people of Novgorod, because its inhabitants wanted someone to "reign over

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<sup>114</sup> Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs," 259.

<sup>115</sup> Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs," 259–260.

<sup>116</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 3.

<sup>117</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 3–4.

<sup>118</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 59–60.



and judge them according to Law;" he was selected alongside his brothers Truvor and Sineus; and he would later bequeath his lands to his son Igor with his regency entrusted to Oleg, who was an unspecified relative.<sup>119</sup> As for the *Tale's* fictitious parts, historians Rufina Dmitrieva and Jana Howlett explain that the legendary Prus is only found in the *Tale of the Grand Princes* and that Prussia was not an entity during Roman times.<sup>120</sup> But this part of the legend was necessary, as it created an opportunity to introduce Riurik as a relative of Augustus and as the first ruler of Rus'. According to Dmitrieva and Howlett, any connection between Riurik and Igor is doubtful, adding further complications to the genealogy of the Rurikids.<sup>121</sup>

The *Tale of the Grand Princes* continues with its origin story and eventually features Byzantine motifs when it claims that Vladimir I was a descendant of Riurik, that Vladimir Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev (r. 1113–1125), was Vladimir I's grandson, and that Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (r. 1042–1055) had bestowed upon Vladimir Monomakh "a necklace with the life-giving cross on which Christ was crucified, his imperial crown on a gold plate, and other gifts for the glory, honor, and coronation of his free and autocratic Tsardom."<sup>122</sup> This part of the tale adds another layer of assumed legitimacy to the Tsars of Muscovy with its assertion that a Byzantine emperor gave parts of his regalia to Vladimir Monomakh for the specific purpose of crowning future rulers. Yet, once again, we are dealing with fact that is intertwined with fiction. Starting with the former, the idea of Constantine Monomachus bestowing Byzantine regalia on Vladimir Monomakh is quite intentional. According to Dmitrieva and Howlett, the Rus' prince was born from a marriage between a son of Vladimir Iaroslavich ("Vladimir of Novgorod," r. 1036–1052) and a daughter of Constantine Monomachus, and the name "Monomakh" marked their son's descent from a Byzantine dynasty.<sup>123</sup> Picková adds that the "connection to imperial Rome is further reinforced because one of the insignia given to the Rus' was once in the possession of Emperor Augustus himself."<sup>124</sup>

However, the *Tale's* narrative quickly unravels when one looks at the historical facts. Picková, Dmitrieva, and Howlett explain that by the time of Constantine Monomachus's death in 1055, Vladimir (b. 1053) was less than two years old, rendering a delivery of these gifts in 1114 highly unlikely.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, Vladimir Monomakh became grand prince as a result of a complex line of succession, making the knowledge of his future position during the life of Constantine

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<sup>119</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 59.

<sup>120</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 9.

<sup>121</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 9.

<sup>122</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 6–7.

<sup>123</sup> *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 8.

<sup>124</sup> Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs," 258.

<sup>125</sup> Picková, "Roman and Byzantine Motifs," 258; *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 8.

Monomachus impossible.<sup>126</sup> Lastly, the *Tale* features several anachronistic statements, as Dmitrieva and Howlett point out that Vladimir Monomakh “was neither an *avtokrator* (autocrat) nor a Tsar,” and that there are mentioned military divisions in the Rus’ army that were not instituted until the post-Mongol period.<sup>127</sup> Thus, in the words of Picková, the *Tale of the Grand Princes* is a work of fiction that “reshaped history to better serve arguments for the ascending political doctrine of a united Russian state and its autocratic rule.”<sup>128</sup> From a modern perspective, it might be hard to believe that the Muscovites took these myths seriously. But this tale is not unlike Virgil’s first-century *Aeneid*, an epic poem that legitimized the Julio-Claudian dynasty by claiming that they were the descendants of Aeneas, a relative of the Homeric King Priam of Troy. As evidenced by Roman historical texts and Constantine the Great’s journey to Troy before eventually establishing Constantinople at Byzantium, it is apparent that Virgil’s tale was taken seriously by the Romans.<sup>129</sup> Therefore, it stands to reason that the Muscovites created the *Tale of the Grand Princes* and were sincere in supporting its claims at a time when many cities during the European Renaissance were “finding” their respective connections to antiquity. According to Picková, the *Tale*’s claim of a Roman lineage all the way back to Augustus is not the declaration of *translatio imperii* (transfer of empire) that would later surface in Philoteus of Pskov’s letter.<sup>130</sup> However, this document and origin myth established a model that Philoteus would have been aware of and that he could have built upon. In sum, the prophecy pertaining to Kiev’s founding, the prophecy to liberate and reign in Constantinople, and the creation of an origin myth to establish the legitimacy of Russia’s Tsars and subsequent claims to the Byzantine heritage all point to a sense of *Romanitas* that was expressed in the myths of the Rus’ during the eleventh, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries.

### III. Art

In the words of the twentieth-century sculptor, Louise Bourgeois, “art is a way of recognizing oneself.”<sup>131</sup> This chapter considers examples of artistic expression in Rus’, more specifically, the construction of St. Sophia’s Church in Kiev in the eleventh century, the *Ostromir Gospel* of 1056–1057, and an instance of Byzantine regalia being worn by a Rus’ prince in the thirteenth century. The rationale for

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<sup>126</sup> Picková, “Roman and Byzantine Motifs,” 258.

<sup>127</sup> The *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir* describes the division of the Rus’ army as being led in formations of one-thousand men, one-hundred men, and fifty men. See *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 5. For their notes on how this division of men was created in the post-Mongol period, see *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir*, trans. Dmitrieva and Howlett, 9.

<sup>128</sup> Picková, “Roman and Byzantine Motifs,” 258.

<sup>129</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Dryden, Book VI.

<sup>130</sup> Picková, “Roman and Byzantine Motifs,” 258.

<sup>131</sup> Louise Bourgeois and Donald B. Kuspit, *Bourgeois* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 82.

analyzing these particular sources is that they stem from the beginnings of Rus' political and religious identity and from a time of uncertain sovereignty (i.e., Mongol occupation) respectively.

In addition to expressing their Romanized identity in their faith and textual myths, the Rus' also manifested it in their architecture. While the consecration of St. Sophia's Church in Kiev has been touched upon in the first chapter, it is now time to look at its construction. In the entry for the years 1034–1036, the *Laurentian Text* relates that Mstislav, Yaroslav's brother and co-ruler, died while on a hunting expedition.<sup>132</sup> After assuming complete control over the Kievan Rus', Yaroslav went to Novgorod where he installed his son Vladimir as its ruler, appointed a bishop by the name of Zhidyata, and received news that the Pechenegs (a semi-nomadic people and historical enemy of the Rus' from central Asia) were laying siege to Kiev.<sup>133</sup> The grand prince gathered a force of Varangians, Novgorodians, and Kievans, met the Pechenegs "where the metropolitan church of St. Sophia now stands," and proceeded to drive away his enemy. Just before moving on to the church's construction, the chronicle curiously mentions what sounds like Yaroslav tying up loose ends, as he sentenced his brother Sudislav to life imprisonment for slander.<sup>134</sup> According to the *Laurentian Text's* entry for the year 1037, Yaroslav then commissioned a series of projects such as "the Golden Gate, which imitated the Constantinopolitan triumphal gate of the same name, the metropolitan church of St. Sophia, the Church of the Annunciation over the Golden Gate, the Monastery of St. George [his patron saint], and the convent of St. Irene."<sup>135</sup> There appears to be some confusion concerning the date though, and art historian Elena Boeck has pointed out that both *The Chronicle of Novgorod* and Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, record the church's founding in 1017 and 1018 respectively.<sup>136</sup> The *Chronicle of Novgorod's* entry for 1017 states that "Yaroslav went to Beresti [a town in modern Romania], and St. Sophia was founded in Kiev."<sup>137</sup> For 1018, Thietmar relates the following:

But the very strong city of Kiev was troubled due to the constant attack[s] of the hostile Pechenegs, who had been prompted by Boleslav, and seriously weakened by fire. Though it [i.e., Kiev] was defended by its inhabitants, it quickly succumbed to the external forces; for, once [it had been] deserted by its king who fled, it [i.e., Kiev] received, on August 14, 1018,

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<sup>132</sup> In the year 1024, Mstislav went to war against and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Yaroslav. From 1026 until Mstislav's death (between 1034 and 1036), the brothers divided the territories of Kievan Rus' "according to the course of the Dnieper River" and ruled together. See *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 134–136.

<sup>133</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 136.

<sup>134</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 136–137.

<sup>135</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 137.

<sup>136</sup> Elena Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome: The Performance of Power in Kiev's St. Sophia," *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 3 (2009): 283.

<sup>137</sup> *The Chronicle of Novgorod: 1016–1471*, trans. Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (Hattiesburg: Academic International Press, 1970), 2.

Boleslav and its lord Sviatopolk, whom it had missed for a long time, by whose influence – and from fear of us – the entire region was subjugated. The archbishop of that city [i.e., Kiev] – with the relics of saints and various ornaments – honored those [who were] arriving [i.e., presumably, Boleslav and Sviatopolk] at the Monastery [or Church] of St. Sophia, which in the previous year, due to an accident, had miserably burned down.<sup>138</sup>

Lastly, the *Laurentian Text* describes the war of succession between Yaroslav and Sviatopolk with aid from the Polish King Boleslav I (“the Brave”), but the entry for 1017 simply mentions that Yaroslav began his reign in Kiev and “churches were burned” before Sviatopolk forced him out in 1018.<sup>139</sup>

Taken together, these passages form a complex account of when St. Sophia’s Church was constructed: it sounds like the original building of St. Sophia in Kiev (presumably constructed in or shortly after the “baptism” of the Rus’ in 988) burned down in 1017 and was rebuilt in 1037 (perhaps to commemorate Yaroslav’s victory), and the *Laurentian Text* simply glossed over this fact, perhaps because the story of the fire was common knowledge at the time and did not need repeating. It is also possible that the architectural design of the first building of Sophia’s Church was significantly different from the one constructed later, which would make the new structure worth mentioning as a separate church rather than something that was simply being rebuilt. While the founding date of the metropolitan church is not fully known, Boeck asserts that all the sources agree that Yaroslav ordered its construction, and that it is more likely that the founding date was 1037 when Yaroslav would have had the power and funds to spend on its construction.<sup>140</sup> This explanation seems most agreeable, as the last church construction of note had been Vladimir I’s Church of the Tithes (also known as the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin) between 989 and 996. Moreover, something as grandiose as Kiev’s St. Sophia’s Church as it stands today would have been mentioned and glorified in the *Russian Primary Chronicles* if it had been constructed before 1037. While an analysis of the Golden Gate could be conducted to show another instance of *Romanitas* in early Rus’, St. Sophia’s Church is especially interesting.

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<sup>138</sup> Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum, Neue Serie 9* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935), 530 (Book VIII, Chapter 32): “Urbs autem Kitava nimis valida ab hostibus Pedeneis ortatu Bolizlavi crebra inpugnatione concucitur et incendio gravi minoratur. Defensa est autem ab suis habitatoribus, sed celeriter patuit extraneis viribus; namque a rege suo in fugam verso relicta XVIII. Kal. Sept. Bolizlavum et, quem diu amiserat, Zentepulcum seniore suum, cuius gratia et nostrorum timore omnis hec regio conversa est, suscepit. Archiepiscopus citatis illius cum reliquiis sanctorum et ornatibus diversis hos advenientis honoravit in sanctae monasterio Sofhiaie, quod in priori anno miserabiliter casu accidente combustum est.” English translation in the text (above) by Professor Jochen Burgtorf (Fullerton).

<sup>139</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 132.

<sup>140</sup> Boeck, “Simulating the Hippodrome,” 283.

According to architectural historian Dmitry Shvidkovskii, St. Sophia served as an essential element for Yaroslav's introduction to and international extension of Rus' in the Christian world.<sup>141</sup> Shvidkovskii further explains that the cathedral church was "the largest of its kind in Rus' until the end of the fifteenth century, suffered much destruction and rebuilding in the nine centuries of its existence, and has been subject to alterations in the seventeenth century. However, the interior remains preserved to a substantial degree."<sup>142</sup> While he points out that there are varying opinions on the "architectural forms of the cathedral," Shvidkovskii emphasizes that experts do agree on a few things: "It belongs to the Byzantine building tradition, it is the largest and most important eleventh-century building in that tradition, and the Byzantine architectural language used in its construction is used to express an ideology that originates not in Constantinople but in Kiev, at the court of Yaroslav the Wise."<sup>143</sup> Shvidkovskii asserts that, while Yaroslav used Hagia Sophia in Constantinople as a model for his church's construction, the grand prince "sought to reflect, by means of his own time, an ancient symbol that was fundamental to both the [Roman] Empire and the Orthodox Church."<sup>144</sup> As for the building's interior, the second part of Hilarion of Kiev's "Sermon on Law and Grace" gives a somewhat vague description. It states: "he [i.e., Yaroslav] has built a great and holy church [i.e., St. Sophia] to honor God's omniscience in order to sanctify your [i.e., Vladimir's] city and has decorated it with all kinds of beautiful things, including gold and silver, precious stones and sacred vessels."<sup>145</sup> Boeck describes the interior as having "site-specific Constantinopolitan topographies of power and iconography that consciously references a *locus sanctus* (holy place), a mosaic of the standing Virgin orant that possibly referenced the church of Blachernai (that has not survived), a Greek inscription of Psalm 46:5, and a fresco of a hippodrome."<sup>146</sup> Boeck furthermore asserts that the Kievan hippodrome "emphasize[d] a topography of imperial control with a focus on the management of the races rather than the antiquarian features that were so important to Byzantine observers."<sup>147</sup>

Thus, St. Sophia's Church in Kiev underscores the theme of a unique Rus' identity with distinctly Roman influences: the church was built by Byzantine architects with help from local labor, was modeled after Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and was constructed to cement Yaroslav's "supremacy after

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<sup>141</sup> Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, 17.

<sup>142</sup> Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, 18.

<sup>143</sup> Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, 18.

<sup>144</sup> Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, 18–19.

<sup>145</sup> Hilarion of Kiev, "Sermon on Law and Grace," in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Dmytryshyn, 46.

<sup>146</sup> Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome," 285–286.

<sup>147</sup> Boeck, "Simulating the Hippodrome," 287.

decades of fratricidal wars.”<sup>148</sup> Such a grandiose display of power would have undoubtedly suggested legitimacy to the Rus' while they were developing their identity around the Orthodox faith. While scholars emphasize that Yaroslav modeled this church according to his own ideas, he was quite intentionally working within a Roman framework; this makes sense as, in the early eleventh century, the eastern Romans were at the height of their power and influence. This notion is corroborated when one considers St. Sophia's interior which was decorated with precious stones, vessels and mosaics that reference Byzantium's most significant structures. Furthermore, while this language was foreign and largely unknown to the Rus', Yaroslav chose to keep the inscriptions of St. Sophia's in Greek.<sup>149</sup> Lastly, the portrayal of a hippodrome in the church's interior is a blatant display of Roman influence, since a hippodrome otherwise would have carried no meaning for the Rus'. Even though St. Sophia was built in accordance with the grand prince's ideas, its use of “Roman” elements to send a specific message was not unprecedented.

Charlemagne, for example, established the Carolingian dynasty as one of lawgivers by using courthouses known as *laubiae*, which were modeled after Roman city gates.<sup>150</sup> The use of these courthouses became so prevalent that the verb *laubire* (to acquit) became a new term in medieval Latin. Yet, instead of repurposing Roman structures, which did not exist in Rus', or constructing a building similar to one in Rome for a different purpose, Yaroslav chose the most remarkable Roman cathedral (namely, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) as his model and thereby established himself as a paragon of Orthodox Christianity. This was not simply a bold imitation; it was a form of emulation that would have contributed to shaping Rus' identity in the eleventh century. When added to the fact that Hilarion of Kiev's “Sermon on Law and Grace” was given during this structure's consecration, a larger picture begins to emerge as the Rus' fashioned their religious and political identity and constructed Kiev's St. Sophia in a Roman framework.

Another example of Roman-influenced artistic expression in early Rus' is the eleventh-century *Ostromir Gospel*, the oldest dated Rus' manuscript to survive in its entirety and shelf-marked as National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), PHБ. F.п.I.5.<sup>151</sup> This particular manuscript is a lectionary; it was commissioned by Ostromir, the governor of Novgorod and relative of Kievan Prince Iziaslav Yaroslavich; and it was produced by Deacon Gregory between October 21, 1056,

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<sup>148</sup> Shvidkovskii, *Russian Architecture*, 18; Boeck, “Simulating the Hippodrome, 283.

<sup>149</sup> There is some debate whether Greek was known by the elite of the Kievan Rus'. See, for example, Simon Franklin, “Greek in Kievan Rus,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 69–81.

<sup>150</sup> Kim Sexton, “Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in Early Medieval Italy,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 3 (2009): 316.

<sup>151</sup> Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 33. The *Ostromir Gospel* is fully digitized and available online; see National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), PHБ. F.п.I.5, [online](#).

and May 12, 1057.<sup>152</sup> An inscription on the first page mentions that Ostromir then donated the manuscript to St. Sophia's Cathedral in Novgorod.<sup>153</sup> According to the National Library of Russia, there is a gap of about six centuries before the whereabouts of this manuscript can be traced again via documentation, as it is mentioned in a 1701 inventory of the churches and monasteries of the Moscow Kremlin.<sup>154</sup> In 1720, Peter I ("the Great"), Tsar of Russia (r. 1682–1725) and Emperor of Russia (r. 1721–1725), decreed the gathering of information on ancient documents and manuscripts in churches and monasteries,<sup>155</sup> and in the same year, the codex was moved from Moscow to St. Petersburg.<sup>156</sup> In 1805, it resurfaced among the belongings of the late Catherine II ("the Great"), Empress of Russia (r. 1762–1796).<sup>157</sup> Emperor Alexander I (r. 1801–1825) then transferred the *Ostromir Gospel* to the manuscript department of the Public (now National) Library of Russia, where it resides today.<sup>158</sup>

Among its 294 folios, hundreds of ornamented, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic initials, and three full-page miniatures, a particularly striking illumination can be found on the verso of folio 87.<sup>159</sup> This page contains a portrayal of Luke the Evangelist, standing in a pose of supplication, intently looking to the heavens, with his hands raised in prayer. In the top-right corner, a bull, the incorporeal creature that represents Luke, is presenting a scroll on which there is gold writing. According to art historian Olga Popova, the scene is "set in a rectangular frame and surrounded by a wide ornamental border, as was frequent with Byzantine miniatures."<sup>160</sup> Popova further explains that "the saint's robes are covered with a fine web of gold lines, and the shape of the figure and its colors are almost lost to view beneath the bright golden mesh. This type of representation recurs constantly in Byzantine miniatures in the late tenth and into the eleventh centuries."<sup>161</sup> Popova completes her description by stating that a technique known as "cloisonné enamel," which entails creating an outline by bonding metal strips (gold, brass, silver, or copper) to a surface and then filling the spaces with enamel paste, was used on St. Luke's robes and body; this technique was popular in the Byzantine Empire, and was used extensively in Kiev.<sup>162</sup> Art historians Helen C.

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<sup>152</sup> National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), *The Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057 at the National Library of Russia*, [online](#).

<sup>153</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>154</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>155</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>156</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>157</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>158</sup> National Library of Russia, *Ostromir Gospel*.

<sup>159</sup> National Library of Russia, PHБ. Ф.п.1.5, fol. I. 87.

<sup>160</sup> Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 35.

<sup>161</sup> Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 35.

<sup>162</sup> Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 35.

Evans and William D. Wixom provide further information on the influences shown in the *Ostromir Gospel* when they mention that “while documenting the intimate dialogue between Byzantium and Kievan Rus’, the lectionary also attests to the contact maintained between the Slavic state and the countries of the west, as the three miniatures follow the Hieronymic order [i.e., John: 1v; Luke: 87v; Mark 126r] common in Carolingian and Ottonian works, the stylized initials reflect western influences, and the synaxarion [i.e., hagiographic lessons] includes western saints such as Pope Silvester I, John of Mediola, the martyrs Vitus and Modestus, and Apollinaris of Ravenna.”<sup>163</sup> Lastly, art historian Elina Gertsman mentions that active trade with the west is partially the reason why the Kievan Rus’ acquired western artwork and may have adopted certain techniques.<sup>164</sup> She also offers an explanation for the influences from Carolingian and Ottonian works when she reminds us that “the Rus’ were especially connected to the Ottonian dynasty as Vladimir I was married to the granddaughter of Otto I;”<sup>165</sup> in addition, Grand Prince Yaroslav “married Inigerd of Sweden, produced queens in France, Hungary, and Norway, and his brother Mstislav married the Swedish princess Christina, whose daughters wedded the Norwegian kings Sigurd the Crusader, Kanut II, and Erik-Edmund of Denmark.”<sup>166</sup> Trade with and marriage into western and Scandinavian dynasties offers a plausible explanation for the ordering of the miniatures according to the teachings of Jerome and other western influences in the *Ostromir Gospel*.

However, while the lectionary’s list of saints and martyrs, as well as minor decorations such as the initials, show influences from the west, the overall art style, ornamentation, and use of gold to represent divinity in the full-page miniatures come from tenth and eleventh-century Byzantium. Most meaningfully, the representation of the evangelists, arguably the most significant parts of a lectionary, are portrayed using this Byzantine style. The manuscript was commissioned and created between 1056 and 1057, namely, during the formative stage of a political and religious identity in Rus’, and not long after Hilarion of Kiev’s “Sermon on Law and Grace,” which has already been established as a work that gave the Rus’ a unique identity within a Roman framework. Because this is a piece of art that would have been commissioned for a single person, such as a prince, the *Ostromir Gospel* could be seen as an isolated work that does not warrant inclusion as evidence for expressions of *Romanitas*. However, lectionaries from later centuries continue this theme of a Romanized identity in Rus’. For instance,

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<sup>163</sup> Helen C. Evans, William D. Wixom, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 296.

<sup>164</sup> Elina Gertsman, “All Roads Lead to Rus, Western Influences on the Eleventh-to-Twelfth-Century Manuscript Illumination of Kievan Rus,” *Comitatus* 31 (2000): 40–41.

<sup>165</sup> Gertsman, “All Roads Lead to Rus,” 41.

<sup>166</sup> Gertsman, “All Roads Lead to Rus,” 41.



Popova's monograph provides brief descriptions of manuscripts such as the twelfth-century Mstislav Lectionary from Novgorod, the twelfth/thirteenth-century Liturgy of St. Barlaam of Khutyn from the Principality of Galich-Volhynia, and a fourteenth-century lectionary from Moscow that all show signs of following Byzantine trends; the fact that these manuscripts came from northern, south-western, and western Rus' further shows that this style was not confined to a single Rus' principality or a particular time period.<sup>167</sup> Thus, all things considered, the sense of a Romanized identity in Rus' is reflected in their illuminated manuscripts.

In addition to the Rus' expressing their *Romanitas* in architecture and illuminated manuscripts, there is an instance of a Rus' prince wearing Byzantine regalia in the thirteenth century, during the period known as the "Mongol Yoke." The source for this instance is the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, which is a portion of the larger *Hypatian Codex*. This codex features an account of the south-western Rus' and their history between 1201 and 1292; it has not yet been the subject of extensive critical analysis in English; it is named after the Monastery of St. Hypatius at Kostroma (a historical city in western Russia and administrative center of modern Kostroma Oblast) where it was discovered; and it contains the Primary and Kievan chronicles.<sup>168</sup> Not unlike other Rus' chronicles, the original manuscript for the *Hypatian Codex* from the late thirteenth century has not survived, and the copy that is available today hails from the fifteenth century.<sup>169</sup> The instance in question pertains to the year 1252, for which the codex recounts a meeting between Prince Danilo Romanovych of Galicia and an envoy of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II to discuss an ongoing war between the latter and the former's ally, King Bela IV of Hungary. The chronicle states:

The [Hungarian] king rode forth with them [i.e., Frederick's envoy] to meet Prince Danilo, and Danilo approached him with all his troops in battle formation. The Germans marveled at [their] Tartar armor: all of the horses had mail over their heads and [their bodies] were covered with leather, and the riders [also] wore armor. And the splendor of his regiments was indeed great due to the luster of their weapons. [Danilo] himself rode at the king's side in accordance with the traditions of Rus'. The horse he rode was wondrous to behold and his saddle was of pure gold. His arrows and sword were adorned with gold and other ornaments, so that one did not cease marveling at them, [while he himself was dressed in] a fur-coat trimmed with Greek *olovir* and gold lace and boots made of green leather stitched together with gold. The Germans

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<sup>167</sup> For the Mstislav Lectionary (Historical Museum, Moscow, ms. 1203), see Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 37–42. For the description and an illumination from the Liturgy of St. Barlaam of Khutyn (Historical Museum, Moscow, ms. 604), see Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 47–48. For the lectionary from Moscow (Historical Museum, Moscow, ms. 2), see Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 95–96. Although Popova's monograph contains many more examples of this style and expression of a Romanized Rus' identity in illuminated manuscripts, the ones mentioned here show that the *Ostromir Gospel* was likely the beginning of a trend rather than a singular case.

<sup>168</sup> *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, trans. Perfecky, 7–11.

<sup>169</sup> *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, trans. Perfecky, 11.

could not cease staring and admiring [all of this] and the king told [Danilo] that his coming [to him dressed] in accordance with the traditions of Rus' and of his forefathers was more important to him than a thousand pieces of silver. Danilo asked for permission to enter the king's camp, because it was extremely hot that day. [The king, i.e., Bela] took his arm and led him into his tent, undressed him, and put his own clothes on him. Such was the [great] honor that the king bestowed upon [Danilo], and he returned home.<sup>170</sup>

This passage recounts a unique situation that requires unpacking. The mentioning of Prince Danilo's troops being marveled at as they wore Tartar armor (a term used to describe people of central Asia such as the Mongols and Turks) shows us that this was likely during the Mongol occupation of the Rus'. According to historian Roman Hautala, the Rus' were in a state of gradual submission to the Mongols between 1237 and 1260, placing this meeting in 1252 toward the end of this period.<sup>171</sup> Among the striking descriptions in this text are those of Danilo's gold-adorned saddle and weapons and his gold-lined coat. By itself, the appearance of gold is not out of the ordinary, as it was a material commonly used to denote royalty, divinity, or high status in general. But the term "Greek olovir" raises some questions about the Rus' prince's regalia, for, despite the chronicle's claim that the change of dress to that of the Hungarian king, was a great honor, there appears to be an issue of protocol. I agree with historian Alexander Maiorov who highlights King Bela's reaction in order to show that Danilo's dress was not common for a prince of Rus'.<sup>172</sup> Against the opinion of historians Sergey M. Solov'ev, Nikolay I. Kostomarov, and Ivan P. Kryp'iakevych, who have argued that the chronicle is describing King Bela's delight at Danilo's attire for being the traditional attire of Rus' and his forefathers, Maiorov maintains that the Hungarian king was "in fact expressing his disapproval of the prince's appearance, which he saw as a breach of not only diplomatic etiquette but also of 'the Rus' tradition'."<sup>173</sup>

Maiorov then turns to the term *olovir*, which only appears in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, its etymology, and its meaning in Byzantine sources: *olovir* translates to "a special type of silk that was dyed purple and had limited and reserved uses in the empire," and this type of silk likely came into Rus' in the form of military trophies and diplomatic gifts.<sup>174</sup> Maiorov explains that it was not possible to buy this type of silk on the free market, and instead suggests that, while the text does not mention this (since the first portion of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* has been lost), *olovir* probably referred to clothing given to Danilo's father, Roman Mstislavich, by the Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos as a reward for military assistance and in connection with Roman's marriage to Princess Anna-Euphrosyne Angelina, the daughter of Emperor Isaac II

<sup>170</sup> *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, trans. Perfecky, 61–62.

<sup>171</sup> Roman Hautala, "Russian Chronicles on the Submission of the Kievan Rus' to the Mongol Empire," *Golden Horde Review*, no. 1 (2013): 207.

<sup>172</sup> Maiorov, "Byzantine Imperial Purple in Ancient Rus'," 508.

<sup>173</sup> Maiorov, "Byzantine Imperial Purple in Ancient Rus'," 508.

<sup>174</sup> Maiorov, "Byzantine Imperial Purple in Ancient Rus'," 509–516.

Angelos.”<sup>175</sup> Due to the Mongol invasions, the absence of source material covering the early Rus' is a common issue. Roman Hautala explains just how destructive the Mongols were when he states that, “for the first time in [their] history, the Russian population faced full-scale extermination with the destruction of chief towns.”<sup>176</sup> In the year 1238 alone, “the Mongols destroyed 14 cities in 3 months, with the administrative centers of Chernigov, Kiev, and Halych (the former capital of Galicia) being among them.”<sup>177</sup> As a result of this destruction, certain parts of Rus' history are left up to educated guesswork. Yet, despite the unclear specifics of how Prince Danilo came to own this imperial silk, the fact that he possessed and chose to wear it along with his traditional fur-coat and leather garb is a point of intrigue. Since this occurred during a time when the principalities of Rus' were disintegrating and occupied by the Mongols, wearing only the traditional garb of a conquered people would not likely be seen as legitimizing; this would especially be the case in a meeting with the ruler of a powerful entity like the Holy Roman Empire. When added to the backdrop of his soldiers and horses wearing the armor of his Mongol overlords, the Rus' prince could have easily appeared as not sovereign or as a Mongol puppet-ruler. However, since Danilo was the son of a Byzantine princess (Anna-Euphrosyne Angelina) and the grandson of a Roman emperor (Isaac II Angelos), he would have had access to this type of imperial silk, he had an impetus to wear it, and he would have felt a sense of legitimacy via his Roman heritage. Therefore, a possible explanation for this (in the eyes of the Hungarian king) breach of diplomatic protocol might be that the Rus' prince was invoking a sense of *Romanitas* to be taken seriously. Viewed by itself, this wardrobe incident could easily be explained away, but viewed alongside the other evidence from architecture and art, this appears to be yet another case of Romanized identity in medieval Rus' that connects the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

### Conclusion

This analysis of medieval Rus' faith, myths, and artistic expressions suggests that their Romanized identity started with their tenth-century baptism and manifested itself in various forms well before Philoteus of Pskov's famous letter to Grand Prince Vasili III, written between 1515 and 1521.<sup>178</sup> The *Laurentian Text* shows us that Vladimir I's marriage to Anna Porphyrogenita and the official baptism of the Rus' in 988 started a trend, as later princes would continue to marry into Roman dynasties and continue to glorify the Orthodox faith. Moreover, the chronicle indicates that comparisons between the great leaders of Rus' and those of the Romans may have started as early as 1015. Later in the eleventh century, Hilarion of Kiev's “Sermon on Law and Grace” portrayed a political and religious identity

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<sup>175</sup> Maiorov, “Byzantine Imperial Purple in Ancient Rus’,” 524.

<sup>176</sup> Hautala, “Russian Chronicles on the Submission of the Kievan Rus’,” 207.

<sup>177</sup> Hautala, “Russian Chronicles on the Submission of the Kievan Rus’,” 211.

<sup>178</sup> Editor's comments in *Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850–1700*, ed. Dmytryshyn, 259.

that placed the Rus' as a separate entity alongside Byzantium, while also working within a Byzantine framework. Lastly, the adoption of military saints, which had begun as a Roman tradition, became a core feature of Rus' liturgy through the veneration of Princes Boris and Gleb, and continued well into the thirteenth century.

Textual myths also demonstrate this *Romanitas*, as the eleventh-century tale of St. Andrew's consecration and prophecy of Kiev's construction gave the city a central status as a Christian and Rome-like "locus." Then, during the rise of Muscovy and after the end of Mongol occupation (1480), this Romanized identity re-emerged with a prophecy that the Russians would liberate and reign in Constantinople, the Second Rome. And the *Tale of the Grand Princes of Vladimir of Great Russia* claimed a lineage for the Rus' that dated back to Augustus, thus providing the rulers of early-modern Russia with legitimacy as the Tsars of the soon-to-be Third Rome.

The Rus' also expressed their Roman-ness via their architecture, art, and garb. Grand Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich legitimized the Kievan Rus' as an Orthodox Christian entity in the eleventh century by building St. Sophia Church in Kiev, modeling it after Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and decorating it with precious items, Greek inscriptions, and Byzantine mosaics such as that of the hippodrome. The *Ostromir Gospel* of 1056–1057 is the earliest among other illuminated manuscripts that show a unique Rus' identity while incorporating Byzantine trends. Lastly, Prince Danilo's wearing of Byzantine regalia in the thirteenth century shows that *Romanitas* may even have been a means to show legitimacy and continuity during Mongol occupation. While these instances either predate or coincide with the idea of "Moscow as the Third Rome," it is important to emphasize that this idea could not have come to fruition as long as the Byzantines were still clinging to power at the Bosphorus and the Rus' subordinated to the Mongols. Thus, it was the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the Mongol withdrawal after the Battle of the Ugra River (1480) that made it possible for the Russians to become the heirs of this legacy and the self-proclaimed protectors of Orthodoxy; these events gave Philoteus of Pskov's early sixteenth-century proclamation legitimacy and served as a point of departure in the following centuries.

More research can be done on Russia's Romanized identity. For example, Peter the Great, who greatly expanded Russia's territories in the early eighteenth century, held Roman-like triumphs to commemorate great victories, took the title of *imperator* (emperor), and *pater patriae* ("father of the fatherland," a common title given to the emperors of imperial Rome); Catherine the Great, who further expanded Russia's domain, conceived a "Greek Project" that entailed retaking Constantinople, and established Russia as the protector of the Orthodox faith; Alexander I could have invoked this protector role and invaded the Ottoman

Empire to retake Constantinople; and Nicholas I was within striking distance of the Second Rome but decided against taking the city.<sup>179</sup>

Russia's Romanized identity not only aided in establishing the religious and political identity of Rus' and created legitimacy for Russia's Tsars, it became the basis for Russia's imperial doctrine in the modern era. However, scholars have attempted to marginalize this idea as something that sixteenth-century Muscovites did not believe in and only non-experts of Russian history perpetuate.<sup>180</sup> While I do agree with Marshall Poe and Daniel Rowland that the "Moscow as the Third Rome" doctrine has been used to oversimplify the motives behind Russia's expansionist policies, it is also an oversimplification to marginalize it as rhetorical flattery; and hinting at the sixteenth-century idea of Russia as the New Israel misses the point that the Rus' had been working within a Roman-Byzantine frame of reference for centuries. Attempts to disregard the doctrine seem especially harmful now, as the modern era has proven to be more ominous. For instance, in 2010 Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and Metropolitan Ilarion took part in a discourse on Russia's current identity and have recently called Russia the Third Rome.<sup>181</sup> They have explained that it is Russia's role to "save the West and all mankind from degradation and from falling under the power of the Antichrist."<sup>182</sup> It was supposedly under this pretense that Patriarch Kirill ventured to Poland in August 2012 to effect reconciliation.<sup>183</sup> The Patriarch has also traveled to the former lands of Kievan Rus' to give sermons and speeches in which he has referred to the lands of Valaam and Moscow as the "holy lands" while others are either "ancient" or "blessed" lands.<sup>184</sup> More significantly, Kirill made a symbolic visit to Ukraine in 2009 to commemorate the day of Holy Prince Vladimir (d. 1015), and this has since become a regular occurrence.<sup>185</sup> The claim that it is Russia's role to save the world

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<sup>179</sup> For a history of Peter the Great's reign, see Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great: The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Peter the Great's triumphs are described in Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013). For the reign of Catherine the Great, see de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*. Alexander I faced a quandary when the Patriarch of Constantinople was killed by the Ottomans during the Greek revolt in 1821; see Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy* (London: I.B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2013), 289–307. For the reign of Nicholas I, see William Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I, Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

<sup>180</sup> Poe, "Moscow, the Third Rome," 413; Rowland, "Moscow – The Third Rome or the New Israel?," 591.

<sup>181</sup> Natalia Naydenova, "Holy Rus: (Re)construction of Russia's Civilizational Identity," *Slavonica* 21, no.1–2 (2016): 37–48.

<sup>182</sup> Mikhail D. Suslov, "'Holy Rus': The Geopolitical Imagination in the Contemporary Russian Orthodox Church," *Russian Social Science Review* 56, no. 3 (2015): 51.

<sup>183</sup> Suslov, "'Holy Rus': The Geopolitical Imagination," 52.

<sup>184</sup> Suslov, "'Holy Rus': The Geopolitical Imagination," 55.

<sup>185</sup> Suslov, "'Holy Rus': The Geopolitical Imagination," 52–54.

from the Antichrist echoes the fifteenth-century prophecy that Russia will retake Constantinople and appears to have been morphed here. The fact that the Patriarch has ventured into the lands of the former Russian Empire and Kievan Rus' further shows how Russian identity is still tied to the notion of a single state. Historian Marlène Laruelle eloquently explains the rationale for this need to continue the idea of Russia as the Third Rome when she states: "the collapse of the Soviet Union made it a *post-mortem* emblem of a defunct world that can only be recreated discursively."<sup>186</sup> On the surface, this ideology seems innocuous and even optimistic as the Russian Orthodox Church seems to be making peace with fellow Christians in lands of a shared heritage. Moreover, the ideology provides Russians with a stable identity in the post-Soviet era. However, while the words and actions of Kirill and Ilarion may seem peaceful, Mikhail D. Suslov concludes that their ideology "rejects rational dialogue with the secular world, making it too dangerous a toy for ideological games."<sup>187</sup>

Russian nationalism revolves around the concept of the "Russian idea" which derives from a body of works that includes the doctrine of "Moscow as the Third Rome."<sup>188</sup> Between February and March 2014, Russian President Vladimir Putin mobilized his army, annexed the Crimean Peninsula in Ukraine, and made a speech shortly after.<sup>189</sup> In this address, Putin recalled the shared history of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine as those of the descendants of the Rus', and he rationalized his actions by explaining that the Crimean Peninsula was the location of Grand Prince Vladimir the Great's baptism and ultimately belonged to the Russian people. Historian Grzegorz Przebinda explains that "this vision of [the] shared history of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine, originated by Vladimir's baptism in the Crimea, is close to both Putin and most of Moscow-Orthodoxy hierarchs, led by Patriarch Kirill I Gundyayev."<sup>190</sup> Przebinda argues that Putin is "using the Orthodox Church and its Patriarch for military and propaganda actions in Ukraine and for cementing the Russian idea in Russia itself."<sup>191</sup> Another significant factor in this situation are the contradictory ideologies of the Russophile and Ukrainophile schools, which both claim the legacy of Rus';<sup>192</sup> a most pertinent

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<sup>186</sup> Marlène Laruelle, *Russian Nationalism: Imaginaries, Doctrines, and Political Battlefields* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 11.

<sup>187</sup> Suslov, "'Holy Rus': The Geopolitical Imagination," 57-58.

<sup>188</sup> Laruelle, *Russian Nationalism*, 127.

<sup>189</sup> Tor Bukkvoll, "Why Putin Went to War: Ideology, Interests and Decision-Making in the Russian Use of Force in Crimea and Donbas," *Contemporary Politics* 22, no. 3 [Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis] (2016): 267. For Putin's speech shortly after annexing the Crimean Peninsula, see Editor, "Full Text of Putin's Speech on Crimea."

<sup>190</sup> Grzegorz Przebinda, "The Third Baptism of Rus: The Participation of Moscow Orthodox Church in Putin's Expansion in Ukraine," *Przegląd Rosycystyczny* 4, no. 148 (2014): 5.

<sup>191</sup> Przebinda, "Third Baptism of Rus," 6.

<sup>192</sup> Taras Kuzio, "National Identity and History Writing in Ukraine," *Nationalities Papers* 34, no. 4 (2006): 409.

point in the Russophile doctrine is the claim that the “Ukrainians only appeared in the mid-seventeenth century with the sole purpose of re-uniting themselves with Russia.”<sup>193</sup> This has been a recurring theme in Putin’s rhetoric and has resurfaced in recent times. Initial research for this article began in the Spring of 2020, and as of its writing in the Winter of 2021 and early Spring of 2022, Putin’s threat to invade Ukraine has become a dark reality. While it is debatable whether Putin actually believes in this doctrine, “Moscow as the Third Rome” has provided a convenient opportunity for him in his religious and nationalistic rhetoric to reclaim lands of the former Soviet Union and, perhaps even more so, of the former Russian Empire—and the idea of “empire” (Russian *империя*, from the Latin *imperium*) is certainly closely associated with *Romanitas*. Since the “Moscow as the Third Rome” doctrine is an extension of an identity that formed over a thousand years ago, continuing to marginalize and underestimate it can only be detrimental to Ukraine, the West, and the world.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Michael A. Conti of Mission Viejo, California, earned both a B.A. in History with a minor in Political Science (2019) and an M.A. in History (2022) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He served as an editor for volume 49 of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History” (2022). The article published here is based on his M.A. thesis.*

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<sup>193</sup> Kuzio, “National Identity,” 409.

Scott Terlouw

*God's Own Country:  
Race, Religion, and the Development of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay focuses on the centrality of slavery to the creation of white American identity in colonial Virginia. Using legislation from the Virginia Colonial Assembly stored at the British National Archives in London and accessible via the Adam Matthew "CO 5 Colonial America" database, it first discusses the growth of slavery within the larger context of servitude, then the deliberate connection of enslavement with race in colonial law, and finally the role of religion in upholding slavery. It argues that the development of slavery throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflected changes in concepts of servitude, race, and religion and contributed to the formation of white colonial identity.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; American colonial history; British colonies; Virginia; colonialism; slavery; identity; race; religion; legislation*

*Introduction*

From the arrival of the first enslaved Africans at Jamestown in 1619 to the massive slave estates of the American Founding Fathers, slavery has been woven into the fabric of the American experience. The arrival of the first African slaves in Virginia marked a shift in the development of white colonial identity. Throughout colonial Virginia, *whiteness* became central to the development of a distinctly *American* identity, tied to concepts of freedom and liberty. As Virginia legislation explicitly tied *blackness* to slavery, the lived experiences of both white colonists and enslaved people reveal the many ways early American colonists bent concepts like race and religion to suit the exploitation of their fellow man. This essay argues that the development of slavery throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflected changes in colonial concepts of servitude, race, and religion.

Using evidence from Virginia's colonial legislation, it became apparent how colonial law bound slavery to skin color and justified enslavement on the basis of religious Scripture. This essay explores how the development of slavery as an institution shaped the ways white Virginians defined their own identity and concepts of personhood and liberty, as well as the methods used to enslave non-whites within the colony. It utilizes primary sources from the colony of Virginia stored in the British National Archives in London and accessible via the Adam Matthew *CO 5 Colonial America* database. The documents referenced below range from 1662 to 1736, capturing a time span of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when slavery both grew and was cemented under colonial law. By looking at early documentation of colonial slave codes, I hoped to understand the methods by which colonial administrators both justified and codified the treatment of the enslaved. I set out hoping to find letters and first-hand accounts of slave experiences, but upon searching the database, it was from colonial legislation that I drew most of the evidence for this essay. This was revealing. White colonists, particularly administrators and the colonial elite, did not take the time to write personal accounts of their slaves' experiences. Slaves, in the white



colonial mindset, were property, and a slaveholder would no more write of his livestock than he would of his slave. What emerged was a picture of dehumanization through numeration, as slaves' births and deaths were counted on lists and ledgers, void of humanity.<sup>1</sup> The lived experience of the enslaved in the Virginia colony has largely been left out of the historical record, as their voices were never recorded. What is left is a look into the hearts and minds of white Virginians and how the brutalization of an entire group of people was commonplace, an enshrined part of colonial life. The lack of resources from non-white voices led me to shift the direction of this essay. Rather than focus entirely on the lived experiences of the slaves themselves (which are largely absent from the historical record), I chose to center this essay around the startling ways white colonists upheld the institution of slavery.

By analyzing the language of colonial legislation, the relationship between colonists and the enslaved paints a fascinating picture of cognitive dissonance. Couched in the language of the law, what emerged was a glimpse into the minds of white, colonial Virginians. In these documents, white colonists were always careful to uphold themselves as honest, hard-working Christians, while at the same time damning an entire group of trafficked people to slavery. Colonial law both justified and ameliorated guilt for the treatment of African slaves. For instance, when comparing laws that listed punishments for indentured servants compared to those which stipulated punishments for black slaves, far more than just the difference in treatment stood out. Laws that permitted the causal killing of slaves illustrated the deep insecurity and fear surrounding race upon which the colony was founded. White colonists had to hold the moral high ground, while at the same time protecting themselves from the very real possibility of slave uprisings. White colonists used daily violence and a culture of oppression to ensure that their slaves remained obedient; at the same time, they used Scripture to project their moral and spiritual authority over the enslaved.

The first section of this essay looks at the ways "servant" and "slave" became separated under colonial law, and the way this reflected changes in the concepts of servitude in the colony. Next, it addresses how race became central to the legalization of slavery in the colony; it also seeks to bring Native American experiences into the narrative of slavery by looking at how Native Americans fit into both the system of indentured servitude and slavery practiced in the Virginia colony. The final section of this essay turns to religion and the many ways white Virginians used Christianity to justify and uphold the evils of slavery.

### *I. Slavery and Indentured Servitude*

Colonial Virginia was built upon the backs of forced labor, both indentured and enslaved. The treatment of white indentured servants, however, was markedly

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<sup>1</sup> Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

different from that of African slaves. While both were vital to setting up a colony in the New World, far away from the comforts of England, labor from white indentured servitude would be replaced by the emerging slave economy. Tobacco and other cash crops were grown on the backs of slave labor, as white colonists imported enslaved men and women from the western coast of Africa for work in the fields of Virginia. Many of these slaves worked alongside white indentured servants, European men and women too poor to make their own way to the colonies and start an independent life.

While their work may have been similar, both the treatment and legal status of the two classes of laborers could not have been more different. White indentured servants were protected under colonial law from abuse at the hands of their masters, and the law stipulated that, should a master behave improperly or abuse a servant, it had to be ensured that “the servant have remedy for his grievances”<sup>2</sup> in a court of law. Slaves had no such recourse under colonial law and were not considered legal persons in their own right. The protections afforded white servants under Virginia law are clear in the punishments of unruly servants, who would be punished with additional time added to their servitude, or, at worst, time in the stocks or lashings.<sup>3</sup> For African slaves, however, lashings were always stipulated as punishments for unruly behavior, along with brandings, beatings, and other forms of physical violence.<sup>4</sup>

Rather than purchase indentured servants whose terms of service were limited, it proved more lucrative for Virginia planters to purchase vast numbers of slaves who would serve for life. Compared to the cost of an indentured servant, slaves were more expensive upfront; however, the enslaved were not paid wages and remained the personal property of their owners in perpetuity. Furthermore, the enslaved had no legal personhood that protected them from abuse at the hands of their enslavers. As colonial law enshrined slavery as a lifetime condition, enslaved Africans suffered at the hands of their white owners, who perpetrated upon the enslaved acts of violence and abuse with the knowledge that the Virginia law protected the rights of white men to do with their property as they saw fit.<sup>5</sup>

A quality shared by both servants and the enslaved, however, was their status as taxed members of the community. This was evident in that *both* servants and the enslaved were considered taxable and tithable; however, neither group was

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<sup>2</sup> “Cruelty of masters prohibited, 23 Mar 1662,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697, from The British National Archives, *CO 5 Colonial America* [database], accessed May 18, 2022. All subsequent references pertain to the same database and were accessed on the same date.

<sup>3</sup> “Against unruly servants, 23 Mar 1662,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697.

<sup>4</sup> “An act for punishment of fornication, and several other sins and offences, 24 Sep 1696,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697.

<sup>5</sup> “An act about the casual killing of slaves, 20 Oct 1669,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697.

responsible for the taxes owed to the county or parish, rather it was their masters who were responsible for paying those fees on their behalf.<sup>6</sup>

The condition of bondage for indentured servants and the enslaved was contingent upon different factors. White men and women were kept as servants for a pre-determined length of time, most often not exceeding a decade. Enslaved Africans in Virginia, however, had their freedom made dependent on the condition of the child's mother.<sup>7</sup> By cementing enslavement as a status for life, colonial legislation removed any possibility for enslaved Africans to achieve their freedom without the intervention of their white enslavers. To contemporary Europeans, the idea that a white Christian should keep another white Christian as anything but a servant was unthinkable, but from the establishment of colonial Virginia, colonial law enshrined the slavery of black Africans at the hands of white colonists. Race, therefore, became the contingent factor upon which enslavement was founded.

## II. Slavery and Race

Colonial belief in the superiority of the white race over non-whites underpinned all language that surrounded slavery. By exploring the way that Virginia legislation laid out the societal and legal expectations meted out to whites, blacks, and Native Americans, it is apparent how white Virginians used race as a means to both organize the hierarchy of the colony as well as justify abuses perpetrated by whites upon the enslaved. By looking at the lived experiences of non-whites in colonial Virginia, it also becomes apparent how white colonists viewed their place in the colonial hierarchy. White men in Virginia viewed it as their duty to uphold order within the colony. Slavery as an institution intrinsically connected to race, and the visibility of a slave population was central to the development of the colonial sense of white identity. In many ways, white Virginians defined themselves—and their rights and liberties—*against* those of the enslaved. Even when free, non-whites were not permitted to keep a white Christian as a slave or servant,<sup>8</sup> as if race and servitude were bound together; it would have never been appropriate in the eyes of white colonists for a non-white to keep a white person as a servant, based on the inherent worth given to white people and denied to the enslaved. Non-whites were, however, able to keep others of “their own complexion” as servants and enslaved labor. Thus, even for free people of color, race was an inescapable fact of life. The condition of slavery was inexorably tied to skin color, leaving white colonists free to abuse non-whites based on the codification of white skin as superior, both morally and legally, to black skin.

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<sup>6</sup> “An act concerning titheables born in the country 24 Sep 1672,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662-1697.

<sup>7</sup> “An act for punishment of fornication, and several other sins and offences, 24 Sep 1696,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662-1697.

<sup>8</sup> “An act declaring no Indians nor negroes to buy Christian servants, 3 Oct 1670,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662-1697.

White identity also centered around a need for white men to protect their community, either from unruly slaves or enemy native tribes. White men were required to carry their "Arms, Ammunitions, and Accoutrements"<sup>9</sup> when they gathered on Holy Days, to enforce order in the case of a slave insurrection. White identity became focused around the premise that, without white men, order would dissolve, chaos would reign in the New World, and "savage" natives and enslaved blacks would indiscriminately destroy the white way of life. Skin color also became a way by which whites organized the social relations of their colony: to protect the racial integrity of the colony, ministers were forbidden from marrying whites and non-whites.<sup>10</sup> White identity became contingent upon the ability to enslave and keep non-whites who were deemed property or, at the very least, potential property. White identity defined itself in contrast to the experience of black slaves, as colonists outlined in legislation the numerous freedoms they, as white Britons, were entitled to, while in the same breath curtailing any liberties enjoyed by non-whites. Punishments that stipulated thirty lashes for any non-white that should strike a white colonist stood in stark contrast to the fines and other punishments for white colonists guilty of the same crime.<sup>11</sup> Freedom under the law was vital to the sense of independence held by white colonists, and the denial of these rights to the enslaved cemented white colonists' sense of entitlement and ownership over the New World.

That enslaved Africans suffered daily violence at the hands of their white colonial masters cannot be overstated. Brutality and oppression were a way of life on a slave plantation in colonial Virginia, and the heavy workload, poor living conditions, and abuse led to increased mortality and lower birth rates among the enslaved. According to a ledger of births and deaths in Virginia between 1725 and 1726, slave births occurred at half the rate of white births, and slave mortality was double what it was for white colonists.<sup>12</sup> Movement of non-whites was highly restricted under colonial law, with black people forbidden from gathering, "especially on Holy Days wherein they are exempted from Labour."<sup>13</sup> Such gatherings of non-whites were a source of fear for white Virginians, as the large black population in some locations outnumbered the white population. The

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<sup>9</sup> "Proclamations concerning the assembly, the militia and slavery, 29 Oct-1 Nov 1736," Virginia to the Board of Trade, 1736-1740.

<sup>10</sup> "An act concerning servants and slaves, 23 Oct 1705," A collection of all the Acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1740.

<sup>11</sup> "An act concerning servants and slaves, 23 Oct 1705," A collection of all the Acts of assembly, 1662-1740; "An act declaring the negro, mulatto, and Indian slaves within this dominion to be real estate, 23 Oct 1705," A collection of all the Acts of assembly, now in force, in the colony of Virginia, 1662-1740.

<sup>12</sup> "An account of all births and deaths of free people and slaves within the Colony of Virginia, 15 Apr 1725-15 Apr 1726," Virginia to the Board of Trade, 1726-1727.

<sup>13</sup> "Proclamations concerning the assembly, the militia and slavery, 29 Oct-1 Nov 1736," Virginia to the Board of Trade, 1736-1740.

possibility of a slave revolt was always at the forefront of the colonial imagination. In order to prevent organized rebellions, numerous acts were passed by the colonial legislature throughout the seventeenth century which established the illegality of enslaved black people to gather.<sup>14</sup>

The presence of Native Americans complicated the racial hierarchy of white Virginians. Native Americans' position within the colonial hierarchy was complex and highly interconnected with trade relations between native tribes and colonial settlers. White colonists enslaved Indians; however; more often than not, this relationship mirrored the indentured servitude of white servants rather than the chattel slavery forced upon Africans. Indian women, in particular, were kept as household servants by white Virginians and were not classified as the personal property of their masters.<sup>15</sup>

While both enslaved Africans and Native Americans were considered taxable members of the community (again, these taxes and tithes would be owed to the parish by their masters),<sup>16</sup> the conditions under which a Native American would be enslaved differed from the experience of black Africans. Most enslaved Africans in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were captured and shipped across the Atlantic in brutal conditions. Native Americans, like Africans, were more often captured as part of tribal warfare and sold by their own race into bondage. Unlike Africans, however, enslaved Native Americans still resided on or near their ancestral land. In cases where Native Americans were shipped long distances, networks of existing tribal relations ensured that Native Americans had a community to turn to for protection in a way that enslaved Africans did not. Perhaps as a way of lessening the colonists' direct involvement (and therefore culpability) in the Indian slave trade, colonial law codified that "all Indians which shall hereafter be sold by our neighbouring Indians"<sup>17</sup> should be considered slaves, revealing most Native American slaves were sold into slavery by other Native Americans. Similar to the enslavement of Africans, it was their own people (or, at least, people that the colonists viewed as a single group) who captured and sold other Native Americans to white Virginians as slaves.

Kinship groups and tribal customs protected Native Americans from the worst abuses suffered by enslaved black people, as good trade relations had to be maintained between white colonists and native tribes. These relations were contingent upon the decent treatment of natives in the service of white masters; should white Virginians have gained the reputation among the tribal nations that

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<sup>14</sup> "Proclamations concerning the assembly, the militia and slavery, 29 Oct-1 Nov 1736," Virginia to the Board of Trade, 1736-1740; "An act for suppressing outlying slaves, 16 Apr 1691," Virginia: Abstracts of laws, 1662-1702.

<sup>15</sup> "An act declaring Indian women servants tithable, 10 Nov 1682," Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662-1697.

<sup>16</sup> "What persons are tithable 23 Mar 1662," Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662-1697.

<sup>17</sup> "An act to repeal a former law making Indians and others free, 10 Nov 1682," Virginia: Abstracts of laws, 1662-1702.

they captured, sold, and abused native people on a massive scale (as was done with Africans), colonial trade relations would have suffered. Economic and trade motivations were crucial for the removal of Native Americans from the institution of slavery throughout the eighteenth century, as colonists relied more heavily on imported enslaved Africans than Native Americans as a source of enslaved labor.

### *III. Slavery and Religion*

Aside from colonial conceptions of servitude and race, religion played a vital role in the formation of slavery under colonial law. Religion was central to the daily life and experience of Virginians throughout the colonial period; therefore, white colonists had to mold slavery—despite being a clear violation of Christian morality—to fit within the moral guidelines of their faith. Upon their conversion to Christianity, either by birth or during arrival to the plantation, slaves were mandated to attend Sunday church services. During such sermons, slaveholders used the Bible to preach messages of docility and acceptance to the enslaved. Passages outlining the work of Biblical servants and the rights of masters over their households were read to slaves as a means of instruction and justification for the brutal servitude and cruelty of slavery. Furthermore, laws surrounding the conduct of the enslaved, as well as outlining punishments for disobedience, were read out at church services on consecutive Sundays, so that no enslaved person in the parish or on the plantation “may have Pretence of Ignorance”<sup>18</sup> about what was expected of them. Black slaves were expected to attend church as both a means of social control and to facilitate communication between colonial officials and often far-flung plantations. Religious services and Sunday sermons became a way of spreading information, both between the colonial administration and their enslaved workers as well as between the enslaved themselves. The fear that black religious gatherings invoked in the white imagination was a direct result of the organizing and communal principles of Christianity that had been imparted to black Africans by the very people who sought to keep them apart.

It should be noted that not all white Christian Virginians agreed on the morality of enslaving non-whites. Even in the seventeenth century, white colonists debated whether those they enslaved, upon conversion to Christianity, should be freed from bondage. Colonial legislation passed in 1667 sought to clarify the issue, alleviating “doubts [that] have risen whether children that are slaves by birth”<sup>19</sup> are freed upon their baptism. Virginia law stated that the baptism of these enslaved infants did not free them from slavery, as the condition of slavery was passed down by the status of the mother, so from birth, it was skin color that decided a slave’s fate, not conversion to the religion of their enslavers. The 1667 act passed in Virginia, which established that baptism did not confer freedom

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<sup>18</sup> “An act concerning servants and slaves, 23 Oct 1705,” A collection of all the Acts of assembly, 1662–1740.

<sup>19</sup> “An act declaring that baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage, 23 Sep 1667,” Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697.

upon enslaved Africans, also explicitly encouraged white slaveowners to baptize those they enslaved,<sup>20</sup> citing the moral imperative for Christians to spread their faith to native non-Christians as part of the so-called *civilizing* mission of colonization. Another act, passed fifteen years later, reinforced the moral imperative of white slaveholders to convert the enslaved, specifically *because* the law did not free enslaved blacks upon conversion.<sup>21</sup> Religion in the Virginia colony was central to white expressions of identity, and by utilizing the Bible to control the lives of the enslaved, white colonists suppressed the cognitive dissonance needed to call oneself both a good Christian *and* an enslaver of one's fellow man.

### *Conclusion*

The complexities in the colonial understanding of race and religion underpinned the laws surrounding servitude and slavery in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial Virginia. White colonists used race as part of a legal framework that justified the differing treatment of white servants and non-white slaves based on the color of their skin. Upon completion of their indenture, whites were permitted to settle in the colony as free men and women. In contrast, enslaved Africans, who worked the same land, were denied this right to freedom solely based upon the color of their skin. Alongside race, religion was used as a means of social control over the enslaved population of the Virginia colony, as white colonists used Christian Scripture as a vindication for the abuses of slavery. Debates on the morality of slavery crept into religious communities, leading many white Virginians to use their faith not simply to defend slavery but to wipe away the stain of enslavement from their immortal soul. The study of the development of slavery as an American institution is critical to understanding the history of mistreatment perpetrated against people of color in the later United States. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as religion and race intersected with Virginia legislation defining servitude and enslavement, people of color were subjected to exploitation and violence that continued past the colonial period and well into the founding of the United States. By 1776, it would seem that the noble pursuit of "Liberty and Justice for All" had only just begun.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Scott Terlouw of Orange County, California, earned a B.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), and is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). The essay published here originated in a seminar on Colonial American History offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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<sup>20</sup> "An act declaring that baptism of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage, 23 Sep 1667," Virginia Acts of Assembly, 1662–1697.

<sup>21</sup> "An act to repeal a former law making Indians and others free, 10 Nov 1682," Virginia: Abstracts of laws, 1662–1702.

Samantha Guzman

*Murderous Accusations:  
Historical Approaches to the Salem Witch Trials (1692–1693)*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay revisits the Salem witch trials of 1692–1693. On the basis of books, articles, and reviews published by historians from the late nineteenth to the early twenty-first centuries, it traces the debate regarding the accusations of witchcraft. It first discusses the impact of a puritanical worldview, and it then considers the effects of the Cold War, social history, gender studies, geography, physiology, culture, politics, and empiricism on the historical lens. It argues that women inheriting property were the most likely targets of the accusations and subsequent trials due to the perceived threat they posed in a patriarchal society.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; American colonial history; Puritanism; Salem witch trials; Tituba; communism; Cold War; encephalitis lethargica; ergot; heiresses*

*Introduction*

The Salem witch trials have perplexed scholars for almost three and a half centuries. The nine-month-long hysteria from 1692 to 1693 led to over two hundred accusations of witchcraft and twenty executions. This is well documented in the historical field, but what remains a mystery is why society so willingly allowed twenty men and women to be hanged and pressed to death based on the accusations of young girls. Since the early eighteenth century, historical theories about the causes of Salem's witch hunts have ranged from the supernatural to scientific, psychosocial to political, and economic to geographic. Historical works on Salem before the 1950s are sparse, but after that, the controversial debate about the witch trials picked up speed and never slowed down. While they often disagree on the reality of witchcraft, scholars in the early twentieth century and in contemporary times believe that a Puritan worldview is to blame. During the mid-twentieth century, the global spread of communism and the Cold War shifted the historical focus to the effects of mass fear and fraudulent accusations. By the 1980s and 1990s, theories had expanded to include scientific, psychological, and cultural explanations for the trials.

*I. A Puritanical Worldview*

Justin Winsor was a prominent American writer, librarian, and historian, serving as the first president of the American Library Association, the third president of the American Historical Association, and the librarian at Harvard for twenty years. He specialized in early American geography and history and, in 1895, wrote an article, "The Literature of Witchcraft in New England," to analyze the historical debate up until that point. His work focused primarily on Cotton Mather, Thomas Hutchinson, Charles Upham, and George Moore, all of whom were critical figures in the development of groundbreaking theories about Salem that continue to be



cited by historians well into the twenty-first century.<sup>1</sup> Winsor believed Salem's witchcraft accusations were manifestations of a "belief in satanic agencies."<sup>2</sup> He also posited that the Salem trials were "exceptionally humane" in comparison to previous witch hunts, which downplays the atrocities of 1692-1693.<sup>3</sup> Mary K. Matossian would contest this claim in 1982, arguing that Salem was "the worst outbreak of witch persecution in American history."<sup>4</sup> Winsor's writing is well supported by primary documents, references to contemporary historians, and the acknowledgment that research on Salem is highly controversial.

Historians in the mid-twentieth century frequently argued that a strict Puritan worldview had led to the Salem witch trials. William Rowley, who earned his Ph.D. from Harvard and taught history at Amherst College and the State University of Albany, explained in a 1944 article, "The Puritan's Tragic Vision," that the harshness and uncertainty surrounding Puritanism resulted in severe reactions to what appeared to be witchcraft.<sup>5</sup> The Puritans were Protestants who believed in predestination, which is the idea that life is fixed and that a group of elect individuals have been selected by God to go to Heaven. Salem had a culture of suspicion and uncertainty because anyone deemed evil or immoral threatened the collective standing of those destined for Heaven. This could explain why witches were targeted with such hostility. New England Puritans also adopted the medieval notion that the world was a place of sorrow and tragedy that was constantly threatened by the devil.<sup>6</sup> When young girls in Salem began to have visions, the belief that "the devil could be blamed" resulted in accusations of witchcraft.<sup>7</sup> Rowley argued that the majority of Salem realized their mistakes, but because they were too late to change anything, they justified their actions by claiming "the devil [had] led them to it."<sup>8</sup> Ultimately, Rowley failed to explain why the witch hunts geographically happened in Salem and why those who were accused were targeted in particular.

Chadwick Hansen, an American literary critic, also believed that a Puritan worldview affected the trials by pressuring the girls into making accusations of witchcraft. In 1970, American history professor George Waller reviewed Hansen's 1969 publication, *Witchcraft at Salem*. Waller's review does not address any

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<sup>1</sup> Justin Winsor, "The Literature of Witchcraft in New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 10, no. 2 (December 1896): 351-373.

<sup>2</sup> Winsor, "Literature of Witchcraft," 351.

<sup>3</sup> Winsor, "Literature of Witchcraft," 353.

<sup>4</sup> Mary K. Matossian, "Ergot and the Salem Witchcraft Affair," *American Scientist* 70, no. 4 (July-August 1982): 355-357, here 355.

<sup>5</sup> William E. Rowley, "The Puritan's Tragic Vision," *The New England Quarterly* 17 no. 3 (September 1944): 394-417, here 415-417.

<sup>6</sup> Rowley, "Puritan's Tragic Vision," 406.

<sup>7</sup> Rowley, "Puritan's Tragic Vision," 401.

<sup>8</sup> Rowley, "Puritan's Tragic Vision," 406.

psychosocial, political, feminist, and economic theories. Rather, Waller argued that Hansen was a revisionist whose book was imbued with controversy.<sup>9</sup> While Hansen had supported the idea that the accused “were actually practicing witchcraft,” he, so Waller claimed, had intentionally left out facts that disputed his supernatural theory of black magic.<sup>10</sup> By the later twentieth century, most historians would agree that witchcraft was not practiced, but they continued to disagree on the specific causes behind the accusations.

## II. Communism and Social History

By the 1950s, the global spread of communism and the effects of the Cold War had impacted the historical view of the witch hunts. Edmund Morgan was a professor at Yale and Brown who specialized in early colonial American history. In 1950, he published a review of Marion Starkey’s 1949 monograph, *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials*. Starkey had blamed the “delusional” Puritan worldview on the witch hunts while praising the courage of those who had refused to confess.<sup>11</sup> Starkey’s arguments resembled Rowley’s claims of tragic Puritanism, demonstrating how mid-century historians were sympathizing with the accused witches rather than with the accusers. In his review, Morgan equated the public hysteria in Salem to the Second Red Scare in the United States.<sup>12</sup> The Second Red Scare resulted from a widespread fear of communism that led to hysteria, suspicion, and unfounded accusations. In his review, Morgan pointed to many parallels between Salem in 1692–1693 and America in the 1950s.<sup>13</sup> Historians like Morgan, who were experiencing the global spread of communism, were sensitive to how the witch trials had threatened the concept of truth. This was especially alarming to Morgan because the “phony confessions...and admission of inadmissible evidence [had] such a modern ring.”<sup>14</sup> Like in most publications of the 1950s, there is little analysis of the inner psyche or any scientific factors leading up to the witch hunts.

By the 1970s and 1980s, historians began to use interdisciplinary approaches to study Salem, which revealed many alternative causes. John Putnam Demos was an American historian who specialized in social history. Social history came into its own in the French *Annales* school of the 1930s and provided a lens to view the relations between various societal groups. In his 1970 article, “Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth-Century New England,” Demos used a cross-disciplinary approach combining anthropology and psychology to analyze the

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<sup>9</sup> George M. Waller, review of *Witchcraft at Salem*, by Chadwick Hansen, *The Journal of American History* 56, no. 4 (March 1970): 894–895.

<sup>10</sup> Waller, review of *Witchcraft at Salem*, 895.

<sup>11</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, review of *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Inquiry into the Salem Witch Trials*, by Marion L. Starkey, *The American Historical Review* 55, no. 3 (April 1950): 616.

<sup>12</sup> Morgan, review of *Devil in Massachusetts*, 616–617.

<sup>13</sup> Morgan, review of *Devil in Massachusetts*, 617.

<sup>14</sup> Morgan, review of *Devil in Massachusetts*, 616.

individual and collective experiences of Salem.<sup>15</sup> This methodology foreshadowed Carol Karlsen's 1987 compilation of "in depth biological profiles"<sup>16</sup> (and Karlsen's work is addressed further below). Demos believed the best way to understand the actions of the accusers was through psychoanalysis, which is a method of investigating the unconscious mind. This reflects the late twentieth-century shift to a reliance on psychology to understand the witch hunts. Demos analyzed behaviors and demographics to illuminate the pattern of "accusations by adolescent girls against middle-aged women."<sup>17</sup> Demos differed from most historians because he blamed the witch hunts on the tense relationship between mothers and daughters, arguing that the girls were displacing their aggression onto society.<sup>18</sup> According to Demos's unique position, the attacks were a subconscious reaction to the repression of Puritanism, specifically its effect on young girls. Demos also supported the feminist belief that the position of women in a patriarchal society was a contributing factor behind the accusations.

Another eminent scholar in the emerging field of social history was Philip Greven Jr., an American historian and professor at Rutgers University whose work focused on early American families. Greven's 1984 review of John Demos's *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (1982) supported the importance of psychological inquiry in analyzing the trials. Demos had studied genealogical evidence, demographic studies, and biographies to create a very detailed image of the personal relationships in Salem.<sup>19</sup> While Greven disagreed with Demos's ideas of witchcraft, he supported the methodology of combining multiple disciplines to assess the witch hunts. Like Morgan, Greven was affected by the Cold War. The tense relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States influenced Greven's belief that the modern world was still "filled with evil and with evidence of Satan's influence."<sup>20</sup> Greven argued that witchcraft was not gone, just "transformed...into violence and abuse, anger and aggression, and conflict."<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note that Greven believed witchcraft was still a part of society in the 1980s.

### III. Spheres of Gender and Economics

Demos's study of mothers and daughters reflected how historians began to incorporate a feminist lens in analyzing the patriarchal structure of Salem. In her

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<sup>15</sup> John Putnam Demos, "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth-Century New England," *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 5 (June 1970): 1311-1326.

<sup>16</sup> Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 65-72.

<sup>17</sup> Demos, "Underlying Themes," 1324.

<sup>18</sup> Demos, "Underlying Themes," 1322-1326.

<sup>19</sup> Demos, "Underlying Themes," 1311-1326.

<sup>20</sup> Philip Greven Jr., review of *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England*, by John Putnam Demos, *History and Theory* 23, no. 2 (May 1984): 236-251, here 249.

<sup>21</sup> Greven Jr., review of *Entertaining Satan*, 250.

1987 publication, *The Devil in the Shape of A Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, Carol Karlsen, an American historian at the University of Michigan, analyzed how inheritance and biological determinism played a crucial role in the accusations of Salem.<sup>22</sup> Biological determinism is the belief that a person's position in society is predestined from birth. This is derived from Darwinism and the ideas of Herbert Spencer. By analyzing biographical profiles, Karlsen demonstrated that the individuals who were most likely to be accused were heiresses who lacked legal protection and had no male heirs.<sup>23</sup> Her book is significant because it challenged the idea that witchcraft accusations were directed toward a certain social class. It also showed that accusations were political tools used to maintain the status quo. For instance, widows in seventeenth-century colonial America did not receive more than a third of their husband's wealth, so those who did inherit were "aberrations in a society with an inheritance system designed to keep property in the hands of men."<sup>24</sup> Thus, Karlsen's argument connected Puritan ideology and the economic implications of inheritance laws to the impact of a patriarchal society on women.

In *Salem Possessed: The Origins of Witchcraft* (1974), Paul Boyer and Steven Nissenbaum revealed a connection between economics and witch hunts. Boyer was a U.S. intellectual and cultural historian with a Ph.D. from Harvard who focused on the moral and religious history of America from the late seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. Nissenbaum had studied at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and focused on early American history. Neal Salisbury's 1974 review of *Salem Possessed* is significant because it emphasized the boldness of Boyer's and Nissenbaum's approach to the witch trials.<sup>25</sup> Boyer and Nissenbaum are often cited in studies about Salem because they developed the argument that socioeconomic and geographical factors affected the accusers.<sup>26</sup> At this point in time, the sympathy of most historians was shifting to the accusers, who now became viewed as the victims of "economic growth and social change."<sup>27</sup> The accusers, mainly from the village of Salem, had targeted the townspeople of Salem to redirect their misfortune and resentment. Boyer's and Nissenbaum's approach revealed the threat of the "other" and introduced the dichotomous concept of "us vs. them." While frequently ignored, the difference between Salem's village and town is significant. The village was "politically and religiously subordinate" to the town, and instead of a flourishing port, it was "isolated [and] increasingly

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<sup>22</sup> Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 65–72.

<sup>23</sup> Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 70–72.

<sup>24</sup> Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Neal Salisbury, review of *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*, by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *The New England Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (September 1974): 472–475.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Boyer and Steven Nissenbaum, "'Salem Possessed' in Retrospect," *William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 2008): 503–534, here 503–512.

<sup>27</sup> Salisbury, review of *Salem Possessed*, 474.

crowded.”<sup>28</sup> Salisbury’s review is a valuable source to compare to the arguments of mid-century historians, like Rowley, who had solely focused on Puritanism and supported the accused.

In 2008, Boyer and Nissenbaum reviewed their original publication to determine whether new evidence and historical theories would change or support their initial position. Revisiting *Salem Possessed* (1974) thirty-four years after its release, Boyer and Nissenbaum exemplified how historical perspectives on Salem continue to evolve, proving their credibility as historians by allowing outside scrutiny and a personal critique of their work. Throughout their 2008 article, they respond to the scholarly critiques of contemporaries like Benjamin Ray instead of ignoring them.<sup>29</sup> While they had originally believed that their 1974 book would be the last word on Salem, the witch trials continue to be a topic of debate. Their revised (2008) stance was that witchcraft in Salem was a complex psychological reaction to rival factions that developed because of socioeconomic factors.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV. Science and Reason

Historians in the 1980s started to think that a scientific and rational approach to the witch trials would be key to understanding the events in Salem. By this point in time, a focus on the physiological factors behind the witchcraft accusations had developed. Mary K. Matossian, who received a Ph.D. from Stanford and specialized in mycology, argued that food poisoning—producing neurological reactions—had led to the Salem witch trials.<sup>31</sup> In a 1982 article “Ergot and the Salem Witchcraft Affair,” she claimed that an outbreak of ergotism was the root of the accusations. Ergot is a fungus that grows best in cold climates and is most dangerous to those with low body weight. In addition, it grows on rye as “the source of [the hallucinogenic] LSD.”<sup>32</sup> This would clarify why the only people exhibiting symptoms were young girls. Furthermore, the cold growing season in Salem during 1692–1693 would explain why an outbreak of ergotism happened at that time. Matossian examined court transcripts, studied the ecology of Salem, and researched the symptoms of ergotism to back up her claims.<sup>33</sup> Even though the ergot theory was harshly criticized and eventually refuted, its significance was that it focused on physical symptoms. Thus, Matossian proved the importance of focusing both on the origins of symptoms as well as the social reactions to them.

Michael Hall, an expert on Puritan New England, received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. In a 2001 review, he harshly criticized Laurie Winn Carlson’s book, *A Fever in Salem: A New Interpretation of the New England Witch*

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<sup>28</sup> Salisbury, review of *Salem Possessed*, 473.

<sup>29</sup> Boyer and Nissenbaum, “‘Salem Possessed’ in Retrospect,” 513–534.

<sup>30</sup> Boyer and Nissenbaum, “‘Salem Possessed’ in Retrospect,” 530–534.

<sup>31</sup> Matossian, “Ergot and the Salem Witchcraft Affair,” 355.

<sup>32</sup> Matossian, “Ergot and the Salem Witchcraft Affair,” 356.

<sup>33</sup> Matossian, “Ergot and the Salem Witchcraft Affair,” 355–357.

*Trials* (1999). However, Hall conceded that Carlson may have come closest to discovering the cause of the witch trials because she had focused on physiological symptoms rather than the impact of a Puritan worldview.<sup>34</sup> Hall supported Carlson's argument that the accusing girls had been infected by an outbreak of the disease *encephalitis lethargica* (also known as the "sleeping sickness"). During World War I, *encephalitis lethargica* would result in an epidemic in Europe that Carlson called the "Forgotten Pandemic."<sup>35</sup> Hall, Carlson, and Matossian all agreed that a scientific explanation was the best way to explain the witch hunts.

#### V. Implications of Culture and Politics

Other historians in the late twentieth century focused on Salem's cultural background. Elaine Breslaw taught American history for over fifty years and studied early colonial America and witchcraft. In her 1997 article, "Tituba's Confession: The Multicultural Dimensions of the 1692 Salem Witch-Hunt," she argued that the multiethnic facets of the enslaved American Indian woman Tituba caused her to be the first of the accused to confess to witchcraft.<sup>36</sup> Breslaw believed that Tituba's background made her confession believable because her culture was already "associated with demonic power."<sup>37</sup> Thus, Breslaw's argument connected ethnicity and culture to the Puritan worldview. Tituba is a controversial figure in the debate on the witch trials and has usually been blamed for bewitching or tricking the girls into hysterics. Breslaw claimed that Tituba's confession "supplied the evidence of a satanic presence legally necessary to launch a witch hunt."<sup>38</sup> She utilized excerpts from historians like Karlsen and Nissenbaum to back up her hypothesis, mined court records and primary source testimonies, and analyzed the institution of Barbados slavery to create a well-rounded image of Tituba.<sup>39</sup> Although Barlow's article focuses on Tituba, it is a worthwhile contribution to this historiographical debate because Tituba's story is often sidelined. Historians who focus on the socio-political, economic, or feminist aspects of the witch trials often neglect the ethnic-cultural factors, which is why Breslaw's writing is so significant.

Just as Breslaw had proposed that culture had affected the outcome of the trials, Gretchen A. Adams, a professor of U.S. history at Texas Tech University, believed that America transformed the events of Salem into a universal metaphor for persecution. In a 2003 article "The Specter of Salem in American Culture," Adams described how the Salem witch trials are ingrained in the collective

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<sup>34</sup> Michael G. Hall, review of *A Fever in Salem: A New Interpretation of the New England Witch Trials*, by Laurie Winn Carlson, *The American Historical Review* 92, no. 1 (2001): 172-173.

<sup>35</sup> Hall, review of *Fever in Salem*, 173.

<sup>36</sup> Elaine G. Breslaw, "Tituba's Confession: The Multicultural Dimensions of the 1692 Salem Witch-Hunt," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 3 (1997): 535-556.

<sup>37</sup> Breslaw, "Tituba's Confession," 536.

<sup>38</sup> Breslaw, "Tituba's Confession," 536.

<sup>39</sup> Breslaw, "Tituba's Confession," 535-556.

memory of Americans as a warning against aggression and persecution.<sup>40</sup> Collective memory is a shared interpretation of events that is especially vulnerable to prejudice and stereotypes. Adams mentioned that historians like Edmund Morgan had shown parallels between the Red Scares of the 1920s and 1950s and the witch hunts of 1692–1693. Going further back, she explained that Salem had been used by Southerners in the 1850s sectional crisis to denounce the aggression of the North and in the Civil War by the Northern press to “marginalize the most radical factions of the abolition forces.”<sup>41</sup> The use of the witch trials as a tool for political manipulation is like Jan Machielsen’s argument that a historian’s analysis of Salem is a “mirror” reflecting a person’s own worldview. Machielsen (whose perspective is addressed further below) considers each analysis of Salem as such a “mirror” because it reflects personal prejudices, worldviews, and fears.<sup>42</sup> Adams argued that the Salem witch hunts have become a “universally familiar shorthand for the costs of sliding backward into a world of irrationality and superstition.”<sup>43</sup> Her warning against irrationality foreshadowed Sarah Rivett’s 2008 position that the analysis of the trials needs to be grounded in reason for historians to fully understand them.<sup>44</sup>

In more recent years, historians have reverted to focusing on the centrality of Puritanism to the Salem witch trials. Tony Fels is a professor of religious history at the University of San Francisco, and Jan Machielsen is a historian of early modern history at Cardiff University. Machielsen’s area of expertise is witchcraft and its relationship to religion and intellectual movements. In 2018, Machielsen’s article “J’accuse” reviewed Tony Fels’s monograph, *Switching Sides: How a Generation of Historians Lost Sympathy for the Victims of the Salem Witch Hunt* (2018). In this work, Fels had denounced post-1960 historians who were adherents of the New Left movement because, according to Fels, they spent too much time trying to understand and sympathize with the accusers.<sup>45</sup> The New Left movement of the 1960s and 1970s had focused on social issues such as political rights and gender roles. It is interesting to note that Fels’s argument, namely, that the witch hunts were “rooted in a hateful Puritan ideology,” resembled the view of historians like Starkey in the 1950s.<sup>46</sup> Fels’s support of the accused also reflected the arguments of historians like Rowley.

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<sup>40</sup> Gretchen A. Adams, “The Specter of Salem in American Culture,” *OAH Magazine of History* 17, no. 4 (July 2003): 24–27.

<sup>41</sup> Adams, “Specter of Salem,” 26.

<sup>42</sup> Jan Machielsen, “J’accuse,” *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 6021 (August 2018): 42.

<sup>43</sup> Adams, “Specter of Salem,” 24.

<sup>44</sup> Sarah Rivett, “Our Salem, Our Selves,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (July 2008): 495–502.

<sup>45</sup> Machielsen, “J’accuse,” 42–43.

<sup>46</sup> Morgan, review of *Devil in Massachusetts*, 616–617.

For the most part, historians in the twenty-first century now seem to be focused on making the events of Salem as rational as possible. In a 2008 article, "Our Salem, Our Selves," Sarah Rivett, a professor of American Culture Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, uses an interdisciplinary approach to change the view of the Salem witch trials from an irrational event to a rational one.<sup>47</sup> Rivett predicts that future scholarship on Salem will continue to use a "pattern of redaction, rationalization, and explanation."<sup>48</sup> This reflects a very scientific view of history and closely resembles the scientific method. Her article is revealing because it explains the relationship between Lockean epistemology and the emergence of empiricism as it affected the witch hunts. Rivett explains that seventeenth-century philosophers like Bacon and Locke "ensconced their empirical model in uncertainty" and therefore tied together the visible and invisible realms.<sup>49</sup> Spectral evidence was legal during the Salem witch trials, and it is one of the most frustrating parts for historians who are studying Salem. Spectral evidence is no longer allowed in a court of law because it is testimony based on the visions of ghosts. However, Rivett claims that the allowance of spectral evidence in the trials was an attempt by empiricists to "bring evidence from the invisible world into the visible."<sup>50</sup> Despite its shortcomings, "the admission of spectral evidence started as a science."<sup>51</sup> While 1692–1693 predated the Enlightenment, it appears that some of the ideas of seventeenth-century philosophers had already taken root in colonial America.

### Conclusion

Historians have explored many theories to explain why the accusations of witchcraft in 1692–1693 resulted in the deaths of twenty individuals, and they have most commonly focused on the effects of Puritanism. I find it interesting that Rowley in 1944 and Fels in 2018 are almost seventy-five years apart, yet they both agree that Puritanism was the driving cause of the witch hunts. Whether it was the belief in the devil or the repressive Puritan worldview, I agree that religion and culture did influence the outcome. Historians have also searched for a scientific explanation of what happened in Salem. Although their respective attempts are well researched, I disagree that ergot or *encephalitis lethargica* was to blame. It seems to me that the best explanation to date is Carol Karlsen's position that women inheriting property were considered a threat to the status quo in colonial New England. Karlsen has shown why a patriarchal society built on strict Puritan beliefs reacted so severely to women who stepped outside of accepted inheritance laws. Not only does Karlsen's cross-disciplinary approach reveal why inheriting

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<sup>47</sup> Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves," 495–502.

<sup>48</sup> Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves," 496.

<sup>49</sup> Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves," 497.

<sup>50</sup> Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves," 497.

<sup>51</sup> Rivett, "Our Salem, Our Selves," 500.



women were targeted, it also provides a rationale how accusations of witchcraft served as political tools to control the status quo. Perhaps no one will ever know why the Salem witch trials happened, but the lens through which historians view 1692–1693 will continue to reflect how society is evolving.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Samantha Guzman of Fullerton, California earned a B.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). The essay published here originated in a seminar on Historical Thinking offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Clay Kenworthy

*“From the Example of Cornelius”:  
Eighteenth-Century Sermons for Soldiers in Great Britain*

**ABSTRACT:** *The rich history of military chaplains spans centuries and continents. Focusing on eighteenth-century Great Britain and the Anglican Church, this article contributes historical interpretation to a small segment of this history and asks how the military profession and the Christian faith were reconciled in chaplains’ sermons addressed to soldiers. From a close reading of these sermons – and by applying a comparative method, intertextual analysis, and discourse theory – three themes emerge that pertain to this reconciliation of the military profession and the Christian faith, namely, service, conduct, and admonishment against sin.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Great Britain; Church of England; military; chaplains; soldiers; sermons; service; conduct; sin*

*Introduction*

Nor has any Change of Time, Place, or Customs, render’d Religion more difficult to be practis’d by our modern Soldiers: For does a military Life of itself unfit People for Devotion? Are they oblig’d to be vicious, *because* they bear Arms? Must they forsake Christ’s Banner, and forget that they are his Soldiers, as soon as they lift themselves in the King’s Service, and muster under his Colours? Surely no.<sup>1</sup>

This statement by Rev. Thomas Broughton (1712–1777) is as relevant today as it was almost 300 years ago.<sup>2</sup> The debate of whether Christians can or should be soldiers is one that stretches back to the first century.<sup>3</sup> From Broughton’s perspective, the military profession and the Christian faith were not irreconcilable, and his conviction was shared by many other chaplains in eighteenth-century Great Britain. This article investigates eighteenth-century sermons preached to soldiers in Great Britain to understand this conviction and how it was communicated. Through interdisciplinary analysis, comparison, and

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Broughton, *The Christian Soldier: Or, The Duties of a Religious Life, Recommended to the Army: In a Sermon Preach’d Before His Majesty’s Second Regiment of Foot-Guards in the Tower-Chapel, on Their Leaving the Garrison* (London: Printed for C. Rivington at the Bible, and Crown in St. Paul’s Church-yard, 1738), 5–6.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon was preached on October 23, 1737, but was not published until 1738.

<sup>3</sup> Mark Juergensmeyer, *God at War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 87–89. The “just-war theory” was created to justify war for a Christian state and expanded upon by Augustine of Hippo; see Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), 14–15, 91–93. Juergensmeyer, Bainton, and others reference the Edict of Milan (AD 313) under Constantine as the beginning of reconciling war and Christianity; see Dale T. Irvin, and Scott W. Sunquist, “Donatists and Catholics: A Struggle over Holiness and Unity in Roman North Africa,” in *History of the World Christian Movement, Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (New York: Orbis Books, 2001), 169–171; Doris L. Bergen, ed., *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 1, 4–5. However, this neglects the fact that there had been Christian converts in the army during the previous three centuries (e.g., Cornelius in Acts 10) who had had to reconcile their faith and their profession. Some modern military chaplaincies trace their origins as far back as the Old Testament, including the U.S. Chaplain Corps.

interpretation, common themes emerge that help to answer the question of how the military profession and Christian life could be reconciled.

This study is limited to sermons from the Anglican Church and only those that were preached and published in the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It is not intended to determine from a theological perspective whether Anglicans should be soldiers or vice versa. Rather, it is an investigation of how Anglicans preached to soldiers to reconcile faith and soldiering; therefore, it excludes sermons of dissidents and opposition clergymen.<sup>5</sup> It does not seek to establish that the selected sermons represent all themes, rhetoric, and style for their respective soldier audiences; it maintains, though, that chaplains were aware of their audiences and catered their sermons to the soldiers' profession and circumstances.<sup>6</sup> To limit the cultural variable, only sermons preached in Great Britain are used here.<sup>7</sup> This geographical parameter facilitates a focus on the rhetoric chaplains employed on the home front during peacetime and wartime when they were addressing soldiers. In this article, the term "soldier" includes full-time army ("regulars"), militia, volunteers, and pioneers from regiments, corps, or companies;<sup>8</sup> meanwhile, the term "chaplain" denotes any Anglican clergyman who was addressing soldiers.<sup>9</sup>

Chaplains composed sermons to cover themes pertaining to faith, war, and those the soldiers were fighting for. There was no template for chaplains to follow,

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<sup>4</sup> In this article, the terms "Anglican Church," "Church of England," "Anglicans," and "Anglican" (adj.) are used synonymously and reference the same profession of faith.

<sup>5</sup> For such sources, see Gilles Teulié and Laurence Sterritt, eds., *War Sermons* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 130–131. Examples of opposition sermons (i.e., those proclaiming that Christians should not be soldiers) have not been found or were possibly prevented from being published. Dissident sermons also addressed soldiers, but their doctrinal differences convolute the themes discussed here. For an example of these sermons, see Percy Livingstone Parker, ed., *The Journal of John Wesley* (Chicago: Moody Press, 2016), 149, 187, 211.

<sup>6</sup> John Barecroft, *Concionatorum Instructio: Rules for Preaching, Or, Advice to All Novices in that Divine Art [...]* (London: Printed for Jonas Browne [...] and Sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick Lane, 1713), 10–11. There is evidence of sermons given to soldiers without any themes pertinent to their profession; these reconcile military activities and religion indirectly by refraining from any respective language of correction. An example is Benjamin McDowel, *A Charity Sermon, Preached in St. Mary's Abbey Meeting-House [...] at the Request of the First Regiment of Irish Brigade [...]* (Dublin: Printed by William Gilbert, No. 26, Great Georges-Street, [1783?]).

<sup>7</sup> The British Empire outside of Great Britain is excluded. There are great examples of sermons given to soldiers while they were deployed in Europe, North America, and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> This includes artillery companies and garrison regiments; it does not include colonial militia or soldiers in the East India Company army. Naval seamen and officers are not excluded, but available published sermons addressed to them were given while they were on board their ships, not at naval yards or in harbors in Great Britain.

<sup>9</sup> For the ease of the reader, "chaplain" is the term most frequently used. In other sources and scholarly works, other terms appear (e.g., "clergyman," "reverend," or "Anglican priest,"). Since all the selected sermons address soldiers, the term "chaplain" is well suited and applicable. All sermons were delivered by ordained chaplains, so there is no need to differentiate between "lay people," "deacons," or "priests."

aside from their own convictions and their knowledge of Scripture that was relevant to their profession and circumstances.<sup>10</sup> They could use guidelines for preaching sermons, but they had to come to their own theological understanding of how to reconcile the Anglican faith with the military profession.<sup>11</sup>

The rich history of military chaplains spans centuries and continents. Focusing on eighteenth-century Great Britain and the Anglican Church, this article contributes historical interpretation to a small segment of this history and asks how the military profession and the Christian faith were reconciled in chaplains' sermons addressed to soldiers. From a close reading of these sermons three overarching themes emerge that pertain to this reconciliation of the military profession and the Christian faith, namely, service, conduct, and admonishment against sin. The theme of service reflected the argument that military service was also service to God; the theme of conduct challenged soldiers to reconcile violence, death, and professional behavior; and the theme of admonishment against sin reminded soldiers of the correlation between their failings and God's favor.

This article uses a comparative method and intertextual analysis; the latter focuses on the sermons' use of Scripture to establish context and interpret related contemporary issues. It also uses discourse theory for its framework of interpretation; applying discourse theory to sermons helps gain insight into the social, political, religious, and even military historical context that shaped why and how chaplains were using rhetoric, themes, and Scripture.<sup>12</sup> An adapted form of practical theological interpretation is also employed here to create historical questions for the sermons.<sup>13</sup>

Scholarship pertaining to the subject of this article is both helpful and limited. Quite a few of the existing works are interdisciplinary and bring together military, social, and church history, as well as theology, English literature, sociology, psychology, and military science respectively. Eighteenth-century British military

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<sup>10</sup> William Enfield, *The Preacher's Directory: Or a Series of Subjects Proper for Public Discourses* [...] (London: Printed for Joseph Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1771), contains sixty-six subjects for sermons, none of which are specific to soldiers or war. The closest subject pertains to days of thanksgiving, which have a subheading for victories and deliverance from public calamities.

<sup>11</sup> Barecroft, *Concionatorum Instructio*. This discourse was a mainstay for much of the century as a guide for clergymen to select sermon subjects in addition to methods and styles of preaching.

<sup>12</sup> For discourse theory and the methodology used here, see Robin Wooffitt, *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), 146; Betty Jane Cataldi, "Foucault's Discourse Theory and Methodology: An Application to Art Education Policy Discourse, 1970-2000" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 36-37.

<sup>13</sup> For "practical theological interpretation," see Richard R. Osmer, *Practical Theology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 4. The questions are derived from Osmer's four interpretive tasks: descriptive-empirical (what was happening), interpretive (why this was happening), normative (what ought to be happening), and pragmatic (what was the expected response). These tasks were adapted as follows: Who was the chaplain and when, where, and to whom was the sermon preached? What was the occasion/reason? What themes, Scripture, and rebukes were applied? What did the sermon imply or challenge?

and ecclesiastical history have received considerable scholarly attention;<sup>14</sup> however, the analysis of military sermons addressed to soldiers appears to have been neglected. This creates a niche of history that could provide new and useful insight across academic disciplines. There are significant scholarly contributions to sermons and sermon culture in this period, but they rarely include military history. Gilles Teulié's and Laurence Sterritt's collection *War Sermons* (2009) exemplifies both a similar framework and interpretative approach, but it covers the entire past millennium and encompasses much of the western hemisphere.<sup>15</sup> Considerably more focused is Paul Kopperman's 1987 journal article "Religion and Religious Policy in the British Army, c. 1700–96."<sup>16</sup> While Kopperman's study shares the geographical and chronological parameters of this article, it primarily concerns itself with the structure, challenges, and function of the military chaplaincy and the army rather than the content or rhetoric of sermons.<sup>17</sup> Other, more comprehensive works apply the comparative approach on a national level.<sup>18</sup>

The most influential scholarly works for this article include Warren Johnston's 2020 monograph, *National Thanksgivings and Ideas of Britain, 1689–1816*, which analyzes hundreds of sermons pertaining to days of National Thanksgivings to identify trends,<sup>19</sup> as well as James Downey's 1969 study, *The Eighteenth Century*

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<sup>14</sup> For British military history in the eighteenth century, see Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket*, 1<sup>st</sup> American ed. (New York: Norton, 2002); Kevin Linch and Matthew McCormack, eds., *Britain's Soldiers: Rethinking War and Society, 1715–1815* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014). For British Church history during this period, see William Gibson, *The Church of England, 1688–1832: Unity and Accord* (London: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Teulié and Sterritt, *War Sermons*, xi–xiii. This collection of essays analyzes sermons from the Middle Ages to the present and sorts them roughly by century. It looks at the evolution of attitudes toward war and the use of rhetoric within military sermons from several Christian denominations ("military" referring here to the content, not the audience, of the sermon); it also addresses how sermons were used to encourage support for war, especially through the intertextual use of Scripture and just-war theory.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy in the British Army, c. 1700–96," *Journal of Religious History* 14, no. 4 (1987): 390–405. This article addresses the British army's state of spiritual health; it shows how the army mismanaged the chaplaincy throughout the century and the benefits missed due to not having a religiously disciplined army.

<sup>17</sup> See also Michael Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department 1796–1953: Clergy Under Fire* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2008). Snape's framework resembles Kopperman's but concentrates on the official development of the military chaplaincy in Great Britain.

<sup>18</sup> For an example, see Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined: Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch, and Swedish Public Churches, 1685–1772* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Ihalainen shows the relationship between sermon and political rhetoric and to what extent clergy rhetoric concerning national identity became more secular and shaped national identities.

<sup>19</sup> Warren Johnston, *National Thanksgivings and Ideas of Britain, 1689–1816* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020). Going well beyond the scope of this article, Johnston's work addresses sermons from throughout the British Empire, including those by dissenting clergymen.

*Pulpit*, which evaluates sermons from six famous British preachers.<sup>20</sup> Methodologically, this article follows these works by presenting and interpreting excerpts from selected sermons. Works that have helped inspire the historical questions for each sermon include Jennifer Farooq's 2013 monograph, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, and James Joseph Caudle's 1995 Ph.D. dissertation, "Measures of Allegiance: Sermon Culture and the Creation of a Public Discourse of Obedience and Resistance in Georgian Britain, 1714–1760;" both provide analyses of sermons preached in London during the period in question.<sup>21</sup>

The primary sources used in this article encompass sixteen period publications containing twenty-nine military sermons made available through a database, "Eighteenth Century Collection Online."<sup>22</sup> Eight sermons in particular serve as key evidence below;<sup>23</sup> these eight provide the best examples to show how chaplains conveyed the conviction that being a soldier was not contrary to the tenets of Christianity. While other documents, such as letters and journals, may provide more personal perspectives, they do not offer the same broad appeal as sermons.<sup>24</sup> This is true for both chaplains and soldiers (who may have remembered or understood sermons differently than they were delivered). The public nature of sermons makes interpreting them similar to interpreting normative texts: they tell us at least as much about how things "are" as they tell us about how things "should be." What is said in these sermons provides context to and draws context from contemporary issues (whether perceived or tangible).<sup>25</sup> What is not explicitly said is also telling: an emphasis on the need to be righteous might imply that sin was a concern. Sermons, like normative texts, also do not indicate how people

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<sup>20</sup> James Downey, *The Eighteenth-Century Pulpit: A Study of the Sermons of Butler, Berkeley, Secker, Sterne, Whitefield and Wesley* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

<sup>21</sup> Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013); James Joseph Caudle, "Measures of Allegiance: Sermon Culture and the Creation of a Public Discourse of Obedience and Resistance in Georgian Britain, 1714–1760" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1995).

<sup>22</sup> Gale, "Eighteenth-Century Collection Online," [online](#).

<sup>23</sup> Due to its exemplary content, Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, is used in two parts.

<sup>24</sup> Broughton expressed the spiritual need for soldiers to have copies of a popular Christian discourse, namely, *The Christian Monitor* (which was in its 44<sup>th</sup> edition in 1761): Thomas Broughton to George Germain, "Concerning Planned Distribution of the 'Christian Monitor' to the Armed Forces," June 27, 1776, CO 5/154 Part 2, The National Archives (UK); John Rawlet, *The Christian Monitor: Containing an Earnest Exhortation to an Holy Life [...]*, 44<sup>th</sup> ed. (London: Printed for John Beecroft, at the Bible and Crown in Pater-Noster-Row, 1761).

<sup>25</sup> A perceived issue could be the threat of invasion requiring men to volunteer, see Robert Acklom Ingram, *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Churches of Wormingford and Boxted, Essex, on Sunday, April the 29th, 1798, to Persuade the Congregations to Form Themselves into Military Associations, and Companies of Pioneers, for the Defence of the Country* (London: Printed for J. Debrett, Opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly, 1798), 3. For tangible issues, such as soldiers' pay and conduct, see Sidney Swinney, *A Sermon, Dedicated to the Most Honourable John Marquis of Granby, Commander in Chief of the British Forces during the Late War in Germany, and to All the General and Subaltern Officers and Soldiers [...]* (London: Printed for T. Evans, at No. 20, in Pater-Noster, 1769), 16–17.

reacted or adhered to them. If a chaplain repeated certain points in multiple sermons, one might think that these particular points were not adhered to, but then, again, repetition is common in sermons.

The sermons used here are as varied as possible to represent the breadth of the material, but there is also some overlap for the sake of comparative analysis and to show the evolution of themes (if there was any).<sup>26</sup> Each theme is discussed on the basis of sermons from different decades, and sermons from both wartime and peacetime are used to avoid thematic bias.<sup>27</sup> Each of the three parts also showcases one sermon that displays a unique perspective from the respective chaplain or his audience. Thus, Robert Acklom Ingram's 1798 sermon is the only one which takes the liberty to explain why Christians should be soldiers in hopes that members of the audience would volunteer for military service.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Broughton's *Christian Soldier* sermon, first preached 1737, is not just an example for a peacetime sermon, but was also a popular text intended for distribution among soldiers. William Agar served as a military chaplain during wartime and, in 1758, published the sermons he had given while on campaign in a collection to address soldiers' spiritual needs;<sup>29</sup> thus, Agar was able to use hindsight to determine what content would be most important. Five of the key sermons discussed below were preached in London, three were preached in different counties of Great Britain, and one was published in London but does not specify its preaching location.<sup>30</sup>

When working with sermons, one of the challenges is the difference between the spoken and the published word. Once it had been delivered, assuming that funding was available, a sermon could be published, requiring the chaplain to review his notes and polish the text for publication.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, what we are left

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<sup>26</sup> For the sampled sermons, the best evidence for thematic evolution pertains to the French Revolution and rise of nationalism; see Joris Van Eijnatten, *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 233–234.

<sup>27</sup> Three of the nine key sermons were given during times of peace. During the French Revolutionary Wars, the perceived threat of invasion was very common (especially during the First and Second Coalitions); see Ingram, *Sermon*; John Davies, *Presentation of Colours, by Mrs. William Garrett, to the Royal Garrison Volunteers, Under the Command of Major William Garrett: A sermon, Preached in the Garrison Chapel, Portsmouth [...]* (Portsmouth: Printed for J.C. Mottley, [1799]); William Jarvis Abdy, *A Sermon, on the Occasion of the General Thanksgiving, Thursday, November 29, 1798: Preached at the Unanimous Request of the Corps of Loyal Volunteers, of Saint John, Southwark, at their Parish Church [...]* By the Rev. William Jarvis Abdy, A.M. Chaplain to the Corps (London: Printed and Sold by J. Hartnell, 153, Tooley-Street, 1799).

<sup>28</sup> This inclusion of an audience of non-soldiers gives insight into the arguments made to recruit Christians to become soldiers on spiritual grounds.

<sup>29</sup> This publication occurred after Agar's deployment in Europe during the Seven Years' War and thus fits the criteria of sermons offered in Great Britain.

<sup>30</sup> The latter sermon is by Swinney. It was likely preached in London, but may have been delivered in Yorkshire.

<sup>31</sup> Cudde, "Measures of Allegiance," 121–122, 821; Farooq, *Preaching*, 74–76. The exception were sermons given on days of great significance, when the rush to print to stay current left

with is, at best, the second iteration of a sermon—not the sermon as originally delivered but, rather, the sermon that the chaplain would have preferred to have delivered. This is a double-edged sword: some wording was likely changed, which detracts from what the audience would have heard; on the other hand, publishing a sermon afforded a chaplain the opportunity to correct any errors and sharpen points to be more effective (for readers). The original notes for the sermons have not survived, though some chaplains claimed that their published sermons were true to their original notes.<sup>32</sup> As a result, printed sermons remain the closest we can get to spoken sermons, and soldiers unable to attend a sermon's spoken delivery would have read these sermons with the attention of first-time listeners.

Eighteenth-century sermon titles are often very long; therefore, citations have been shortened for the reader's ease as much as possible while the most important title elements have been retained. The sermons usually share a clear structure that begins with a quotation from Scripture, a short introduction, and an initial explanation of the Scripture; this is followed by the sermon's main points, practical applications, and a conclusion.<sup>33</sup> Due to this common format, the sermons used as key evidence below are presented and interpreted "step by step," in their paginal order, to convey their original discourse and thematic emphasis. Other sermons are supplemented to illustrate particular Scripture use and thematic elements, or to establish certain rhetorical features. Sermons routinely contained uncited Scripture, and Scripture was often seamlessly woven into the chaplain's own wording. In the analysis below relevant Scripture is referenced to establish context; and all Scripture is presented in the King James Version, which was Britain's "standard" Bible during this century.

Each of the three parts below ("Servant," "Soldier," "Sinner") is dedicated to one of the sermons' overarching themes for the reconciliation of the military profession with the Christian faith, namely, service, conduct, and admonishment against sin. Then, within each part, three key sermons serve as primary evidence for a thematic element or perspective which may pertain to the chaplain (and his experiences), the soldiers who were the audience for the particular sermon, or the sermon's historical context. These themes and thematic elements are, of course, not exclusive to the specific sermons used here; in many cases a sermon includes several of them. The key sermons were selected because they illustrate a respective thematic element or perspective particularly well. The first part analyzes the theme of military service and how the chaplains presented it as a of service to God; the second part examines the theme of how Christian soldiers could reconcile their faith, mortality, and conduct; and the third part discusses the different types of sins chaplains focused on in order to admonish soldiers to be faithful and, thus,

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chaplains unable to fix even spelling errors from their notes. There is no clear evidence of this being the case with regard to the sermons analyzed here.

<sup>32</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 7. Abdy asserts as much in his sermon.

<sup>33</sup> Farooq, *Preaching*, 7.



retain God's favor for their nation. The conclusion summarizes the main findings and provides perspectives for future research across academic disciplines.

### *I. Servant*

Servanthood is a core characteristic of being a soldier and being a Christian. It comes as no surprise, then, that the theme of service was commonly employed in sermons addressed to soldiers. This part details the types of service that, according to the chaplains' sermons, Christian soldiers were fulfilling as part of their professional and spiritual duties, namely, service to their king, service to their country, and service to one another. Through these types of service, soldiers were serving God.

For Christians, the call to service is threefold: service to God, service to one another, and – especially relevant for the rhetorical implementation in the military chaplains' sermons – service to authority. These types of service are based on the notion of submission: submission is required of a servant. The theme of submission to God is consistent throughout the Bible, but a good example is James 4.<sup>34</sup> According to Matthew 22, serving God is accomplished through serving and loving one another.<sup>35</sup> A servant is expected to be humble; therefore, service given with respect and submission to governing authorities and employers is an extension of service to Christ – as established in Romans 13 and Colossians 3.<sup>36</sup>

With regard to the military, requirements for service or servanthood are more direct. In the eighteenth century, military service was either volunteered or forced through impressment.<sup>37</sup> Servant-like characteristics were expected of soldiers; this maintained military order by promoting obedience, respect of the chain of command, and patriotic duty. A soldier, especially a volunteer, was seen as serving his king, country, and family.<sup>38</sup> These characteristics of servant soldiers take center stage in the sermons of military chaplains.

#### *I.1. Serving King, Serving God*

The first sermon considered here for the theme of service was published in 1715 and preached by Rev. Gershom Rawlins. Rawlins was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1686; he received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Harvard University in 1705 and then his Master of Arts in 1744.<sup>39</sup> After earning his Bachelor's degree, he taught for six months at the grammar school at Woburn,

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<sup>34</sup> See James 4:6–7.

<sup>35</sup> See Matthew 22:37–40. See also 1 John 4:21.

<sup>36</sup> See Romans 13:1, 5; Colossians 3:23–24.

<sup>37</sup> Nicholas Ian Kane, "'Arms an Employment': Motivations for Enlisting in the 18th Century British Army" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 2019), 10.

<sup>38</sup> Kane, "Arms an Employment," 41–43.

<sup>39</sup> Harvard University, *Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates 1636–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1930), 173.

Massachusetts.<sup>40</sup> Sometime between 1706 and 1715, he relocated to London, was ordained, and appointed as chaplain to Richard Newport, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bradford.<sup>41</sup> Rawlins's move to London was an honor to both him and Harvard, as he was one of only five Americans selected for ministry service in Great Britain under episcopal orders.<sup>42</sup> In 1744, after Rawlins had served for many years as an ordained minister of the Anglican Church in London, the Corporation of Harvard College voted to confer upon him the degree of Master of Arts.<sup>43</sup> The year of Rawlins's death is somewhat of a mystery, with London papers mixing him up with another minister who died in December 1757, while Harvard University records list him as deceased in 1757, 1758, and even 1763.<sup>44</sup>

On September 18, 1715, Rawlins preached a sermon to the Second Regiment of Foot Guards in Hyde Park, titled *Great Britain's Happiness Under the Wise and Just Government of a Protestant King*.<sup>45</sup> This sermon was delivered on the anniversary of King George's arrival in Great Britain, one year earlier, for his coronation.<sup>46</sup> Hyde Park was used as a military camp, as a place for discipline and executions, and for troop reviews throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Rawlins's sermon is an example of a thanksgiving sermon. Thanksgiving sermons reflected the historical, political, or religious importance that a particular day held for the nation, as well as the need to observe it together through worship. Such sermons, like Rawlins's, often used theme-related Scripture as a foundation to contextualize current circumstances within a greater political and divine plan.<sup>48</sup>

Fittingly, Rawlins's sermon promoted the advantages of King George as Britain's sovereign. This served a twofold purpose: it encouraged soldiers that their monarch was supported by the Church, and it asserted the king's right to rule as supported by the blessings of God. It was crucial for soldiers to have faith

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<sup>40</sup> Albert Matthews, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. 26, Transactions 1920–1922* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1923), 4.

<sup>41</sup> Matthews, *Publications*, 4; John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 396.

<sup>42</sup> Matthews, *Publications*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Matthews, *Publications*, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Harvard, *Quinquennial Catalogue*, 173; Matthews, *Publications*, 3–4, 8. London magazines confused Rawlins with the dissenting minister, Rev. Richard Rawlin. No evidence has been found to support that Rawlins ever dissented from the Church of England.

<sup>45</sup> Gershom Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness under the Wise and Just Government of a Protestant King: A Sermon Preach'd before the Second Regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards, at the Camp in Hyde-Park [...]* (London: Printed for Thomas Corbet; and Sold by R. Burleigh, 1715).

<sup>46</sup> Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy*, rev. ed. (London: Random House, 1996), 272–276. I refer to King George I simply as "King George" because he was called "King George" at the time the sermon was written; further mentions of King George II or King George III in this article include their regnal numbers.

<sup>47</sup> Paul Rabbitts, *Hyde Park: The People's Park* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Ltd., 2015), 37, 47–49.

<sup>48</sup> Johnston, *National Thanksgivings*, 31.

in their king, especially since there had been public unrest due to the transition to the House of Hanover and the start of the Jacobite Rising of 1715 only days before the sermon.<sup>49</sup>

Rawlins opens his sermon with 2 Chronicles 9:7, "Happy are thy Men, and happy are these thy Servants which stand continually before thee, and hear thy Wisdom."<sup>50</sup> He then describes the context and meaning of this Scripture, explaining that the Queen of Sheba had spoken it in amazement at King Solomon, at his people's happiness, and at the source of it all: God.<sup>51</sup> Once he has done so, Rawlins draws the parallel that King George is like Solomon, since both create a happiness in their subjects that stems from their king's "Wisdom and Zeal for the *Protestant Cause* in general, and the hearty Concern he [i.e., King George] has already shown for the Honour and Interest of our Excellent *Establish'd Church* in particular."<sup>52</sup> Rawlins impresses upon the soldiers that King George is not just a wise ruler, but a defender of their faith and a supporter of the Church of England.<sup>53</sup> This seemingly simple concept serves as the basis for the sermon's subsequent four points which are intended to demonstrate that God has approved this king and that service to him will bring great rewards.

Rawlins first three points work in unison by describing that the king is a gift of God, that this gift is a token of God's love for his people, and that this is a pledge from God to prosper their nation.<sup>54</sup> Throughout these first three points, Rawlins uses comparisons to King Solomon to promote the idea that service to King George is the appropriate way to secure happiness with God. At the same time, Rawlins also intersperses pointed remarks against James Francis Edward Stuart, the Jacobite pretender to the throne by comparing him to Solomon's own antagonist, Adonijah, in 1 Kings 1. Rawlins states that "The *Pretender* to this Crown has...Supports from Abroad [France]...[and] Hopes from a mad *Faction* here at Home...to meditate a second *Invasion* from abroad...at the Head of a powerful *Confederate Army*."<sup>55</sup> He contrasts this with "King George's peaceable *Accession* to the *Throne*," which is unlike the "*Pretender's*" actions that have the "Condition of sullyng the Glories of [Britain's] Reign; of prostituting the Honour of her Crown."<sup>56</sup> These points act together to show his audience both what is at stake for the country and where the opposing sides will find themselves with regard to the lawful succession and God's favor. Rawlins thus clarifies the just cause, namely,

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<sup>49</sup> Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 173–178.

<sup>50</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 3.

<sup>51</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 3–4.

<sup>52</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 4.

<sup>53</sup> Caudle, "Measures of Allegiance," 371.

<sup>54</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 5.

<sup>55</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 7–8.

<sup>56</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 8.

that serving King George, God's anointed and rightful king of Great Britain, is the extension of serving God. As Rawlins put it, "let us, my Brethren, lift up our Hearts to GOD in humble Adoration...of His good Providence, and in grateful Acknowledgements of the Wonders of His Mercy to us, in giving us a King in whom *He delighted, to make him His Vicegerent.*"<sup>57</sup>

From his point that King George is God's gift, Rawlins moves to the need to obey the king, making strong claims for such service and obedience to the king:

How reasonable is it, that a King who makes it his chiefest Glory to be *GOD's Minister for our Good*, who is indefatigable in his Endeavours to advance the Glory of his Kingdoms and the Happiness of his People, how reasonable is it that he should be respected by all his Subjects, and treated with all that cheerful [*sic*] Submission, Love and Obedience, which is undoubtedly due to a King who is so remarkably the *Gift of GOD*? This is the *first Ingredient* of our Happiness.<sup>58</sup>

Rawlins establishes the king's character as one that is worthy of the people's submission. If it is the king's "chiefest Glory" to be God's "*Minister for our Good*," then what reason can there be for faithful Christian soldiers not to submit and serve him? Furthermore, how can soldiers attain "Happiness" with God, or in the eyes of their country and its people, if they oppose such a king? Rawlins combines the political and religious cause to assert that the soldiers' service to their king is not merely expected, but the key "*first Ingredient of [their] Happiness.*"

Rawlins's second and third points follow a similar pattern. In his second point, he explains that the king's communion, love, and protection of the Church of England and its clergy are sure signs that he is "*a Token of GOD's Love to the Church and Nation.*"<sup>59</sup> The king is also a stalwart Protestant defender, "*standing in the Gap, to save us from Popery, that [is] worse than Egyptian Darkness, and from Arbitrary Power, that fatal Yoke!*"<sup>60</sup> With this scriptural rhetoric, Rawlins appeals to the soldiers' desire to serve a king who fights for what is right – in the knowledge that God is on their side. Soldiers, much like anyone else, do not want to be on the losing side, especially when their lives are on the line, and this argument makes the call to serve King George more favorable to them.

According to the sermon's third point, the "*Gift*" (the king) is also a "*Pledge*, whereby He [i.e., God] is pleased to assure us of his gracious Design to *establish us for ever.*"<sup>61</sup> Rawlins emphasizes the sanctity of the throne by alluding to Proverbs 16:12 and maintains that God will bless Great Britain as long as they pursue the "*Protestant Interest.*"<sup>62</sup> For the soldiers, Rawlins implies that it is their role to show obedience to their zealous king to help maintain the current, blessed state of the

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<sup>57</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 10.

<sup>58</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 11.

<sup>59</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 12–16.

<sup>60</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 16. For the "*Egyptian Darkness*," see Exodus 10:21–29.

<sup>61</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 16.

<sup>62</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 17. See Proverbs 16:12.

nation through their own faith and by protecting it from the enemies that would corrupt it and bring an end to God's pledge to prosper their nation.

Rawlins fourth point shows that "*Servants and Attendants*" to the king receive "*greater Privileges [and] more valuable Advantages.*"<sup>63</sup> He assures his audience that proximity to the king is not reflective of these privileges: just as the Queen of Sheba had traveled far to see King Solomon, the opportunities for them to be in the presence of their king will likely be infrequent. Thus, these privileges are not material favors given by the king, as may be the case for those at his court and in his household, but ones that "they [can] safely promise themselves, when they have a *wise and just Prince* for their *Master*, who, as he will always be sensible of their Fidelity...[will] take pleasure in rewarding [to them]."<sup>64</sup> It is their privilege and honor to serve the king, and it is to their advantage to faithfully serve both their country and God who will take all this into account on Judgment Day.<sup>65</sup> The soldiers' service to king and country is to the glory of God, because He has established the king and has pledged to prosper the nation. This makes a soldier's service the most noble of causes.

Rawlins describes the privilege of serving a wise and just king, not just in terms of God's favor but also in terms of professional respect. He states that, "with particular Advantage to Men of your Profession, I have purposely reserv'd for this *Part of my Discourse,*"<sup>66</sup> and he then describes King George's personal courage in campaigns in Hungary, Germany, Flanders, and the Morea (Peloponnesus), in addition to his reputation as a "*Master of the Art of War.*"<sup>67</sup> This argument intends to build the soldiers' confidence that they are following a king and commander who is competent. Rawlins drives this point home by reminding the soldiers it had been King George who had reinstated William Cadogan, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Cadogan, a commanding general who had led them successfully during the Spanish War of Succession.<sup>68</sup> With such secular arguments, Rawlins strives to strengthen the soldiers' trust in their king's abilities and promote their willingness to serve him. Rawlins then ties the king's military competencies to the fact that his success in war is in the defense of liberties and religion.<sup>69</sup>

Rawlins's final remarks on the theme of service pit his arguments against the conceivable alternative. His comments are placed to reassure those already convinced and pressure those still unconvinced that it is necessary to serve King

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<sup>63</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 18.

<sup>64</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 20.

<sup>65</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 22.

<sup>66</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 21.

<sup>67</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 21.

<sup>68</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 21; Charles Spencer, *Blenheim: Battle for Europe* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 131,141.

<sup>69</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 21–22.

George and oppose the rebels and those who support their efforts, particularly France and the Papal States:

You are too good Christians to be capable of *Disloyalty*, too sensible of your own Happiness in being Servants to King George, too thoroughly convinc'd, that his *Advancement* to the *Throne* of these Realms, is a *Token* of GOD's *Love* to our *Church* and *Nation*, and a happy *Pledge* of our *lasting Establishment*...[those in sedition are] unworthy of the Character of a *British Soldier*...I doubt not, my Brethren, but you are all in this *Loyal Disposition*.<sup>70</sup>

Rawlins assumes the soldiers' loyalty, and his appeal does three things at once: firstly, he states, "you are too good Christians to be capable of *Disloyalty*." Soldiers would want to agree that they are "good Christians" and thus not capable of being disloyal; this reaffirms their service to God, king, and country. Secondly, Rawlins reiterates his sermon's emphasis on serving King George; King George might be a new king and hail from a new dynasty, but he was nonetheless their king—Britain's king. Thirdly, Rawlins combats any remaining self-doubt by assuring the soldiers of his confidence that they "are all in this *Loyal Disposition*." After this appeal, the chaplain encourages the soldiers to search their own hearts, "as what will advance the Honour of your Profession" and afford them "Serenity of Mind, that Peace and Comfort in your Breasts...and will raise you up to [Heaven]."<sup>71</sup>

## I.2. *Serving Country, Serving God*

Whereas Rawlins's sermon had focused on soldiers serving God by serving their king, Rev. Robert Acklom Ingram delivered a sermon to encourage soldiers to serve God by serving their country. Ingram's sermon is unique in that he encouraged the members of his congregations to become soldiers by forming pioneer companies and military associations.<sup>72</sup> Pioneer companies were raised and attached to regiments to provide labor for entrenchments, fortifications, and mine construction;<sup>73</sup> military associations were locally raised, volunteer-only militia that resembled an armed constabulary but could become part-time units or even home-defense forces.<sup>74</sup> These auxiliary forces were assembled by local communities when they perceived the threat of invasion, civil war, or military weakness during wartime.<sup>75</sup>

Rev. Robert Acklom Ingram was born in 1763 in Wormingford, Essex, the son of Robert Ingram, vicar of Wormingford.<sup>76</sup> He was educated at Dedham Grammar

<sup>70</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 23.

<sup>71</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 23–24.

<sup>72</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*.

<sup>73</sup> Capt. George Smith, "Pioneers," in *An Universal Military Dictionary, Or a Copious Explanation of the Technical Terms &c. Used in the [...] Army [...]* (London: Printed for J. Millan, near Whitehall, 1779), n.p.

<sup>74</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 209, 215.

<sup>75</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 205.

<sup>76</sup> Sidney Lee, ed., "Ingram, Robert Acklom (1763–1809)," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 29 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1892), 15.

School and then at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he received his Bachelor of Arts degree as well as the title of senior wrangler (top mathematics student) in 1784.<sup>77</sup> He then took a position as tutor and fellow at Queen's College, and he began working on his Master of Arts degree in 1787.<sup>78</sup> In addition to teaching, he became a moderator for Queen's College in 1790, and he received a Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1796, which led to his appointment as curate of Boxted, Essex (1802), and rector of Seagrave, Leicestershire, shortly thereafter.<sup>79</sup> He started publishing after receiving his Master's degree and was a respected political economist.<sup>80</sup> His many published works included sermons, discourses on Methodism and dissension, population, economics, curricula, politics, and improving the condition of the lower class.<sup>81</sup> In 1803, Ingram became his father's caretaker for the final year of his life, and he himself died four and a half years later, in 1809.<sup>82</sup>

Ingram asked the congregations of Wormingford and Boxted to volunteer for military service on April 29, 1798. At this time, the perceived threats of invasion and military weakness were not unfounded, so his request had merit. Tensions in Ireland were at a boiling point. British papers had reported the arrest of Irish rebel leaders, and while French plans in support of the rebellion had been discovered, the threat of a rebellion lingered.<sup>83</sup> In October 1797, the Treaty of Campo Formio had ended the War of the First Coalition, but Great Britain continued its fight against France and Spain, a fact that was not lost on Ingram.<sup>84</sup>

In light of these developments, Ingram deemed it necessary to ask his parishioners to become soldiers. In fact, his notes reveal that he published his sermon in haste, so that it might be distributed and encourage others to join in the defense of their country.<sup>85</sup> Ingram's sermon opens with Nehemiah 4:14, which states "Be not ye afraid of them; remember the Lord, which is great and terrible; and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses." This Scripture verse sets the tone for Ingram's message and central theme; he does not explain the verse any further, but apparently assumes that the audience is familiar with its meaning, which was ideal for his purposes. As for its scriptural context, the Old Testament leader Nehemiah had gone to Jerusalem (which, at the time, was controlled by Persia) and enlisted the Jews there to rebuild

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<sup>77</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 16.

<sup>78</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 16.

<sup>79</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 16.

<sup>80</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 16.

<sup>81</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 16.

<sup>82</sup> Lee, "Ingram," 15-16.

<sup>83</sup> John Gibney, ed., *The United Irishmen, Rebellion and the Act of Union, 1798-1803* (Havertown: Pen & Sword Books Limited, 2019), 13, 43.

<sup>84</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 6.

<sup>85</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 2.

the wall; he had half of them build and the other half defend their work and homes against hostile neighbors who were opposed to the rebuilding of the wall.<sup>86</sup> To those aware of this context, Ingram's exhortation would have been clear. Even his request that they volunteer in a military association or pioneer company reflects Nehemiah 4:16 where some defend with arms and others build to strengthen the defense.

Ingram follows Nehemiah by reminding his audience of their duty to serve: "You are now called upon, my Christian brethren...by every principle of religious obligation, to proffer your best services in the aid and defense of your country...now threatened by the invasion of an exasperated and ferocious enemy."<sup>87</sup> This notion was not unfounded as France had designs for an invasion of England, but Napoleon refused to command it in favor of an invasion of Egypt.<sup>88</sup> Ingram goes on to say that, in the face of this threat, "it is as much your duty, as men, and as Christians, to be prepared to assist your country by every service it may require of you, in the protection of whatever is most dear to you."<sup>89</sup> Thus, according to Ingram, military service for one's country aligns with Christian and civic obligations and principles. Ingram's rhetoric is inclusive and targets both the men he calls upon to join the military ranks as well as their families. By claiming that their service is for the "protection of whatever is most dear," Ingram prompts the men to think of their loved ones. He does not ask them to campaign on foreign soil as full-time soldiers but, rather, to volunteer in order "to assist" their country in its defense. It is likely that such language was received more positively than any proposal that the men leave their families for distant lands.

Ingram establishes that service for one's country is the duty of a Christian, and he continues his plea by illustrating to his audience what is at stake:

Paint to your imaginations the horrid scene of a country lately fertile and populous, on a sudden, reduced to a solitary wilderness; the houses, barns, and every receptacle for man or beast in flames...your dear wives and children, flying for ever from their long-loved abodes; the springs...polluted with sable [i.e., dark] streams of human blood and gore...with the sighs and groans of wounded, mangled, dying wretches. Such is the mournful catalogue of distresses with which our implacable enemy designs to overwhelm us.<sup>90</sup>

This vivid depiction is designed as a warning of what might come to pass if these men idly wait for the enemy, instead of rising up in defense of their country. In this warning, Ingram incorporates everything they need for their lives, including their "fertile" land (turned to "wilderness") and their farms and homes ("in flames"). Rural communities would have been aware of the hardships that would

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<sup>86</sup> See Nehemiah 2-6; the above is a very brief synopsis.

<sup>87</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 3.

<sup>88</sup> Owen Connelly, *The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1792-1815* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 96.

<sup>89</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 4.

<sup>90</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 5-6.



follow if they would be unable to farm. Ingram then points to wives and children "flying" from their homes. Since he is not mentioning the men, his audience can assume that they are the "wounded, mangled, dying wretches." Ingram's vision of such a violent and terrible future immediately conveys the notion that this can and must be stopped before it can come to pass.

Ingram's call to his Christian parishioners to serve their country is underscored by his description of the enemy. This is a key point for defenders to understand: not just what they are defending, but who and what they are fighting against. Ingram explains that France is seeking "universal dominion" and intent on ruining Britain economically, industrially, militarily, and religiously (as the prosperity of the "country is blended the interest of religion").<sup>91</sup> He informs his parishioners that they will face soldiers who "have flocked to [the French] standard as the only probable means of securing a livelihood" and who have been indoctrinated against Great Britain to "fight with desperation."<sup>92</sup> Such soldiers would be expendable to France, and there would be "ten thousands upon ten thousands" of them.<sup>93</sup> Ingram's description of the enemy has a twofold purpose: firstly, it establishes the nature of the soldiers they will face as villainous; secondly, it shows the callous lengths France is willing to go to defeat Great Britain.<sup>94</sup> Both carry the same message, namely, that the country is in need of men willing to serve.

Ingram then ties this back to his listeners' religious convictions by asking them, rhetorically, "Can you then, with the feelings and principles of a man and of a Christian, remain in a state of hardened insensibility and supineness, till the dear wife...[is taken], the virtue of a beloved daughter sacrificed to the rude assault...[of the enemy], or the tender infant...suspended on the bayonet?"<sup>95</sup> Ingram's gruesome description provokes strong emotions, making it hard to argue rationally against volunteering for the impending struggle. He then turns his attention to the argument that uses faith as a reason to refuse service, which Ingram refutes in no uncertain terms:

I have heard it said, apparently with a view to lull my countrymen into a fatal security, yes, I have heard it said, with a puritanical affectation of superior sanctity, that prayer is the only instrument by which we can hope to repel the attack of an invading enemy. I abhor and despise that man, that makes religion a base mask to cowardice and treachery.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 5, 7.

<sup>92</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 8.

<sup>93</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 8.

<sup>94</sup> James Chartres, *A Sermon: Preached [...] before the Loyal Atherstone Volunteers, of Cavalry and Infantry, on [...] the Day of the Consecration and Presentation of Their Colours [...]* (Atherstone: [Printed for the Author], by James Harris, and Sold by R. Leigh [and seven others], 1800), 4–5. This sermon includes a similar description of the soldiers employed by France.

<sup>95</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 9.

<sup>96</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 9–10.

His point here is to clarify that prayer without action is not faith. It is, at best, a lazy faith that wants or expects God to intercede so that they do not have to act, and, at worst, a veil to hide cowardice. Even worse, so Ingram, is that this argument is used to "lull my countrymen into a fatal security" that gives false hope. He likens this to a farmer who prays for an abundant harvest but does not plough or plant in season.<sup>97</sup> His perspective is that not serving your country is tantamount to contributing to its demise. Ingram explains that God has given them the means to defend and serve, to be courageous and have honor, and the "means of national security."<sup>98</sup> He refers to figures from the Bible, such as Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, and Samuel, who utilized these qualities of "heroic ardour" and "patriotic emulation," and who faced their enemies through faith.<sup>99</sup>

Ingram's tone becomes more inspirational when he focuses on how Christian virtue is fulfilled by serving God and country. He notes that there is still great strength in Britain, and that being united is key to their success, a reference to both their unity to volunteer for their country and to the impending rebellion in Ireland.<sup>100</sup> He references Matthew 12:25 ("Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand") to promote unity in order to avert defeat. Ingram also points out that political differences are of little consequence when the nation itself is at risk, saying that the dangers posed to it are "the only object at this moment, worthy of a Briton's consideration."<sup>101</sup> Ingram blames France, not the British government, for continuing the war, noting that France has refused peace negotiation twice.<sup>102</sup> He then points to the differences between French and British notions and realities of liberty: the French, he argues, claim to possess true liberty but repeatedly abuse the liberties of the Dutch, Swiss, Italians, and even those of their own countrymen;<sup>103</sup> the British, meanwhile, "may...have not much property to lose; but you have some comforts and accommodations...Mean and poor as your cottage fare may be, would you consent, as cowards, to surrender it to the enemies of your country?"<sup>104</sup> Ingram blurs the wealth divide to unite his countrymen in their cause: it does not matter how rich or poor their home is; the only thing that matters is their willingness to defend it.

Next, Ingram turns his focus on the clergy and on himself. He explains that it is the role of the clergy to serve their country and their congregations by providing inspiration and by upholding Christian and British virtues. He asserts that "it will

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<sup>97</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 10.

<sup>98</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 10.

<sup>99</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 11.

<sup>100</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 11-12.

<sup>101</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 13.

<sup>102</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 14-15.

<sup>103</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 15-17.

<sup>104</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 18.

be my peculiar province to give you counsel and advice under every difficulty...to devise means for your security...to support...the most helpless and defenceless of my parishioners."<sup>105</sup> Ingram reassures his congregation that he, too, will serve. His defense is in aid of their spiritual "security," and he vows to protect the "most helpless and defenceless," namely, the widows and orphans. Ingram does not need to persuade widows and orphans; rather, their inclusion here is intended to reassure the men who are volunteering: if they should die in defense of their country, Ingram will look after their families. He then explains his role in inspiring them:

It will be my province also to inspire, with the ardour of patriotic emulation, those brave and loyal men amongst you, that have engaged in the defense of every dear object, to remind them of the virtues of their ancestors, and the long-established character of British courage.... [When] you are summoned...in the service of your country...to my care...you will resign the dearest objects of your affections.<sup>106</sup>

The inspiration Ingram is providing here is twofold: firstly, he promises that he will instill courage in the soldiers who volunteer by reminding them of their "British courage." It is noteworthy that he points to "British" and not Christian courage, as he has just referenced several courageous, God-fearing men from the Old Testament; thus, he is using "British" courage as a cultural identifier to incite the men. Secondly, there is inspiration in his claim of mutual service. The "brave and loyal men" who are "summoned" to serve and defend their country leave their families behind in Ingram's care: as they defend the country, he will serve them by caring for their families. Ingram's statement also suggests that those men who do not volunteer (even though they are able to do so) are not "brave and loyal." Any arguments directed against him for not risking his own life are dismissed by his acknowledgment that he is prepared to serve as well because "my country, I know, has an equal claim to the faculties of my body...whatever services my country may demand of me, or may appear necessary for your security, I shall act...with the approbation of a superintending Providence."<sup>107</sup> This represents Ingram's own convictions, as clergy were exempt from military service and facing difficulties when trying to recruit military chaplains.<sup>108</sup>

Ingram closes his sermon with words of comfort, a warning, a call to action, and a reminder of God's promises. His comfort is that the French will face "almost insurmountable" obstacles that are common to all invasions but compounded by Britain's defense and the "valour of Britons."<sup>109</sup> Here, Ingram's weaving of Scripture into his prose is particularly skillful:

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<sup>105</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 19–20.

<sup>106</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 20.

<sup>107</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 21.

<sup>108</sup> Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 393.

<sup>109</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 21.

*Be not afraid then, nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude that cometh against us [2 Chronicles 20:15]. At least, we are sure, that our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us, and we hope and trust, that he will deliver us [Daniel 3:17]. If the Lord our God is with us, to help us and to fight our battles [2 Chronicles 32:8], we may be assured, that more is with us than with them [2 Kings 6:16].*<sup>110</sup>

These portions of Scripture verses are not referenced explicitly; rather, they illustrate Ingram's familiarity with the Bible, as well as his oratory skills, to compose an artful, cohesive message for his congregation. These Scripture verses also share a common theme, namely, overcoming fear (of death and battle) through faith. Ingram follows this by warning them "to repent of every transgression" so that they can receive "divine pardon" and thus be more able soldiers with clear consciences.<sup>111</sup> This is not only important for the volunteers' spiritual state, but also for the quality of service they can provide. Ingram reminds them that their "divine pardon" is supported by their "discharge of every duty...our country demands of us, to which we are impelled by every tie of affection, and every principle of Christian obligation."<sup>112</sup> This call to action is reciprocal: the zeal they show in their service to their country fulfills their Christian obligation and vice versa. Finally, Ingram reminds his audience that God will deliver them to peace soon, and that they "shall shortly be reassembled together in this place to return our unfeigned thanks to Almighty God."<sup>113</sup>

### *I.3. Serving Army, Serving God*

The third theme of service explains how serving one another – be it family, friends, or fellow soldiers – serves God. A sermon by Rev. John Davies illustrates this especially well. Aside from a few mentions in journals, little information is available on the life of John Davies (who has a rather common name). He received his Bachelor of Arts from St. Mary Hall, Oxford.<sup>114</sup> In September 1785, he was offered the lectureship of Newport, Isle of Wight, which had become vacant due to the death of Reverend Edwards.<sup>115</sup> Davies's sermon, preached on May 29, 1799, received a published review which remarked that his words were "plain and stirring" and "no doubt, gratified the hearers," but that it was otherwise unexceptional and that no other sermons of his were published.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 21–22.

<sup>111</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 22.

<sup>112</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 22.

<sup>113</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 23.

<sup>114</sup> Henry Press Wright, *The Story of the 'Domus Dei' of Portsmouth, Commonly called The Royal Garrison Church* (London: James Parker & Co., 1873), 26.

<sup>115</sup> "Country News," *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, September 3, 1785, 3, The British Newspaper Archive, [online](#).

<sup>116</sup> Wright, *Story of the 'Domus Dei'*, 27; *The British Critic* [...], vol. 14 (London: Printed for F. and C. Rivington, 1799), 197. Researching Rev. John Davies is difficult since there were several other contemporary eponymous clergymen, and references to them are sometimes indistinguishable.

Davies preached his sermon on the occasion of the Royal Garrison Volunteers being presented their "colours."<sup>117</sup> In Britain, the presentation of "colours" is a ceremony that dates back centuries, but it was formalized in 1760 when new regimental "colours" (flags) were bestowed and consecrated;<sup>118</sup> at this event, it was customary for a sermon to be addressed to the regiment.<sup>119</sup> "Colours" and military chaplains allegedly share the same traditional origins: Martin of Tours, a Christian soldier in the fourth century, had torn his cloak (*cappa*) in half to give it to a cold, starving beggar who, in a dream, subsequently revealed himself as Jesus.<sup>120</sup> Martin later served as Bishop of Tours, his cloak became a holy relic, and he was posthumously revered as a saint.<sup>121</sup> The clergymen who protected the cloak were known in Latin as *cappellani*, translated in French to "chapelains," which evolved into the English word "chaplains;" thus, "chaplains" became the term used for all clergymen serving in the army, and the cloak was symbolically represented by the army's "colours" and standards.<sup>122</sup> According to this tradition, the "colours" have both religious and military importance.

Davies's sermon approaches the theme of military service as a service to God and to one another. It opens with a prayer asking for God's blessing of the "colours." The attributes he ascribes to God, "who breakest the bow and knapest the spear in sunder, and burnest the chariots in the fire," are taken from Psalm 46:9 and evoke God's power to protect them as soldiers.<sup>123</sup> Davies makes clear that their service as soldiers is to God first, praying (with Psalm 44:5) that "in thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us."<sup>124</sup> His prayer is also for the victory over enemies who seek to harm King George III, for whom they carry their "colours."<sup>125</sup> Davies asks that God "gird [the king] with strength unto the battle, and throw down his enemies under him."<sup>126</sup> This implies that the soldiers are representing the king as they fight in battle. This language underscores the idea that the soldiers are not separable from the king, nor is their service.

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<sup>117</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*.

<sup>118</sup> Major R. Holden, "The Vicissitudes of Regimental Colours," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 39 (January-June 1895): 29.

<sup>119</sup> Holden, "Vicissitudes of Regimental Colours," 29.

<sup>120</sup> Adrian S. Hoch, "St. Martin of Tours: His Transformation into a Chivalric Hero and Franciscan Ideal," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50, no. 4 (1987): 472-473; Rachel L. Seddon, Edgar Jones, and Neil Greenberg, "The Role of Chaplains in Maintaining the Psychological Health of Military Personnel: An Historical and Contemporary Perspective," *Military Medicine* 176, no. 12 (2011): 1357.

<sup>121</sup> Hoch, "St. Martin," 474; Seddon, Jones, and Greenberg, "Chaplains," 1357.

<sup>122</sup> Seddon, Jones, and Greenberg, "Chaplains," 1357; Bergen, *Sword of the Lord*, 6.

<sup>123</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, v.

<sup>124</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, v.

<sup>125</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, v.

<sup>126</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, vi.

Psalm 18:39, "Thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle: thou shalt throw down mine enemies under me," is the Scripture that Davies has chosen as the theme for his sermon.<sup>127</sup> This verse establishes that God will equip them with strength to face and be victorious against their enemies. It reinforces that they are in service to God, as He is the one who arms them for battle, not their king or government who physically employ and equip them. Davies uses this Scripture to introduce the providence of God, who "regulates all causes and all effects. He can neither be controled [*sic*] by any force, nor be disconcerted by any accident...Wise in heart and mighty in strength, He executeth the purposes of His will."<sup>128</sup> Launched by this introduction, Davies's sermon cites the belief in a "National Providence" as mankind's greatest consolatory idea through which God will "screen us [the nation] from injury."<sup>129</sup> He continues, "The same Providence, by which Kings reign and Princes decree judgment, encircles with its goodness the destitute stranger, and watcheth for his preservation."<sup>130</sup> He then alludes to the history of the "colours" with reference to St. Martin of Tours. Just as St. Martin had wrapped his torn cloak around the beggar, "Providence...encircles...the destitute stranger." Both St. Martin and the king (through "Providence" by which he reigns) share the concern for watching for the "preservation" of the "stranger" and the country, respectively.

Davies urges the garrison to remain penitent in their hearts, because "He suspends His wrath. *God is patient though provoked every day...he will never remit his concern...Under...[God] we shall dwell safely.*"<sup>131</sup> By remaining penitent, the soldiers can effectively serve God.

But while we devoutly look up to God for deliverance, we must remember that he looks to us as *instruments* of that deliverance. The existing circumstances of the universe in general, and of our own country in particular, too plainly shew, that we are in a situation of unprecedented difficulty and danger...we are placed, singly and alone, in the scale of nations, to maintain social order, moral duty; the laws, the liberties, and the *violated* rights of man. To secure to us the blessings of peace and tranquility...[you] have stood voluntarily forth, and embraced the military profession.<sup>132</sup>

Here, Davies addresses both their role as Christian soldiers – and thereby God's servants – and their cause. Similar to Ingram's message about faith through action,

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<sup>127</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 7. The pagination of this publication uses Roman numerals for the title and preface pages but does not reset the Arabic numerals for the body of the sermon.

<sup>128</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 7.

<sup>129</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 8.

<sup>130</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 8.

<sup>131</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 9. "God is patient though provoked every day" is a variant of Psalm 7:12 (verse 11 in some versions) in the Book of Common Prayer: Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England [...]* (Oxford: Printed by Thomas Baskett, Printer to the University, 1745).

<sup>132</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 10.

Davies views the soldiers as God's "instruments" for deliverance from their current state of war and danger.<sup>133</sup> At this time, Great Britain had been at war with France for seven years and at war with Spain for nearly three years. Davies's assertion that Great Britain is "singly and alone" hints at their social, moral, and lawful superiority as a nation; thus, they are the natural leaders to restore the "violated rights of man." Davies's rhetoric infers that these soldiers are the ones to help "secure" the "peace" that God wants for all nations. Their volunteering for the military fulfills their role as servants in God's plan to bring about peace.

Davies is not insensitive to what this service to God and country entails for these men. He expresses gratitude and praises the soldiers for their patriotism and virtue, "while we lament the necessity which calls for them."<sup>134</sup> He acknowledges that Great Britain owes its security to the sacrifice of these garrison soldiers and to others of the battalion who "guard in formidable array the coasts of their *native* kingdom, or, in *another*."<sup>135</sup> The Royal Garrison Volunteers were a corps of the Royal Garrison Battalion which was deployed primarily in Gibraltar and Jersey,<sup>136</sup> both crucial strategic positions against Spain and France.

In his sermon, Davies then directly addresses the soldiers present. He notes their banner's design as it relates to their service to king and country: their banner had the "ensigns of *royalty*" which was a "distinguished and exalted privilege" that signified a "token of pre-eminence and favour...[a] reward of strict and soldier-like conduct."<sup>137</sup> To be marked with a "royal" standard validates that the king has confidence in them; they represent him in their service, and this would be a source of pride for the soldiers and create an expectation of professionalism in others.<sup>138</sup> It also perpetuates the theme of a service that is worthy of their calling as both soldiers and Christians. Their service has been recognized, and they are now expected to measure up to their title. This is reminiscent of the message in Luke 12:48 that "From everyone who has been given much, much will be demanded; and from the one who has been entrusted with much, much more will be asked." For both Christians and soldiers, service and responsibility are connected. The corps of soldiers addressed here had already proven that their service to their country was voluntary and unconditional: they had dealt with delays in their pay, and they had responded with patience and contentment,

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<sup>133</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 11–13.

<sup>134</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 11.

<sup>135</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 11.

<sup>136</sup> See henceforth Steve Brown, *King George's Army British Regiments and the Men Who Led Them 1793–1815* (Warwick: Helion & Company, 2023).

<sup>137</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 11–12.

<sup>138</sup> Other interpretations may also have merit. As a garrison force, they would see less combat and be under less of a direct threat than other regiments of foot; thus, there was a reduced risk of their (and their monarch's) reputation being damaged by defeat, surrender, or cowardice.

which, as Davies points out, is a credit to their professionalism and to the trust of their superiors.<sup>139</sup>

Davies celebrates their character and service even more when he comments on their role:

You may become, in the absence of *regular* forces, not merely a *local* safeguard and defence;— but to your vigilance may be entrusted the important charge of defending a Garrison, whose consequence to the Empire is no less the subject of *deserved* than *universal* admiration: and whose spacious docks, and immense magazines, for the ready equipment of our vast naval bulwark, stand unrivalled in the annals of the world.<sup>140</sup>

According to Davies, their role as a garrison unit is one of great responsibility and trust. Indeed, the Royal Garrison Battalion had been created to allow "*regular*" battalions to be released from garrison duty for overseas service and campaigns.<sup>141</sup> Therefore, as Davies reminds his audience, their service is of paramount importance to the British Empire and worthy of "*deserved*" and "*universal* admiration." In the middle of the eighteenth century, Portsmouth Dockyard was Great Britain's oldest and most important naval yard;<sup>142</sup> it was also the dockyard that the Royal Navy used for its "spoils of vanquished squadrons" and where its fleets were "collected," which drew the presence of King George III who "celebrated the triumphs of His *Fleets*: and...[gave] gratitude and thanks to [God]."<sup>143</sup>

Davies continues his sermon by citing recent naval victories, their heroes, and the "tried valour and steady discipline of our *Regular Forces*, joined to the *active* co-operation of our *Militia*, and the *provincial armed Associations* which...must wipe away from the mind of every rational man the terrors of *invasion*."<sup>144</sup> Since their garrison corps is deserving of "*universal* admiration," the cited British victories and glories are also theirs: the soldiers of the corps serve their fellow soldiers and sailors; they offer their service to the navy by protecting the naval yard and the munitions used to strike against the enemy; they provide service to "*Regular Forces*" by freeing them from garrison duty to fight the enemy; and they protect Great Britain from the threat of invasion along with their brothers in arms (i.e., the militia and armed associations). By serving one another, they share in the military success and glory against the enemy. This theme of service evokes 1 Corinthians 12:12–27, which establishes that Christian believers all work together, despite their different roles, like many parts of one body, "And whether one member suffer, all

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<sup>139</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 12.

<sup>140</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 13.

<sup>141</sup> Brown, "British Regiments."

<sup>142</sup> Royal Museums Greenwich, "Royal Naval Dockyards," [online](#).

<sup>143</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 13.

<sup>144</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 14–16.



the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."<sup>145</sup>

This theme of service to one another is further promoted by the words spoken during the presentation of the corps' "colours." First, Major Garrett addresses his wife, who presents him with the "colours," stating that "in following the laudable example of our brother volunteers, we may have in any degree contributed to the permanent security and welfare of our country against either its foreign or domestic foes."<sup>146</sup> He then addresses his men, telling them that "the cause they have engaged in, is for the preservation of all that Englishmen hold most dear – their wives, their children, their country and its laws!"<sup>147</sup> Both statements reiterate that the soldiers are engaged in service to something greater. They may only contribute to a certain "degree...to the permanent security" of Great Britain, just like a small part of the body nonetheless contributes to its health but, no matter the degree, their "example" is "laudable" because it is in service to those they "hold most dear." Thus, it is not the nature (or degree) of their service that matters; it is who or what they are serving. Major Garrett concludes by addressing Davies and the Governor, Sir William Pitt, to assure "that being animated with the most zealous ardour for the defence of our King and Country, we will, to the utmost of our abilities, whenever called upon, perform the duties of faithful soldiers and good citizens!"<sup>148</sup>

The notion of enlisting service on earth as an extension of service to God was not a new development, but rather an evolving one. Military service as service to God can be traced back to Old-Testament times. However, the emergence of patriotism and nationalism, as well as the competition between empires, led to threats on a global scale,<sup>149</sup> which in turn impacted how chaplains addressed threats, enemies, and God's providence. This was especially true during the French Revolutionary Wars when the social and political differences between Britain and France grew ever more intense. Consequently, some chaplains dedicated half of their discourse (or more) to these differences and to the impact of war on British commerce, economy, and society.<sup>150</sup>

The use of identity to draw people together for both religion and war was part of a cultural evolution.<sup>151</sup> This cultural evolution is evident in sermons that used British identity as a foundation to denounce Britain's enemies. In a 1723 sermon, John Jackson preached to a regiment of dragoons to "lay aside all Prejudice, Party

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<sup>145</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:26.

<sup>146</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 19–20.

<sup>147</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 20.

<sup>148</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 20.

<sup>149</sup> Bergen, *Sword of the Lord*, 7; Van Eijnatten, *Preaching*, 233–234; Teulié and Sterritt, *War Sermons*, 109.

<sup>150</sup> Chartres, *Sermon*, 2–9; Ingram, *Sermon*, 5–9, 14–17; Abdy, *Sermon*.

<sup>151</sup> Azar Gat, *War in Human Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 103.

and Faction; exert the Spirit of our *British* Ancestors, and like *Christians*, like *Protestants*, like *Englishmen*, unite our Hearts and Hands to maintain...[the country and Church]."<sup>152</sup> This notion of cultural unity reinforced an "us" versus "other" mentality and led to an increase in the respective rhetoric throughout the century.<sup>153</sup> Rawlins emphasized the religious differences between Britain and France, pointing out that King George was the head of the Church of England while France was a Catholic country.<sup>154</sup> Ingram noted the two country's differences in governance and the (British) benefits that separated British and French culture.<sup>155</sup> Discourse on differences usually focused on disavowing the French Revolution as a disturbing and fallacious development.<sup>156</sup> Chaplains imparted on soldiers that their service to Britain—and the preservation of all things British—was the equivalent of service to God.

## II. Soldier

Throughout history, soldiering has featured the same basic requirements, namely, discipline, order, and the ability to defeat the enemy. These have their analogies in the Christian life, although the victory over the enemy is achieved there through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and not by military prowess. Both the military life and the Christian life also share an emphasis on the type of conduct that reflects its respective tenets. For chaplains, the military life presents three challenging themes that need to be addressed: the burden of violence and killing, the danger of death, and the importance of conduct that reflects both military standards and Christian values. Much was a stake with regard to the soldiers' conduct: they had to earn their community's respect because public opinion still associated them with sinful lifestyles for much of the century.<sup>157</sup> Suspicion of the army began to wane after the Militia Act of 1757, but its reputation for sinfulness lingered.<sup>158</sup>

The ability to kill is a necessary skill for an effective soldier on the battlefield but also a counterpoint to Christ's teaching of loving others as oneself.<sup>159</sup> Therefore, the theme of validating the military profession and reconciling it with the Christian faith was an integral part of sermons preached to soldiers, and it

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<sup>152</sup> John Jackson, *The Duty of Subjects Towards their Governors: Set forth in a Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable Col. Charles Churchill's Regiment of Dragoons, At their Camp near Leicester [...]* (London: Printed for J. Knapton, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1723), 28.

<sup>153</sup> Van Eijnatten, *Preaching*, 233.

<sup>154</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 10–14, 16.

<sup>155</sup> Ingram, *Sermon*, 15–19.

<sup>156</sup> Chartres, *Sermon*, 8.

<sup>157</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 203, 215, 218.

<sup>158</sup> Julia Banister, *Masculinity, Militarism and Eighteenth-Century Culture, 1689–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 94; Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 396–398.

<sup>159</sup> Matthew 22:39.

seems that Rev. Thomas Broughton delivered one of the most popular sermons in this regard.

### II.1. Conscience and Faith

Rev. Thomas Broughton was born in Oxford in 1712 to English parents who had taken up residence in Edinburgh (Scotland). He joined the Methodist movement in 1732 and befriended John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. Broughton's sermons were known for their fidelity, candid zeal, and conscientiousness.<sup>160</sup> His style more closely resembled Whitefield's emotional and animated rhetoric than John Wesley's more reasoned and crafted theological arguments.<sup>161</sup> Broughton separated from the Methodist movement in 1738 after a disagreement over the Moravian doctrines, which centered on the point of conversion (gradual or instantaneous) and the merit of works of faith, however the rhetoric, style, and zeal of his preaching remained the same.<sup>162</sup> Broughton was as a fellow of Exeter College, a curate at the Tower of London, a lecturer at All Hallows on Lombard Street, and the secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,<sup>163</sup> a position he held from 1743 until his death in 1777.<sup>164</sup>

Broughton's most famous sermon is *The Christian Soldier*. First preached in 1737 and printed in 1738, it was published in twelve editions during the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century, including a Welsh translation published in 1797.<sup>165</sup> Broughton preached the sermon as part of his official duties while he was curate at the Tower of London, and it was published at the request of the garrison's commander, one Colonel Churchill, and the regiment's officers.<sup>166</sup> The sponsorship of these officers to have the sermon published indicates that it was well received. In fact, of his many sermons, this was one of Broughton's only two published sermons.<sup>167</sup>

Broughton opens his sermon by addressing his "Fellow Soldiers in the Christian Warfare."<sup>168</sup> This establishes him, too, as a soldier, and affirms his

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<sup>160</sup> Luke Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists: Memoirs of the Rev. Messrs. Clayton, Ingham, Gambold, Hervey, and Broughton, with Biographical Notices of Others* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1873), 334–336, 346.

<sup>161</sup> Van Eijnatten, *Preaching*, 14–15; Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 338–339, 345–346.

<sup>162</sup> Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 342–344, 352–353.

<sup>163</sup> Charles William Boase, *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis: Register of the Rectors, Fellows, and Other Members on the Foundation of Exeter College, Oxford*, new edition (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society, 1894), cxlii, 140; Jeremy Gregory, ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II: Establishment and Empire, 1662–1829* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 444.

<sup>164</sup> Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 358–359.

<sup>165</sup> Leslie Stephen, ed., "Broughton, Thomas (1712–1777)," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 6 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1886), 464–465.

<sup>166</sup> Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 336; Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, ii.

<sup>167</sup> Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 352.

<sup>168</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 1.

audience as Christians, which then provides the basis for him to speak candidly. He follows this by expressing his desire that his sermon will "be for the better, and not for the worse," and that they will be patient with him.<sup>169</sup> His wording here indicates that Broughton will not skirt around what needs to be said, so much so that he feels it necessary to ask his military audience to not be turned away by his sermon's contents. Imparting this to his soldier audience is a wise move, as he is about to reprimand them for their sins and to point out the dangers that sin poses to their salvation.<sup>170</sup> However, beyond these reproofs and warnings, Broughton's sermon reads like a manual for reconciling the faith with the military profession, as well as like a template for the character of a Christian soldier.

The central Scripture Broughton uses in this sermon is Acts 10:1-2. Acts 10 relates a pivotal moment in the New Testament and the history of the early Church. It refers to a point in time after Jesus had been crucified, risen, and ascended to heaven, leaving his disciples to share the gospel. Up until Acts 10, the gospel had been spreading within the Jewish communities. Then, in the opening verses of Acts 10, one Cornelius is introduced as the centurion of the Italian Regiment at Caesarea (Maritima), and he is noted as being devout (along with his family), God-fearing, prayerful, and generous to the poor.<sup>171</sup> An angel visits Cornelius, telling him to find the apostle Simon Peter; meanwhile, Peter is directed by the Holy Spirit to go with the men who will be sent to him by Cornelius. Peter and Cornelius meet, and this leads to the gospel (and the Holy Spirit) being shared with the gentiles (i.e., the non-Jewish people), thus ushering in a movement that will spread Christianity over the known world.<sup>172</sup> Acts 10 contains an important qualifier of Cornelius, namely, that he was "respected by all the Jewish people;"<sup>173</sup> this is noteworthy because of the Jews' general animosity toward the Romans, making the respect of the Jews toward Cornelius a testament to his character.

Based on this scriptural context, Broughton calls upon the soldiers to follow the example of Cornelius. It is his goal for them to be both good soldiers and Christians to the point that they will earn the respect of those around them based on the quality of their character. Broughton accomplishes this by first addressing the issue of violence. He uses two New Testament examples of interaction with soldiers, first with John the Baptist and then with Jesus.<sup>174</sup> He cites Luke 3:14 where soldiers ask John the Baptist what they need to do to obtain salvation, and John tells them to refrain from extorting and falsely accusing others, and to be content

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<sup>169</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 1.

<sup>170</sup> Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, 339.

<sup>171</sup> Acts 10:1-5.

<sup>172</sup> Acts 10:6-11. Broughton only references the first two verses of Acts 10, suggesting that his audience was familiar with the chapter and its impact on Christianity, or he assumed they were.

<sup>173</sup> Acts 10:22.

<sup>174</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 2.

with their pay.<sup>175</sup> This biblical reference is also found in a sermon by Rev. George Vanbrugh (some fifty years later) who uses the same examples of both Cornelius and John the Baptist as evidence that "the good Christian and the valiant soldier are perfectly compatible."<sup>176</sup> Broughton, in his sermon, then references Luke 7:1-9, where Jesus commends the faith of a centurion. From this, Broughton concludes that the absence of a reproach against military life on Jesus's part is sufficient evidence in support of it. This argument also appears in Rev. William Agar's sermon on Luke 3:14, which permits violence in defense of the innocent and for the protection of the faith, but condemns acts of extortion and discontent.<sup>177</sup> Broughton then comments on the current state of the army: the military life, he posits, is not wicked, but "too many persons in the Army (to our Grief be it spoken!) are at present exceedingly vicious and corrupt, yet...there are some pious Centurions amongst them, some devout Soldiers of Jesus Christ."<sup>178</sup> He makes the case that the problem is not the army, but that there are "too many" sinful soldiers in it.

The weight of this argument cannot be overstated. Broughton refers to Simon Peter, John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ and their respective show of concern for the soldiers' conduct and faith, not their profession as such. They all could have commented on or even advised a change from soldiering, but they did not do so. This is similar to the interaction between John the Baptist and Jesus, respectively, and tax collectors in which they rebuked sins common to the profession but not the profession itself.<sup>179</sup> Broughton also points to David as the example of a faithful soldier who feared God. Using this reference, he addresses the killing of one's enemies directly:

Then, tho' you should be call'd forth to Battle, like the gallant Son of *Jesse*, you will enter the Field with Courage, hear the Din of War undisturbed, and with your Prayers and Arms, as *David* with his smooth Stones, smite and wound the Head of your Enemies...O blessed Portion of every devout Soldier! He fights with Courage, dies in Peace, and lives in Glory.<sup>180</sup>

The rhetoric employed in this section of Broughton's sermon plainly absolves soldiers of guilt for killing or wounding their enemies in battle. Broughton and the

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<sup>175</sup> Luke 3:14. Broughton used the King James Bible, which translates *διασεισητε* as "Do violence to no man." Most modern translations understand *διασεισητε* as "intimidate" or "shake violently in order to extort;" see *Strong's Greek Dictionary*.

<sup>176</sup> George Vanbrugh, *A Sermon, Preached [...] before Major-General Sir George Osborn, Bart. and many of the Officers and Soldiers of the 40th Regiment, upon the Delivery of the New Colours [...]* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church-Yard [and two others], 1786), 10-11.

<sup>177</sup> William Agar, "Sermon VI: Sober Advice to the Inferior Soldier, to Do no Violence, and Be Content with the Wages," in *Military Devotion: Or, the Soldier's Duty to God, His Prince and His Country [...]* (London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by P. Brindley in Bond-Street [and five others], 1758), 105-109, 111-116.

<sup>178</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 2-3.

<sup>179</sup> Luke 3:12-13; Luke 19:1-10.

<sup>180</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 15-16. See 1 Samuel 17.

soldiers are aware that fighting entails killing or the attempt to kill, yet he exhorts them to do so with courage. Dying in peace implies that there is no reason for their conscience to be troubled; in fact, these devout soldiers will attain salvation ("live in Glory").

Earlier in his sermon, Broughton had detailed the characteristics of Cornelius as worthy of imitation (i.e., being devoted, God-fearing, giving, and prayerful).<sup>181</sup> In his next point, Broughton laments the soldiers' lack of the fear of God. He sharply compares them to Cornelius who did not conduct himself as they do.<sup>182</sup> Broughton then changes his tone to be sympathetic on the topic of charitable giving because of the "Narrowness of [their] Incomes."<sup>183</sup> Yet, his sympathy evaporates when he addresses their frivolous spending of what little money they earn on lust, namely alcohol and women.<sup>184</sup> In the eighteenth century, soldiers' wages were relatively small; in addition to this, they had to purchase their own equipment and mount (for cavalymen), and augment their food rations.<sup>185</sup> This restricted their ability to give charitably and made their spending on sinful activities (drinking, gambling, and soliciting prostitutes) more blatant.

The third point of Broughton's sermon addresses the theme of death. Broughton refers to death as a powerful motivation to repent for everyone, but especially for soldiers, whose case "is generally more dangerous; and the Hazards [they] run, more perilous than that of other Men."<sup>186</sup> He uses the uncertainty of life to exhort soldiers to show a "constant Readiness to die" through their devotion and fear of God.<sup>187</sup> He points out that Britain's current state of peace offers little security to them who "know not how soon the Trumpet may sound, and ye be called forth to the Battle."<sup>188</sup> He then reminds the soldiers that they will have to give an account of all their misdeeds on Judgment Day and, if they remain unrepentant, will face the torments of Hell.<sup>189</sup>

Broughton then pivots and reminds them that, as Christ's soldiers, they should wear the whole Armor of God (a reference to Ephesians 6:10-18), meditate on

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<sup>181</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 5-8.

<sup>182</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 7, 9-11.

<sup>183</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 11-12.

<sup>184</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 12.

<sup>185</sup> Stephen Conway, *History of the British Army, 1714-1783: An Institutional History* (Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2021), 83; Holmes, *Redcoat*, xxi-xxii; Kane, "Arms an Employment," 25, 31, 51.

<sup>186</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 15.

<sup>187</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 15.

<sup>188</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 15. This sermon was given near the end of Great Britain's longest period of peace in the eighteenth century. From the end of the Great Northern War (1721) until the onset of the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739), Great Britain was officially at peace, except for the Dummer's War in New England, but there Great Britain relied on colonial militia to fight.

<sup>189</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 16-18.

godly things, and pray often.<sup>190</sup> He even suggests that meditating on Heaven can be done while they are on guard duty during the night.<sup>191</sup> He tells them to "Meditate also upon *Death*, to be prepared for it...[these meditations] will greatly sweeten the Fatigues and Toils of your present Alotment in the World, and dispose you to bear up with Courage" their difficult future.<sup>192</sup> Broughton concludes his sermon by expressing his desire that they heed his advice and embrace repentance, reminding them of the ever-present danger of death: "considering the many Casualties of this uncertain Life, we may not behold one another's Faces again...till we all appear before the Judgment-Seat of *Christ*."<sup>193</sup> The regiment Broughton was preaching to was about to leave the garrison, which makes these last statements especially significant, as their "uncertain Life," the military profession, could send them wherever their service was needed.<sup>194</sup> They might all live long lives and still not cross paths in the future, or they might die in service to their country in the near future, "considering...[their dangerous] uncertain Life." Broughton's reflection that their next meeting might be before Christ both acknowledges death and gives hope for the afterlife, because they will see each other again.<sup>195</sup>

Before closing his sermon with a prayer, Broughton addresses the officers of the regiment. This direct address is not common in these types of sermons and provides valuable insight into the conduct expected of Christian soldiers.

Gentlemen, 'Tis your Ambition and Aim to have your Men in good Order, comely Array, and manly Discipline; you instruct them in the Arts of War, train them up for martial Achievements [*sic*] and noble Exploits, and awe them to respect *You* and to honour the KING. In this ye do well: be it spoken to your Credit and Reputation. But then, *Gentlemen*, you would also do well to inspect sometimes the moral Behaviour of the Soldiers that are under you: The pious Captain *Cornelius* stoop'd to this Employ, who (we are told) had a devout Soldier that attended him; and whose Goodness, we may suppose, was in a great Measure owing to the Captain's shining Example and virtuous Conversation. May this truly brave and noble Centurion be your Pattern: May you, *Gentlemen*, tread in the Steps of this illustrious Warrior, and engage your Inferiours to be Wise and Good by your Commands and Examples. It is scarce imaginable what Glory might be given to GOD, what Success to the Enterprizes of an Army, and what Comfort would accrue to the Minds of such a *General* and other *Officers*, who took strict Care to suppress the Vices of those under their Command; particularly, the horrid Impiety of prophane Swearing and Cursing, which, as a great Duke once told his Soldiers, is a Sin that has the least Temptation, and is of the most heavy Guilt. To which, as Soldiers are too often very subject, so being committed openly, and thereby made liable to Observation, may

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<sup>190</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 18–20. Ephesians 6:10–18 was frequently employed due to its use of various pieces of armor as analogies for Christian characteristics (e.g., the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation), and it emphasizes the need to wear the full suit of armor.

<sup>191</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 22.

<sup>192</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 23.

<sup>193</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 24.

<sup>194</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 23–24.

<sup>195</sup> Other interpretations may be surmised. It would be less reassuring to those who thought their salvation in question, but perhaps it was intended to spur such soldiers on to repentance.

be easily punish'd and suppress'd. The mere Frowns of *Officers* would do much towards it, but the constant Resentment of it would do it more, and a general Punishment of it, most effectually. All this, *Gentlemen*, being consider'd, you will be induc'd, I hope, to vindicate the much injur'd Honour of your GOD, by using your utmost Efforts to put a Stop to this monstrous Sin; which if you do, and strive to excel in the other Parts of your Duty to GOD and your Neighbours, you will reap the blessed Comforts of so doing even in this Life, and when *your Warfare is accomplish'd* here upon Earth, you will be preferr'd in the noble Army of the LORD of *Hosts*, and celebrate an eternal Triumph in the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>196</sup>

Here, Broughton uses his pulpit to great effect by leveraging societal pressures for the spiritual benefit of both the officers and the enlisted men in attendance. Officers were expected to conduct themselves as gentlemen according to societal standards.<sup>197</sup> Broughton's address calls out the officers in front of their men, so all know where the proverbial bar has been set for the conduct, behavior, and righteousness of the officers. This standard is then, by default, transposed on the enlisted men because they are expected to follow and adopt the character of their officers who, in turn, should be imitating Cornelius and, by extension, Christ. It also effectively exposes those who are not devout based on their behavior after hearing (or reading) this sermon.

Broughton's desire for soldiers to be faithful Christians was not limited to this one instance of preaching. The second edition of the sermon, *The Christian Soldier*, includes a dedication to The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Ossulstone, who was the patron of its publication. In this dedication Broughton emphasizes the positive reception the sermon had enjoyed with his military audience and the potential of future publications to aid more officers and soldiers alike "for their present and future Welfare."<sup>198</sup> Broughton's second edition is also easier to read (e.g., "Penman" is changed to "Writer" and "abominable" to "unprofitable").<sup>199</sup> It includes prayers and hymns after the sermon so that soldiers can practically apply Broughton's call for them to be prayerful in the face of temptation.<sup>200</sup> Broughton's care for the soldiers' spiritual welfare was still evident in the last years of his life. A year before his death, Broughton was advocating for British soldiers fighting in the American Revolution to be distributed a publication he thought would help them in their faith.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 24–26.

<sup>197</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 90–92.

<sup>198</sup> Thomas Broughton, *The Christian Soldier: Or, The Duties of a Religious Life Recommended to the Army, from the Example of Cornelius: In a Sermon Preached before His Majesty's Second Regiment of Foot-Guards. By an Assistant Chaplain of a Garrison*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Printed for John and James Rivington [...], 1748), v–vii. The subtitle of all subsequently published editions of this sermon included the phrase "from the Example of Cornelius;" in the sermon itself, Broughton used the phrase "after the Example of Cornelius." Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 15.

<sup>199</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 1, 4; Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1, 5.

<sup>200</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 33–36.

<sup>201</sup> Thomas Broughton to George Germain, June 27, 1776, The National Archives (UK).



## II.2. Courage and Faith

Another sermon that delves into the theme of soldiering and compares the character of soldiers and Christians is Joshua Kyte's 1758 *True Religion the Only Foundation of True Courage*.<sup>202</sup> It shares some of the rhetoric of Broughton's *Christian Soldier* but emphasizes the correlation between faithfulness and courage. Kyte's and Broughton's convictions concerning soldiers are closely aligned; however, Kyte's sermon can best be described as overzealous, perhaps because it was preached in 1758, when the Seven Years' War had been raging for nearly two years.

Rev. Joshua Kyte was born in Sherborne, Gloucestershire, in 1725.<sup>203</sup> He attended Saint Peter's College in Westminster at the age of fourteen and then, after four years, went on to Christ Church at the University of Oxford where he was awarded a Bachelor of Arts (1747) and a Master of Arts (1751) while also serving as master at a school in Hammersmith.<sup>204</sup> He served as usher of Westminster School from 1751 until 1764 and as rector of Saint John the Evangelist, Westminster, from 1758 until 1764.<sup>205</sup> In 1764, Kyte was appointed rector of Wendlebury, Oxfordshire, and he received his Bachelor of Divinity and Doctorate of Divinity within one year.<sup>206</sup> After serving as rector of Swyncombe, Oxfordshire, for just a few months, Kyte died in 1788.<sup>207</sup>

Kyte emphasized that courage and resoluteness were essential for both soldiers and Christians. He correlated cowardice with wickedness and courage with righteousness.<sup>208</sup> Similar to Broughton's *Christian Soldier*, Kyte's *True Religion* argues that the best way for soldiers to excel in their profession is to be good men.<sup>209</sup> Kyte begins his sermon by stressing that training in the art and conduct of war, as well as physical armor, has some value, but "upon reflection you will find no just confidence, no real security, but in the *Armour of God*; viz. in the belief and practice of true Religion."<sup>210</sup> Here, Kyte alludes to 1 Timothy 4:8: "For bodily

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<sup>202</sup> Joshua Kyte, *True Religion the Only Foundation of True Courage: A Sermon Preached at the Horse-Guards on Friday the 17th of February, 1758 [...] Particularly Addressed to the Military Gentlemen [...]* (London: Printed for B. Barker, and Sold by P. Davey and B. Law, [1758?]).

<sup>203</sup> Henry Alfred Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme in the County of Oxford, by the Hon. and Rev. Henry Alfred Napier, M.A., Rector of Swyncombe* (Oxford: Printed for the Author, by James Wright, Printer to the University, 1858), 235–236.

<sup>204</sup> Joseph Welch, *The List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, Admitted on that Foundation since 1663* (London: G.W. Ginger, College Street, Westminster, 1852), 328; Napier, *Historical Notices*, 235–236.

<sup>205</sup> Welch, *List of the Queen's Scholars*, 328. An usher was the second headmaster at a school.

<sup>206</sup> Napier, *Historical Notices*, 236.

<sup>207</sup> John Dunkin, *Oxfordshire: The History and Antiquities of the Hundreds of Bullington and Ploughley*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for Harding, Mavor, and Lepard, Pinsbury Square, 1823), 183.

<sup>208</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 1.

<sup>209</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 2.

<sup>210</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 2.

exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." Kyte likens military training (and armor) to physical training and the "*Armour of God*" to godliness.

Kyte tackles the dichotomy between war and faith, as well as the morality of reconciling the two. He confidently asserts his own conscience in preaching to soldiers, stating "since we are entered into a just and necessary War, it behoves us to acquit ourselves like Men; and therefore I shall think myself excusable...[pointing] out some of those methods which may enable us to acquire and deserve success."<sup>211</sup> Kyte's statement informs his audience that, from a faith perspective, war can be just and necessary, and is therefore not a condemning activity for soldiers. Furthermore, Kyte suggests that the pulpit may be used to help soldiers achieve victory by supporting their faith. He contextualizes this when he argues that these "methods" of success "may enable us to lay the foundations of an honourable Peace, and give bounds to the Sword, that is over-running our Land."<sup>212</sup> This sounds similar to the idea that "the end justifies the means" – the "end" (in this case) being a peace that has been brought on through righteous "means."<sup>213</sup>

Kyte's introduction makes his position clear: soldiers can adhere to the Anglican faith and, what is more, they should be good Christians in order to be more effective soldiers. He elaborates on this with his sermon points which also address the theme of reconciling violence and death. In his first point, Kyte stresses the need for soldiers to keep their sinful desires and temptations under control in order to stay focused on dangers in the field of battle.<sup>214</sup> If soldiers maintain their spiritual life, he argues, they will be able to cope with the threat of death and the need to engage in killing:

Tho' Death and Destruction stare him in the face, and the horrors of blood and slaughter are round about him; his mind will be animated with such invincible thoughts, and guarded with such noble considerations, that no outward force will be able to approach it.<sup>215</sup>

Kyte does not end there. He warns that those who are "Wicked" will lack the "Calm Serenity" that comes from "Innocence and Virtue," which leaves them without "prospect of Safety."<sup>216</sup> He suggests that "Wicked" soldiers are not just the enemy combatants, but also those British soldiers without true religion. Kyte tells his audience that when these soldiers face battle, they are left "without assistance from Reason, without hope from Religion," and the sinful nature that

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<sup>211</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 2.

<sup>212</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 2–3.

<sup>213</sup> Alejandro Barcenas, *Machiavelli's Art of Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 42–43. Machiavelli alluded to a similar concept in *The Prince* and his *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livius*.

<sup>214</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 3.

<sup>215</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 4.

<sup>216</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 4.

they rely upon turns into distress as they despair of the torment of condemnation should they fall in battle.<sup>217</sup>

There is no direct evidence how the soldiers received this point. They might have quietly scoffed at Kyte's zeal and rhetoric, or they might have felt inspired by faith that would steel their minds and resolve in battle. The evidence does show that at least some soldiers felt the latter, because the sermon was published "At the Request of the Guard Then Present" in the hopes that it would encourage other soldiers.<sup>218</sup> This is also true for Kyte's following point.

For his second sermon point, Kyte follows the same format, but he focuses on the hardships and the elements that the soldiers have to endure rather than the horrors of war. He urges the soldiers

To consider the necessity of being early accustomed to endure difficulties and inconveniences; to be inured to heat and cold, watchings and fastings...[which] harden and corroborate the constitution and temper of mind, and inspire courageous principles; by calling into action every generous and manly Virtue.<sup>219</sup>

Kyte warns that weakness in adverse conditions stems from indulging in sinful pleasures which erode a soldier's resolve. Kyte elaborates that this resolve is fortified "by the Exercise of Temperance and severe Virtue" and that throughout history weak nations have risen to great power only to fall to ruin due to "Vice and luxury."<sup>220</sup> He then contrasts the righteous and wicked characters to leave the soldiers who are listening in no doubt as to what type of conduct will lead to which of these characters.<sup>221</sup> Addressing the conditions and the elements soldiers had to endure was a wise move on Kyte's part, as it would not have been lost on soldiers that the leading cause of death in the military was not from combat, but from disease.<sup>222</sup> Virtuous living would give soldiers a certain amount of control over the threat of disease where their martial training could offer no protection. The terrible conditions of war, Kyte suggests, also had their benefits because they would help to "harden" the soldiers' mental fortitude, a reference to the ability to show courage and not give in to cowardice. Similar benefits apply to Christians who endure hardships as a refining fire to strengthen their faith.<sup>223</sup> Kyte's acknowledgment of the awful conditions soldiers endure is a credit to his understanding of soldiers' lives; at the very least, it is a more inspirational spin on their otherwise demoralizing conditions. Broughton's sermon contains a similar

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<sup>217</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 4.

<sup>218</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, ii. The "Guard" is a reference to officers and soldiers present from the Horse and Grenadier Guards.

<sup>219</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 5.

<sup>220</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 5–6.

<sup>221</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 6–8.

<sup>222</sup> George Yagi Jr., "Beating the 'Bloody' – Meet the 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Army Doctor Who Waged War on Dysentery," *Military History Now*, March 2, 2016, [online](#).

<sup>223</sup> See 1 Peter 1:7.

argument: "Watchings, Labours, and Pains, which in the Order of Providence you undergo... may, in the End, turn to your own great and everlasting Good."<sup>224</sup> The argument that bad conditions could lead to spiritual gain allowed soldiers to control their mindset and let their faith dictate their courage in combat.<sup>225</sup>

Kyte's third point is designed to ease soldiers' consciences by justifying their cause on the basis of Scripture. He encourages soldiers to "weigh and consider well the nature of our actions; and not dare to put our hands to the execution of any thing, that upon examination may appear unlawful or unjustifiable."<sup>226</sup> This is a key point in support of the argument that courage and resoluteness can aid Christian soldiers. A faithful soldier will have "the full consent and approbation of his mind" for his righteous actions, while a soldier without the guiding principles of faith will act "with a misgiving mind...[and who]...knows not how to direct his trembling steps; and is in continual dread...[leading to] every manly courageous principle...dissolved and melted away."<sup>227</sup> Kyte's point here is simple: courage stems from faith, and it will guide the soldier's steps in battle; those who tremble in fear should take stock of their faith. Combined with Kyte's comments concerning death and combat conditions, this conveys the message that a soldier can conduct himself confidently and does not have to doubt his actions and experiences. Fears that arise from danger and doubt can be diminished by knowing God better, following His commands, and "sincerely relinquishing the work of iniquity."<sup>228</sup>

Kyte uses his fourth and final point to tie in the concern of death. Like Broughton, Kyte is aware that soldiers need to be ready to face death,<sup>229</sup> but unlike Broughton who addresses this topic to emphasize the need to repent, Kyte focuses on the reward that is awaiting the faithful. Kyte argues that "nothing can be a greater incentive to virtuous actions" than "the hope and expectation of a future reward."<sup>230</sup> His perspective on death reinforces a Christian soldier's ability to excel in his duties. Without the weight of fear, which is brought on by fear of judgment, good men are unhampered in their potential to achieve and are driven by the knowledge that their "services in this life will entitle [them] to a glorious immortality in the life to come."<sup>231</sup> Kyte's appeal to focus on the Heavenly reward simultaneously affirms that death is an ever-present danger but also offers hope that it is not to be feared. As Kyte puts it,

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<sup>224</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 23.

<sup>225</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 11.

<sup>226</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 9.

<sup>227</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 9, used Ephesians 6:14 (breastplate of righteousness) to make this point.

<sup>228</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 15.

<sup>229</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 16–18; Kyte, *True Religion*, 16.

<sup>230</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 11.

<sup>231</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 11–12.

The Soul of such a Man is secure of its existence; and therefore smiles at the approach of Danger. Death is so far from bringing terrors to the righteous Man, that it opens a pleasant scene of blissful futurity: armed and inspired with such a prospect, he can charge through the deepest ranks of his Enemies with undaunted resolution.<sup>232</sup>

This ideology of courage and faith would fit the societal ideal of a soldier.<sup>233</sup> Kyte, like Broughton, realizes the impact that the officers' example can have on their men and the public, which is why he tells them: "You are a body of Men, whose bad or good Conduct of yourselves is of very great importance to the Publick; it is from your Discipline, all other Corps will take their Military Stamp and Impression; from your Manners will form their Department."<sup>234</sup> In this respect, Kyte's audience was ideal, as the Horse Guards and Grenadier Guards were elite units within the army and society.<sup>235</sup> The Horse Guards were composed entirely of commissioned officers of the gentry class, and the Grenadier Guards were handpicked for their strength and ability.<sup>236</sup> Therefore, these soldiers enjoyed both elite status and military clout. Kyte did not exaggerate the potential impact these soldiers could have in shaping public opinion and promoting discipline within the army, since his public sermon and its subsequent printing acted as a form of accountability to soldiers' behavior.<sup>237</sup>

### II.3. Conduct and Faith

The themes of death, violence, and conduct reverberate in another sermon that was delivered over a decade later. Rev. Sidney Swinney's sermon is an excellent illustration of how soldierly conduct can be aligned with Christian conduct. Swinney was a military chaplain who traveled with the army. His perspective is valuable because he delivered his sermon as a dedication to a former commander of the British Forces and to the soldiers who had served in Germany during the Seven Years' War.<sup>238</sup> His perspective is also unique in that he published his sermon after serving as a chaplain in the army during their campaigns in Germany, which gave him time to reflect on the war and the commander under whom he had served. Swinney's convictions concerning Christian soldiers align with those of other chaplains, such as Broughton and Kyte, who did not see combat.

Rev. Sidney Swinney was born in 1721 in Pontefract, Yorkshire, and educated first at Eton College and then at Clare College, Cambridge, where he was awarded

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<sup>232</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 12.

<sup>233</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 217-219; Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793-1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 17-19.

<sup>234</sup> Kyte, *True Religion*, 16.

<sup>235</sup> Holmes, *Redcoat*, 88, 103.

<sup>236</sup> Holmes, *Redcoat*, 103; Sylvanus Urban, "Regimental Distinctions, Traditions, and Anecdotes," *The Gentleman's Magazine* 241 (July-December 1877): 225-226.

<sup>237</sup> Conway, *History*, 10, 98; Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 121-122.

<sup>238</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 1-2.

a Bachelor of Arts (1744), a Master of Arts (1749), and a Doctor of Divinity (1763).<sup>239</sup> He was ordained a priest of the Church of England in 1745 and appointed curate of Swillington, Yorkshire, within three months.<sup>240</sup> Swinney's father, Matthew Swinney, was a major in the British army, and his distinguished career was rewarded by procuring an army chaplaincy for his son Sidney.<sup>241</sup> After the Seven Years' War, Swinney followed his passion for archaeology and ancient art;<sup>242</sup> he took a post in Constantinople, serving as the chaplain to the British Embassy, and published a wide range of works, including the epic poem, *The Battle of Minden*.<sup>243</sup> He was a fellow of the Royal Society (1764) and the Antiquarian Society (1767) and the rector of Barton-le-Street (1775).<sup>244</sup> Swinney died in 1783 in Scarborough, and he was remembered as a preacher, a poet, and a "gentleman of uncommon generosity and benevolence."<sup>245</sup>

Swinney opens his sermon with the familiar verse from Luke 3:14 which, based on the interaction between John the Baptist and soldiers, suggests that military service as such is not an issue.<sup>246</sup> He elaborates on the meaning of John's instruction to the soldiers to "do no violence" by tying it to the sin of extortion and the threat of violence for personal gain, but not to the kind of violence that soldiers exhibit during combat.<sup>247</sup> His sermon advises soldiers to be mindful of violence; Swinney warns them to "be cautious how you use the sword, and do not wantonly sport with that dangerous weapon" when responding to riots.<sup>248</sup> He emphasizes that the army and its officers show upright behavior, are above reproach, and would not act maliciously against their fellow citizens.<sup>249</sup> This assertion both praises the audience and holds them to a high standard, which will become public knowledge due to the sermon's print publication. Swinney elevates this standard even more by instructing the soldiers to "be as cautious as possible" in dealing with the public, who will hold them accountable.<sup>250</sup> Swinney's message to the

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<sup>239</sup> Henry Colin Gray Matthew and Brian Harrison, "Swinney, Sidney (1721-1783)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: In Association with the British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, vol. 53, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 508.

<sup>240</sup> Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508.

<sup>241</sup> Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508.

<sup>242</sup> Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508.

<sup>243</sup> Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508; Sidney Swinney, *The Battle of Minden, a Poem, in Three Books* [...] (London: Printed for Mr. Dodsley in Pall-Mall [and seven others], 1769). Swinney was an observer of the battle, and his poem is considered a valuable firsthand account.

<sup>244</sup> Swinney, *Battle of Minden*, i; Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508.

<sup>245</sup> Matthew and Harrison, "Swinney," 508.

<sup>246</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 7-9.

<sup>247</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 10-11.

<sup>248</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 12-13. At this time, Great Britain was at peace, so the army was used for domestic peacekeeping.

<sup>249</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 13

<sup>250</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 13.

soldiers is to show restraint with regard to violence and not get too excited, thorough, or reckless when carrying it out.

Swinney then points to the "innocence" of soldiers who are required to use violence, thereby allowing them to reconcile their faith with their professional obligation to engage in violence:

[If the Civil Magistrate] ordering you to fire in consequence of [their] commands; it is then, and not till then, your absolute duty to obey: and whatsoever damage shall be done, or whatsoever blood (innocent or guilty blood) shall be spilt, through your obedience to orders received, I will venture (without being a casuist) to pronounce you innocent of that blood.<sup>251</sup>

However, if the soldiers feel that orders are given out of personal grievance, then it is their duty to hesitate in order to grant time for the order to be countermanded.<sup>252</sup> This again shows Swinney's support of restraint with regard to violence and killing as a way for soldiers to remain sensitive to the use of force.<sup>253</sup> Swinney also reminds soldiers of their respective function: he asserts that their primary role for committing violence is "for the defence of his Royal Person, Family, and Government, against the open assaults and attacks of his enemies; and, secondarily, for the suppression of all disturbers of the public peace and safety."<sup>254</sup> Swinney's use of the word "defence" underscores that soldiers are not the perpetrators of attacks or initiators of violence, thereby establishing that even their offensive actions are part of the greater defense of their country.

Swinney then transitions to the soldiers' conduct with regard to their enemy. He continues his advocacy for restraint and encourages soldiers to treat their enemies in accordance with the "Golden Rule."<sup>255</sup> He reminds the soldiers that the French "are a generous enemy, and a grateful people, [who] have already given numberless instances of their gratitude to the British soldiers, for their humanity towards them, when in their hands."<sup>256</sup> Therefore, soldiers should show leniency and compassion toward their enemies, especially prisoners, as their situation could easily be reversed.

Swinney then explains how soldiers should conduct themselves while in other countries. Whether marching through or while quartered in other countries (including those of the enemy) they should abstain from un-Christian conduct toward the inhabitants.<sup>257</sup> This position not only emphasizes the (expected)

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<sup>251</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 13–14.

<sup>252</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 14.

<sup>253</sup> For another example of the theme of mercy to prevent the soldier from becoming callous and inhumane, see James Moore, *A Sermon Preached in St. Mary's Church, Huntingdon, April 15, 1795, before the Loyal Essex Regiment of Fencible Infantry, on the Consecration of Their Colours [...]* (Huntingdon: Printed and Sold by Jenkinson [and four others], [1795?]), 10–11.

<sup>254</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 15.

<sup>255</sup> See Matthew 7:12 and Luke 6:31: "Do to others as you would have them do to you."

<sup>256</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 15.

<sup>257</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 16.

Christian conduct of soldiers, but also points to the importance of guarding their reputation toward both allies and enemies. This would have been especially important for Swinney's audience who had firsthand experience of campaigning in Germany and fighting the French. Swinney's sermon expresses the chaplain's conviction that it is better and easier to uphold righteousness than to find oneself forced to rebuild it; as he puts it, "a sword, once unsheathed, may much sooner be stained with [the] blood of victims, than washed from its stains."<sup>258</sup>

Swinney's sermon concludes with a call to loyalty to the king who provides so much for his soldiers. He also bookends his message by reiterating John the Baptist's response to the soldiers in the opening Scripture (Luke 3:14): "Do violence to no man; accuse not any falsely, and be content with your wages."<sup>259</sup> Swinney's sermon shows that this single verse can be used effectively to address how Christians should conduct themselves as soldiers. His warnings and advice demonstrate how failure in any of the three commands given in Luke 3:14 compromise a Christian soldier's conduct and ability to reconcile his faith with death and violence. Contentment with their wages directly relates to the soldiers' conduct – with the faithful ones being content and patient in the assurance of their Heavenly reward, and the unfaithful ones pursuing reparation by sinful means.<sup>260</sup>

The sermons discussed in this part are representative of many others that address the soldiers' conscience, courage, and conduct in light of the Christian faith. Some sermons highlight one theme more than others: for example, Rev. William Agar spoke frequently about soldiers having to face death with Christian conduct, arguing that "when a Soldier has once entered upon his Prince's Service, taken the Oaths by Articles of War of defending and exerting his Skill and Strength for his Nation and Religion...it has ever been judged the highest Honour to die in such a Cause."<sup>261</sup> Another of Agar's military sermons solely focuses on the theme of death, elaborating that "unnatural cruel Deaths are sweetened by the Smiles of Conscience...[of] the true resigning *Christian*."<sup>262</sup> The sermons delivered by Broughton, Kyte, and Swinney illustrate that their authors all shared the Anglican notion that soldiers could reconcile their faith with their profession by being mindful of a Christian attitude toward violence, death, and suitable conduct.

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<sup>258</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 16.

<sup>259</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 7,17.

<sup>260</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 12.

<sup>261</sup> William Agar, "Sermon IV: On the Horrid Crime of Perjury by Desertion, Cowardice or Mutiny," in *Military Devotion: Or, the Soldier's Duty to God, His Prince and His Country* [...] (London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by P. Brindley in Bond-Street [and five others], 1758), 76.

<sup>262</sup> William Agar, "Sermon II: On the Desire of all Men to Die the Death of the Righteous, whether in the Field, the Waves, or on their Pillows," in *Military Devotion: Or, the Soldier's Duty to God, His Prince and His Country* [...] (London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by P. Brindley in Bond-Street [and five others], 1758), 44.



### III. Sinner

As we have seen so far, sermons dealing with conduct mostly address the soldiers' military profession or Christian service. However, a significant number of sermons devote their attention to sinful behavior, which merits its own thematic analysis. There are three aspects to this theme: sins that are common to everyone but especially prevalent with soldiers; sins that are specific to the military; and sins that may jeopardize God's granting of military success. None of these sin-related themes were new in the eighteenth century. Common sins that were also rampant in the military encompassed drunkenness and cursing.<sup>263</sup> Sins specific to the military manifested themselves in the violation of laws and codes of conduct, as well as biblical commandments and teachings, and these included mutiny, cowardice, and desertion. Yet, while "common sins" and "military sins" constituted the individual soldiers' failings, some sins—labeled below as "consequent sins"—were deemed to threaten military success by causing God to withhold His favor.

#### III.1. Common Sin

Sins prevalent in the military were also common throughout British society, which made them a recurrent sermon topic throughout the eighteenth century regardless of the target audience or their profession.<sup>264</sup> Drunkenness, cursing, and sexual immorality were among the most common ones,<sup>265</sup> and since these sins were also problematic for the military, they were a welcome sermon topic from the perspective of officers who were hoping that their men would heed religious correction of their immoral behavior.<sup>266</sup> Generally speaking, the British opinion of soldiers—for much of the century—was "that Religion is not to be looked for in a British Soldier."<sup>267</sup>

The approach chaplains took to address sin varied. Some referred to sin in general terms, while others considered a more direct, specific, and even graphic approach as the suitable way to get through to their audience. Shame and judgment (public and divine) were tactics often employed to dissuade sinful behavior. The term "sin" might even be set aside in favor of words like "crime" or

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<sup>263</sup> Cursing, as in using offensive, profane language (not hexing).

<sup>264</sup> Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 404.

<sup>265</sup> Paul E. Kopperman, "'The Cheapest Pay': Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army," *The Journal of Military History* 60, no. 3 (July 1996): 445–446. Galatians 5:19–21 lists multiple sins ("works of the flesh), including drunkenness.

<sup>266</sup> Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 402. Kopperman questions the sermons' impact due to religious apathy within the army.

<sup>267</sup> George Walker, *The Duty and Character of a National Soldier, Represented in a Sermon Preached, January 2, 1779: At the High Church in Hull, before the Nottinghamshire Militia, Commanded by Lord George Sutton, on the Delivery of the Colours to the Regiment* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, No. 72, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1779), 10. See also Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 3–4, 12.

"irregularities"<sup>268</sup> to appeal to the soldiers' sense of righteousness and piety. Another way to promote godliness was by reminding soldiers of their quality as British citizens, soldiers, and Christians. We shall now explore how chaplains addressed soldiers' common sin in their sermons.

One of Rev. George Walker's sermons exemplifies how sin can be addressed through general references and by appealing to the standards that soldiers are expected to maintain. Walker urges each member of the Nottinghamshire Militia to "be prepared every moment to pass into his [Maker's] presence; and not by abandoning himself to all profligacy."<sup>269</sup> He points his audience both to the danger of their profession and to their ultimate judgment before God in order to remind them of their sins. If there is any doubt how they should "be prepared," he explains that they should avoid "profligacy." His sermon also applies some social pressure on the soldiers: "You are supposed to be taken from the better and soberer classes of the People, with no brand of infamy...It is yours to redeem the honour of a soldier, which ought never to have been disgraced by the allowed character of impiety."<sup>270</sup> Walker raises the (rhetorical) question whether soldiers could be deemed worthy of their social class and status if they embrace sin. Those who sin, he posits, disgrace themselves and the social class they represent. Furthermore, the same applies to their profession, which they should not disgrace through "impiety;" rather, they should "redeem the honour" through devotion. He returns to this latter point at the end of his sermon: "But if a British Soldier will, alas! Still think that some irregularities are pardonable in his profession; I pray you, add not public to private crime: make the best atonement by...venerating the religion."<sup>271</sup>

Throughout his sermon, Walker does not refer to the soldiers' "infamy," "impiety," or "crime" as sin, nor does he ever specify what he means by these failings. By remaining ambiguous on the subject, Walker allows his listeners to fill in their own details. This approach also eliminates any chance of someone thinking that the sermon is not directed at him personally because he does not commit or struggle with a specific sin (e.g., adultery).

In a 1778 sermon addressed to a regiment of militia and a company of artillery, Rev. Thomas Bateman points to the officers to help keep their men away from sin.<sup>272</sup> But he also recognizes that it is ultimately up to the individual soldier to abstain from sin. He acknowledges that a soldier is "daily [met] with...Temptations...[of] indulging himself in Vices for which he is not

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<sup>268</sup> Walker, *Duty and Character*, 37–38.

<sup>269</sup> Walker, *Duty and Character*, 13.

<sup>270</sup> Walker, *Duty and Character*, 12.

<sup>271</sup> Walker, *Duty and Character*, 37–38.

<sup>272</sup> Thomas Bateman, *The Necessity and Advantage of Religious Principles in the Soldierly: A Military Sermon, Preached before Sir George Savile's Regiment of Yorkshire Militia, and a Company of the Royal Regiment of Artillery [...]* (London: Printed, and Sold by Richardson and Urquhart, in Pater-Noster-Row [and two others], 1778), 15–16.

accountable to his Officer."<sup>273</sup> Therefore, Bateman advises soldiers to evaluate their "Behaviour, and consider of how much consequence [it] is."<sup>274</sup> While officers are, to a certain extent, accountable for their men's "Behaviour," each soldier has to assess his own sinful nature and the strength of his faith. Like Bateman, Walker emphasizes the soldier's personal accountability, when he states, "your own persons must suffer the punishment of your own negligence and wickedness."<sup>275</sup>

Some sermons contain a short discourse that mentions sin with regard to the soldiers or their regiment. Such discourse is usually found at the beginning of the sermon or as a closing remark and not part of the sermon's main points. One of Rev. John Jackson's sermons mentions what is prohibited in Christianity and how soldiers are to improve their conduct; he inserts this after his opening Scripture and before his sermon's main points (which focus on submission to governing authorities), reminding the men that their "private independent Conduct and Behavior" is "accountable to God" and that the "Prohibitions and Commandments of the Gospel" only forbid sins that debase and dishonor their nature.<sup>276</sup> Like Bateman and Walker, Jackson emphasizes the personal accountability of each individual soldier.

For a more candid approach to common sin, we return to Rev. Thomas Broughton's *Christian Soldier*. His style and bluntness give us a clear sense of the sins deemed most problematic and how to deal with them from the pulpit. In his *Christian Soldier*, Broughton compares the character of Cornelius to the conduct and behavior of British soldiers,<sup>277</sup> and he especially draws attention to the areas where the latter are falling short. Broughton's assessment of the soldiers' behavior is pointed and contrasted with Cornelius' conduct based on the centurion's description in Acts 10. To begin, Broughton acknowledges that "the notorious Vices of Swearing, Drunkenness, Lewdness, and many more abominable Sins, are habitual to the military Profession."<sup>278</sup> Broughton makes it clear that he takes no pleasure in exposing these "Vices...to which the Army is so much addicted," but he considers it an "ungrateful Necessity to do" so.<sup>279</sup> He recognizes that the said sins are not specific to the military, but common throughout humanity. He admits that "we have too great Reason to lament and say, that *we are all gone out of the way, and are become abominable...* [including] every...Quality or Occupation soever."<sup>280</sup> Broughton affirms that sinful men are not a unique feature of the military

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<sup>273</sup> Bateman, *Necessity and Advantage*, 16.

<sup>274</sup> Bateman, *Necessity and Advantage*, 17.

<sup>275</sup> Walker, *Duty and Character*, 27.

<sup>276</sup> Jackson, *Duty of Subjects*, 3–4.

<sup>277</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 10.

<sup>278</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 3.

<sup>279</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 4.

<sup>280</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 4. The italicized words are quoted from Romans 3:12.

profession; rather, every profession has its sinful men. On the basis of this premise, Broughton then proceeds to make sin one of his central sermon topics.

The first sin he addresses is the soldiers' lack of sobriety. Lamentingly, he asks,

Alas! my Friends, what Strangers, nay, what Enemies are most of you to a sober, temperate way of Life? How frequently do you, the meaner Sort especially, thro' Excess of Liquor, *reel to and fro, and stagger and lie in the Streets like dead Men!* How insatiable is your Thirst of Drink, as if the Gratification of the beastly Appetite was a Joy unspeakable, and full of Comfort! To this Purpose you...waste your Health, Money and Time.<sup>281</sup>

Broughton asserts that the soldiers' drinking problem is so bad as to render them not simply "Strangers" but "Enemies" of sobriety. This phrasing, along with the next line, suggests that the soldiers are drinking both to excess (quantity) and often (frequency). It is hard to determine exactly how "frequently" some of the "meaner Sort" had been found to be publicly intoxicated and passing out "*in the Streets like dead Men,*" but the mere mentioning of this from the pulpit indicates that this behavior had become both problematic and commonly known within the community. Broughton reminds the men that this sin is costing them their "Health, Money, and Time," making it an absolutely fruitless endeavor by secular standards. He then observes that their drunkenness into the late hours of the night ushers in "the Morning Watch, not with Hymns and Psalms, as David did, but with blasphemous Rant and obscene songs. My Brethren, *Cornelius* did not so."<sup>282</sup> This short statement, "*Cornelius* did not so," implies how *Cornelius* would have reacted to this kind of behavior.

The second sin Broughton elects to discuss is sexual immorality. He calls the soldiers out for their lack of chastity, and he does so with such confidence that it can safely be assumed that they had earned a reputation in this regard. Perhaps Broughton had received specific information about this particular regiment, or he is simply aware of the pervasiveness of this issue on the basis of his own observations. Whatever the case may be, Broughton states: "Your Offences in Point of *Chasity*, are very scandalous, and too notorious to be denied; insomuch that the bare Sight of you is suspicious and painful to the modest Part of the Daughters of our Land."<sup>283</sup> This suggests a considerable notoriety of the soldiers' sexual promiscuity, which is further supported by the health issues related to this sin. Broughton knows that the evidence is all "too manifest, from the numerous and melancholy Instances among you of putrify'd Bodies and rotten Bones."<sup>284</sup> In the eighteenth century, terms like "melancholy" and "rotten bones" were used to describe the symptoms of venereal diseases, especially syphilis.<sup>285</sup> If the evidence

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<sup>281</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 10. The italicized words are from Psalm 107:27.

<sup>282</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 10-11.

<sup>283</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 11.

<sup>284</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 11.

<sup>285</sup> Linda E. Merians, ed., *The Secret Malady: Venereal Disease in Eighteenth-century Britain and France* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 72, 105, 110.

for sexually transmitted diseases was "manifest," the "modest...Daughters of our Land" had every reason to be "suspicious" of them and pain the "bare Sight of [them]." Broughton contextualizes his exhortation against sexual immorality by referencing 2 Peter 2:14: not just their personal sins are to be lamented; they are also leading others into sin.<sup>286</sup>

Broughton then turns to another sin prevalent in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, namely, blaspheming and cursing. He argues that when the soldiers take the Lord's name in vain, they are expressing that they have no reverence for God. Their cursing makes them "wax bold in Wickedness, and grow hardy and courageous in Vice. With great swelling Words you bid Defiance to the Almighty, and continually *blaspheme that holy Name by which you are called*. My Friends, *Cornelius* did not so."<sup>287</sup> Broughton insists that sin begets more sin, as they "wax" and "grow" in their sin which emboldens them to sin (i.e., curse) even more. Indeed, the soldiers' cursing is not just sinful, it is "Defiance to the Almighty." While they "are called" to be faithful Christians, their cursing and blaspheming shows that the soldiers disregard the power of God and their faith. Broughton's remedy for the soldiers is not just to stop, but to replace their sinful language with prayer—both for their sakes and for the sake of others: "if you did accustom yourselves to pray, the Ears of good Christians would not be so often stunn'd with the horrible Din of Blasphemy nor shock'd with the bitter Oaths, Curses, and ungodly Speeches, which daily and hourly come from your Lips."<sup>288</sup>

Broughton then leans even further into this point by arguing that cursing and blaspheming diminishes them, that it is indicative of emptiness, and that it creates false perceptions. And he issues a warning:

Do you imagine that it adds Grace to your Speech, or Manliness to your Looks? Or do you fancy that it resembles the roaring of a Lion, and renders your Presence terrible? Alas! vain Men! no wise and good Man looks upon a Swearer to be a Hero, or a courageous Person, because he is a profane and wicked one. Do ye remember the History of *Goliath* and *David*? The former was of gigantick Stature, proud of his Strength and Armour, and blasphem'd the great GOD of *Israel*. The other was a young Man, humble and devout...[and] slew that vain-glorious blaspheming Giant, and smote off his Head. I leave you to make the Application.<sup>289</sup>

Broughton's prose here is forthright and impactful. He dismisses the notion that cursing adds in any way to the soldiers' "Grace," "Manliness," or "Presence." He implies that those who curse are "vain" fools and heroes to no one. To support this point, he mentions David, a military hero from the Old Testament, and contrasts the devout David with the blaspheming Goliath. The story would have been known well enough to spare Broughton the trouble of having to elaborate any

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<sup>286</sup> 2 Peter 2:14: "Having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls: an heart they have exercised with covetous practices; cursed children."

<sup>287</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 11. The Scripture cited (italicized) is James 2:7.

<sup>288</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 12.

<sup>289</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 13–14, with a reference to 1 Samuel 17 (David and Goliath).

further (David slays Goliath), and the analogy probably hit home for another reason: at the time of this story, David was a mere shepherd boy (albeit blessed by God), while Goliath, the blasphemer, was a soldier.

It is not Broughton's intention to dwell on condemnation; in fact, as he points out in his sermon, he takes "no delight to reprove [them] in this publick Manner."<sup>290</sup> Rather, he seizes the opportunity to appeal to them to repent. According to this sermon (and others), it was no secret that soldiers had a proclivity to sin. In the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Foot-Guards, Broughton had become convinced by the evidence and by their public reputation. This makes Broughton's specific discourse concerning the soldiers' sins an attempt to apply social pressure and shame to encourage their repentance (to which we shall return later). It is reminiscent of the way Broughton addresses the officers at the end of his sermon (quoted earlier in this article): his preaching identifies sin, condemns it, and then appeals to the sinner to repent. Considering the audience present when this kind of sermon was delivered, as well as the subsequent publication of such sermons, the soldiers' accountability for their sins was evident.<sup>291</sup>

### III.2. Military Sin

The second sin-related theme to be discussed here is military sin. The respective sermons were mostly addressed to soldiers. Some sermons mentioned military sins in addition to other common sins or contrasted them with gentlemanly conduct; Swinney, for example, reminded soldiers to "abstain, equally, from all acts of open violence, and private pilfering and marauding."<sup>292</sup> He also spoke about discontent with wages as a segue to desertion.<sup>293</sup> In other cases, the theme was the exclusive focus of the message given, as will be shown in a sermon by Rev. William Agar.

Rev. William Agar was a military chaplain during the Seven Years' War and dedicated many sermons to individual topics and themes. Agar was born in 1709 or 1710 in Redcar, Yorkshire, to a farming family.<sup>294</sup> He was admitted to St. John's College in Cambridge in 1729 as a sizar and completed his Bachelor of Arts in 1732.<sup>295</sup> It appears that he was seeking to obtain a Master of Arts degree but was

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<sup>290</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 13.

<sup>291</sup> There is no indication whether the intended effect was achieved.

<sup>292</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 16. This was in reference to their behavior during foreign deployment and while on campaign.

<sup>293</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 17.

<sup>294</sup> Robert Forsyth Scott, ed., *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge, Part III, July 1715-1767* (Cambridge: Printed for the College at the University Press, 1903), 61; pages 61 and 179 misspell his name as "Agur", which is corrected by the editor on page 423; Otto Lohrenz, "William Agar, Anglican Minister of Eighteenth-Century England and Virginia," *The Early America Review* 15, no. 2 (2011), [online](#).

<sup>295</sup> Scott, *Admissions*, 61, 179, 423. A "sizar" was a student who performed formal menial duties for the college in exchange for financial aid.

not able to do so due to a scandal: he had falsified his baptismal record in order to make himself eligible for a Master of Arts scholarship, but the forgery was discovered, and a college tribunal decreed that his name be stricken from the college's records.<sup>296</sup> Given that his father was a farmer and that he had served as a sizar during his undergraduate years, it is likely that he did not have the financial means to pursue a Master's degree without this scholarship.

Agar's subsequent advancement within the Anglican Church suggests that this scandal did not tarnish his reputation beyond redemption. In 1733, he was ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln as deacon and curate of Potton, Bedfordshire, and in 1735, was ordained as priest and curate of Wragby, Lincolnshire.<sup>297</sup> On February 10, 1737, he was appointed as both rector of Biscathorpe and vicar of North Kelsey in Lincolnshire.<sup>298</sup> In addition to these posts, he was chosen to be the rector of South Kelsey in 1743, and he kept all three positions until 1755 when he resigned from North Kelsey.<sup>299</sup> The evidence indicates that Agar was dedicated in his ministerial work, especially as chaplain to the 20<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot during the Seven Years' War.<sup>300</sup> From 1765 until 1773, Agar resided in the North American Colonies (while maintaining his rectorships in Britain), but marital issues forced him back to England to settle a divorce.<sup>301</sup> Agar died in September 1776 in his hometown of Redcar.<sup>302</sup> His published sermons were selected from the sermons he had delivered to the 20<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot while fighting in Europe.<sup>303</sup>

Agar's sermon on the theme of military sin is titled "On the Horrid Crime of Perjury by Desertion, Cowardice or Mutiny."<sup>304</sup> It offers excellent examples of sins that are specific to the military, and in this case, the entire text focuses on them. Agar opens his sermon with Matthew 5:34–35, which concerns the taking of

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<sup>296</sup> Scott, *Admissions*, 423. The formal sentence decreed for his name to be expunged from the college's records: "Decretum est a Magistro et Senioribus, ut ejusdem G. Agar nomen e tabulis Collegii statim expungeretur."

<sup>297</sup> Scott, *Admissions*, 423. It is also possible that his appointment as deacon was in 1734.

<sup>298</sup> Scott, *Admissions*, 423. It may also have been February 10, 1738.

<sup>299</sup> Scott, *Admissions*, 423. He retained the other positions until his death.

<sup>300</sup> Lohrenz, "William Agar," online; William Agar, *Military Devotion: Or, the Soldier's Duty to God, His Prince and His Country. Containing Fourteen Sermons Preached [...] to His Majesty's Twentieth Regiment of Foot [...]* (London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by P. Brindley in Bond-Street [and five others], 1758), i–xxxii. The appendix to Agar's sermons shows his concern to provide soldiers with the means to have a strong prayer life, complete with a calendar built around their deployment schedules, as well as practical examples.

<sup>301</sup> Lohrenz, "William Agar," online. At his own request, Agar was appointed to minister the parish of Nottoway (Southampton County, Virginia), by the Bishop of London.

<sup>302</sup> Lohrenz, "William Agar," online.

<sup>303</sup> Lohrenz, "William Agar," online; Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 391. Agar's selection of sermons for soldiers was very intentional, as he had no shortage of sermons to draw from because it was ordered that Divine Service be held three times a week.

<sup>304</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 67–83.

oaths.<sup>305</sup> According to the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*, "vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle...but...a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a Cause of Faith and Charity."<sup>306</sup> This means that taking oaths imprudently was prohibited, but oaths taken attentively for one's country, king, or for the sake of Christian virtue were deemed just.<sup>307</sup> Combined with the seriousness of soldiers' oaths taken in service to their king and country, this Scripture establishes the religious standard that oaths should not be taken lightly and that they are binding.

Agar continues by stating that "Our Nature...is subject to Depravity."<sup>308</sup> He acknowledges that all are susceptible to sin. He elaborates that the young are swayed by "Bad Company," which produces sinful habits.<sup>309</sup> Agar's stance against sin is firm, but he recognizes it as a habit that can be broken, just not so easily.<sup>310</sup> His position on taking oaths, however, is much more concrete: "the needless Repetition of Oaths is as well indecent as criminal...an oath...[is] only for the Advancement of Piety, Uniformity, or social Honesty in the World, and Disparagement of Violence, Extortion or Injustice."<sup>311</sup> This last reason would have been particularly applicable to Agar's audience, as the war was viewed as a necessary defense against French aggression.<sup>312</sup>

Agar continues that "Rash Swearing brings on us frequently greater Inconveniences, out of which we cannot extricate ourselves but by the black Crime of Perjury." Here, Agar is warning against oaths made in haste, which can bind oath-takers to sin. He cites the "rash" oath made by King Herod after he had been pleased with a dance, which subsequently forced him to behead John the Baptist: "Thus Murder was subsequent to his Oath."<sup>313</sup> Following this example, Agar

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<sup>305</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 67. Matthew 5:34-35: "But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne; Nor by the earth; for it is his footstool: neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King."

<sup>306</sup> Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer*, Article 39; Frank L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., "The Thirty-Nine Articles," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, third ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1611. These articles were dogmatic tenets that defined the Anglican Church and were required to be upheld by clergy until the nineteenth century. The term "swear" used in this context means "to take an oath:" Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language, in Which the Words are Deduced from their Originals [...]*, vol. 2 (London: Printed by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton [and four others], 1755), s.v. "swear."

<sup>307</sup> These articles were not binding to the public, but clergy would reference them in sermons as Anglican standards of faith.

<sup>308</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 67-68.

<sup>309</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 67-69.

<sup>310</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 68.

<sup>311</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 70.

<sup>312</sup> Davies, *Presentation of Colours*, 11; Adam Ferguson, *A Sermon Preached in the Ersh Language to His Majesty's First Highland Regiment of Foot [...]* (London: Printed for A. Millar, Opposite Katharine-street in the Strand, 1746), 4-5, 22-23.

<sup>313</sup> Matthew 14:1-11; Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 71.



establishes that perjury is "the most detestable Sin."<sup>314</sup> He concisely explains the role of soldiers and of their contracted oath in defense of their country, warning that "The Soldier who swears Fidelity to his Leader, Obedience to his Commander, and a strenuous courageous Defence by his Arm, of his King and Country, is worse than the common Robber if he falsifies his Trust by Desertion or Cowardice."<sup>315</sup> This illustrates that a soldier's oath is multidimensional: it binds him to "Fidelity" and "Obedience" toward his officers and to the "Defence...of his King and Country;" cowardice is the dereliction of all these pledges and therefore sinful. Agar then asks his audience to "let [him] just touch upon the Act of Desertion,"<sup>316</sup> and while he no longer focuses on the sin of cowardice, he does describe deserting soldiers as "cowardly."

Agar shows such disdain for the sin of desertion that one is almost left with the sensation that desertion is a sin that cannot be forgiven:

That Man who has bound himself by Oath to his Prince and Leaders to hazard his Life in their Defence, and still meanly or cowardly quits his Post, is guilty of the highest Breach of Faith that Humanity can be guilty of; is accessory to Plunder, Murder, Rapine and Barbarity to his whole Country, which is the most complicated Villainy that is in the World. It has, I know not how, entered into the Minds of some Men, that the Act of Desertion in the Soldier, proceeding from Self-preservation, freeing him from Danger, Hardship or Confinement, carries with it no Shew of Vice, and therefore hard that it should even in a *Military Court* be judged Capital. But sure I am that the Act of Desertion draws along after it a Cloud of the blackest Evils that any Crime can do in an iniquitous Generation.<sup>317</sup>

Soldiers listening to this sermon could have no doubt how, according to their chaplain, God viewed the sin of desertion. In the first part of this quotation, Agar reiterates the terms of their military oath, but then adds that abandoning their post would be the "highest Breach of Faith that Humanity can be guilty of." This means that it is the worst of sins.<sup>318</sup> What is more, it makes the soldier an "accessory" to heinous crimes against their "whole Country." The sin (and crime) of desertion does not just affect them, but everyone. Agar then reveals how passionately he feels about this sin: he is shocked that there are "some Men" who consider desertion as having "no Shew of Vice" and would not judge it as "Capital," which exposes his conviction that deserters deserve court martial, severe punishment, and even death.<sup>319</sup> There were high rates of desertion during the Seven Years' War

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<sup>314</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 72.

<sup>315</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 74-75.

<sup>316</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 75.

<sup>317</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 75.

<sup>318</sup> Ronnie Haidar, "Desertion and Discipline: How British Soldiers Influenced the Military Justice System during the Seven Years' War" (MA thesis, University of Windsor, 2021), 3. Desertion and mutiny were deemed the worst military crimes due to their impact on manpower and morale.

<sup>319</sup> Thomas Agostini, "'Deserted His Majesty's Service': Military Runaways, the British-American Press, and the Problem of Desertion during the Seven Years' War," *Journal of Social History* 40, no. 4 (Summer 2007): 970; Great Britain, *An Act for Punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and*

(and throughout the century), and it is likely that Agar had seen the repercussions of desertion firsthand.<sup>320</sup>

According to Agar, desertion, this "most grievous Perjury to God and Man...leaves those defenceless who trusted to their Protection, and thence is accessory to Cruelties, Spoil and murdering not only of Families, but Towns, Countries and Nations."<sup>321</sup> Agar makes the case that desertion is a sin that, in fact, includes murder because those whom the deserters should have protected might be slain by an unharried enemy. He insists on this point with considerable fervor and then makes it personal for soldiers who have children of their own: "Could you, Fathers watch your sons massacred, your wives and daughters violated...possessions destroyed...yourselves at last butchered? The deserting Soldier can do this."<sup>322</sup> He even describes the mutilation of babies who would be "slashed, stabbed, or torn to pieces before your Eyes, their Cradles reeking with Gore-blood, their mangled Carcasses [*sic*] thrown into the Street to Dogs or Vultures."<sup>323</sup> Agar's graphic depiction reinforces the gravity of the sin of desertion and conveys his disdain for those who would engage in it. He leaves his audience in no doubt that the consequences of desertion are horrific.

Agar then shifts the context of this sin to its maritime impact. He had previously included sailors by declaring them responsible for any "Bloodshed" that their cowardice or desertion might cause.<sup>324</sup> He now asks them where they would find safe harbor once their protecting "Garrisons [were] surrendered, Towns in Flames, your shatter'd Vessel burning, sinking under you."<sup>325</sup> Agar's comments would have instilled fear in sailors who were used to placing their security in their ships and their ability to stock, dock, and harbor them from the threats of the elements and "piratic Fury of our treacherous Foes."<sup>326</sup> The difference between desertion and mutiny is blurred in this sermon (and was loosely defined even in acts of Parliament); mutiny usually involved a demand for

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*for the Better Payment of the Army and their Quarters* (London: Printed by Thomas Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty; and by the Assigns of Robert Baskett, 1745), 7-10, 107. Death sentences required nine officers to concur on this punishment when sentencing. The act was amended by Parliament throughout the century: Great Britain, *An Act for Punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the Better Payment of the Army and their Quarters* (London: Printed by Thomas Baskett; and by the Assigns of Robert Baskett, 1758), 143-145.

<sup>320</sup> Agostini, "Deserted His Majesty's Service," 960.

<sup>321</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 75-76; Haidar, "Desertion and Discipline," 44-45. Group desertion was not uncommon; the larger the group the more confidence it gave others to join.

<sup>322</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 77.

<sup>323</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 77-78.

<sup>324</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 77.

<sup>325</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 78.

<sup>326</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 78.

improved conditions and better pay,<sup>327</sup> but, like desertion, it was a refusal to perform contracted service.

In the next part of his sermon, Agar compares military sin to common sin. He considers a highwayman a lesser sinner than a deserter: the former risks only his own life and "takes but from a few," while the "Soldier who deserts his Colours" risks "whole Provinces to Flames and Devastation" and robs the "Multitudes."<sup>328</sup> Along the same lines, Agar is willing to offer more grace to "the private Murderer...[who] is satisfied by taking one or two who stood in his Way [or offended him]," while the "Soldier who deserts...pours out like a Deluge the Blood of thousands...of his Countrymen."<sup>329</sup> His comparisons suggest that there is hierarchy of sins: those whose sins impact many others are especially damnable and "justly punishable by the most ignominious Death."<sup>330</sup> Agar's sentiments toward desertion is not uncommon when compared to other military sermons, but his advocacy for the sinner's death is. Chaplains usually emphasize the urgency of repentance or Judgment Day.<sup>331</sup>

Agar lowers his intensity and graphic depictions once he returns to the sin of cowardice. Like desertion, cowardice is a sin because it violates the soldiers' military oath taken in God's name. Agar contrasts the shame of the coward with the "Reward of true Bravery," which includes public gratitude and the "Approbation of Heaven itself."<sup>332</sup> He does not dwell on the characteristics or consequences of cowardice – after all, he had already addressed this particular sin earlier in his sermon;<sup>333</sup> he had also referred to deserters as "cowardly," making this sin a key characteristic of deserters. Instead, Agar points to the benefits of eschewing cowardice: "What is this Life without an honest and valiant Discharge of our Office in our Profession?"<sup>334</sup> He then contrasts the sin of cowardice (and the related fear of the enemy, death, or other circumstances) with the fear of God:

Let us then lay aside every Sin that doth so easily beset us...let no Dangers daunt us, for if God be for us, who can be against us. The Fear of God is the grand Criterion of true Valour and Magnanimity; the Fear of Man is but a servile brutal Obedience; but the Man who obeys for Conscience sake, convinced by the Dictates of his Breast, that it is noble to die in the Cause of his Prince and Religion, will surmount Perils and Difficulties with true Fortitude and

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<sup>327</sup> Linch and McCormack, *Britain's Soldiers*, 97–98; "Haidar, "Desertion and Discipline," 13; Peter Way, "Rebellion of the Regulars: Working Soldiers and the Mutiny of 1763–1764," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (2000): 771–772.

<sup>328</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 80.

<sup>329</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 80.

<sup>330</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 80.

<sup>331</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 16–17; Broughton warned of the judgment of sins and Hell for the unrepentant soldier. Walker, *Duty and Character*, 12; Walker preached that sinful soldiers would be met with social cruelty at home.

<sup>332</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 81.

<sup>333</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 75.

<sup>334</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 82.

Intrepidity, resting assured that if he falls in the vigorous Exertion of his Abilities, he merits Heaven, for greater Love hath no Man than that he lay down his Life for his Friend.<sup>335</sup>

Agar explains to the soldiers that the "Dangers" that beset them are not to be feared since "God is for us." The "Fear of God" will give them the courage to overcome cowardly temptations. Ultimately, this "Fear of God" and their noble cause will enable them to face death. Their willingness to die for their "Prince and Religion" will allow them to overcome "Perils and Difficulties." If they hold to their oaths, they will avoid the reprehensible sins of perjury, cowardice, and desertion. Agar ends his sermon by encouraging the soldiers to consider their oaths with a reverence to God so they can "worship him in Sincerity of Heart, and do all to the Glory of God."<sup>336</sup>

It is noteworthy that Agar had such strong convictions on the sanctity of oaths, since he himself had once falsified documents at Cambridge. This observation is not intended to question his integrity as a clergyman, as the humiliating experience at Cambridge probably had a profound impact on his convictions; it may actually help us understand him better. Over twenty-four years had passed since that incident, and Agar had seen war, death, and destruction up close for the past two years. His rhetoric effectively conveys the seriousness of military sin and its consequences for those left defenseless by soldiers' failure to keep their oaths and thereby their Christian integrity and honor. Agar's strong opinions make his sermon more personal and distinctive when compared to other sermons with similar content – and also more poetic, as he hoped that "Ghosts and Apparitions [would] fright" deserters who were "fit but for Furies and infernal Demons."<sup>337</sup> Meanwhile, Swinney's convictions with regard to desertion, while less dramatic, certainly align with Agar's, and Swinney, too, had served as a military chaplain on campaign during the Seven Years' War:

A neglect of...[contentment of pay] has driven many an unwary wretch into the blackest and most desperate crimes; the perpetration of these has made him, with reason, despair of pardon; and that despair has driven him to the horrid sin of deserting his King and Country; which atrocious behavior is certain of bringing him...to a shameful and ignominious death.<sup>338</sup>

### III.3. Consequent Sin

The third sin-related theme considers sin from a holistic perspective. The Church of England believes that all sins have consequences. Thus, I do not assert that the Anglican Church, nor the clergymen cited here, believed that there were any sins without consequences. "Consequent sin" (my term) is used here to address specifically how clergymen preached on the theme of sin as a threat to the country. "Consequent sin" implies the withdrawal of God's blessings; it reflects the belief

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<sup>335</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 82. The Scripture at the end of this quotation is John 15:13.

<sup>336</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 83.

<sup>337</sup> Agar, "Sermon IV [Perjury]," 79–80.

<sup>338</sup> Swinney, *Sermon*, 17.

that there is a conditional, causal relationship between a nation and God, according to which the sins of the nation may result in the withdrawal of God's blessings to that nation, particularly the withholding of military victories.<sup>339</sup> Rev. William Jarvis Abdy's sermon is representative of what many other contemporary sermons have to say to soldiers with regard to these larger repercussions of their sins. The concept is generalized and not always explicit in all sermons, however, it is frequently tied to the notion that God is blessing Great Britain and therefore Britons should be faithful.<sup>340</sup> Conversely, it is also applied to the French (and other enemies of Great Britain), as God punishes them through defeats due to their sins. The concept was not new to the eighteenth century or to Great Britain, but the related rhetoric deserves attention.

Rev. William Jarvis Abdy was born on September 17, 1755, in London.<sup>341</sup> In 1775, he entered the University of Oxford where he received his Bachelor of Arts (c.1778) and Master of Arts (c.1781) degrees.<sup>342</sup> In 1779, he was ordained as a priest of the Church of England and became the curate of Staines, Middlesex, "an important station" because it included two neighboring parishes where Abdy held regular services.<sup>343</sup> In 1781, he moved to London for a one-year curacy at St. Mary-le-Bow, during which he was elected to a lectureship at All Hallows on Lombard Street, which he held for twenty-two years.<sup>344</sup> After his curacy had ended, Abdy was approached by parishioners from St. John Horsleydown in South London to become their curate. He accepted and served there for forty-one years, beginning in 1782.<sup>345</sup> He also held a lectureship at Bow-Church, Cheapside, from 1784 until 1823.<sup>346</sup> Abdy was a founding member of the Church Missionary Society, established in 1799.<sup>347</sup> He died in April 1823 and his death was marked with a dedication sermon to his congregation;<sup>348</sup> this sermon lauded Abdy for his

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<sup>339</sup> Some sermons warned of divine retribution against Great Britain, but they were rarely explicit when addressing soldiers. For an implicit reference, see Ferguson, *Sermon*, 3; for an explicit reference to the history of Israel, see Bateman, *Necessity and Advantage*, 9–11.

<sup>340</sup> Teulié and Sterritt, *War Sermons*, 83–84.

<sup>341</sup> John Channing Abdy, ed., *A Selection from the Sermons of the Late Rev. William Jarvis Abdy, M.A. [...] To Which is Prefixed A Memoir of the Deceased [...]* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, Strand, 1823), ix.

<sup>342</sup> Abdy, *Selection [Memoir]*, ix.

<sup>343</sup> Abdy, *Selection [Memoir]*, ix.

<sup>344</sup> Abdy, *Selection [Memoir]*, x.

<sup>345</sup> Abdy, *Selection [Memoir]*, x.

<sup>346</sup> Abdy, *Selection [Memoir]*, xi.

<sup>347</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society, Its Environment, Its Men, and Its Work*, vol. 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 68–69.

<sup>348</sup> Henry George Watkins, *A Sermon, on Occasion of the Decease of The Rev. W. J. Abdy, A.M., Preached in his late Parish Church of St. John, Horsleydown, Southwark, On Sunday, April 27, 1823 [...]* (London: Published by Hatchard, Piccadilly [and three others], 1823), 1.

dedication, love, willingness to serve, and biblical wisdom that begged the question "what would Mr. Abdy say, if...?"<sup>349</sup>

In 1798, Abdy preached a sermon for the Loyal Volunteer Corps, which was comprised of men from his parish, at their "unanimous request."<sup>350</sup> Abdy's sermon was favorably received by the officers and soldiers of the corps and by the other parishioners in attendance.<sup>351</sup> It seems that he was surprised by the original request: he had prepared the sermon for a day of thanksgiving, but "had not the most distant idea 'till I came to Church" that the soldiers would be his primary audience.<sup>352</sup> Thus, the first two pages of his sermon address the soldiers in terms of their current military circumstances, and Abdy only then restates his opening Scripture for a second time.<sup>353</sup> Over half of the sermon is dedicated to establishing why and how sins can have greater consequences. The sermon alludes to sin without claiming that it was pervasive among the soldiers of the corps, and its preaching style uses warnings against sin to encourage personal reflection.

Abdy begins his sermon with Exodus 15:1-2, which is a song of Moses that praises God for His victory over the Egyptian army in the Red Sea.<sup>354</sup> This Scripture establishes several themes: God is the true power for deliverance from their enemies; their victories are His victories; and God is deserving of praise. After introducing this Scripture, Abdy expresses the hope that this coming year, 1799, will be as successful as the "*annus mirabilis*" (wonderful year) of 1759.<sup>355</sup> Explaining that the selected Scripture is appropriate for their country's circumstances of war, he argues that, just like the Israelites had publicly praised God, they should celebrate God with the same enthusiasm they exhibit when they are applauding their victorious generals and admirals.<sup>356</sup> Considering how the Israelites had given thanks to God after their deliverance from Egypt, the British should do the same in light of their recent victories, such as the Battle of the Nile

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<sup>349</sup> Watkins, *Sermon*, 9-10, 23-24.

<sup>350</sup> Abdy, *A Sermon*, 1. The phrase "unanimous request" indicates that they were acquainted with him (but they also could have invited another clergyman or the vicar of their parish). Given his tenure at their church, the request most likely stemmed from both convenience and familiarity.

<sup>351</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 2 [?]; the second page of this publication is not paginated and is followed by the first page of the sermon body, numbered as page 5.

<sup>352</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 7.

<sup>353</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 5-7. It is unusual that the sermon opens with the Scripture, continues with an address, and then cites the same Scripture again. It is even more unusual that the sermon's candid comments were retained for its publication; it suggests that the sermon was transcribed faithfully and implies that Abdy recontextualized it to make it relevant to his military audience.

<sup>354</sup> According to the Book of Exodus, the Israelites were enslaved in Egypt until God, through Moses, freed them. Pharaoh then pursued them with an army, but he was destroyed when the Red Sea, which had parted to grant the Israelites passage, crashed upon the Egyptians.

<sup>355</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 5-6; Holmes, *Redcoat*, 21-23. The victories won by Great Britain during this year of the Seven Years' War led to this moniker.

<sup>356</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 8-11.

(1798).<sup>357</sup> Abdy's rhetoric here appropriates the story of the Exodus for Great Britain: "such was the language of Pharaoh against Israel [referring to Exodus 15:9], and such has been the language of the Gallic Pharaohs against...British Israel...! But after all their...repeated attempts...what has been their success? Has it not, brethren, been very similar to that which the Egyptians met?"<sup>358</sup>

During these first points of his sermon, Abdy also introduces the theme of sin, stating that "we, indeed, are a very sinful disobedient nation."<sup>359</sup> He goes on to say that, due to petitioning prayers, but especially due to the intercession of Christ, "he [i.e., God] hath hitherto spared, and not only spared and preserv'd us from confusion, from disgrace, and from destruction; but he hath even honored and exalted this little Island, above most of the other nations of the earth."<sup>360</sup> Abdy asserts that, just like Moses and the Israelites, the British have "God in *our* favor."<sup>361</sup> This favor is not to be taken for granted because, even though Britain has its honored national military heroes (Admirals Richard Howe, John Jervis, Adam Duncan, Horatio Nelson, and John Borlase Warren), "the WHOLE GLORY must be ascribed to GOD!"<sup>362</sup> This sentiment was shared by Admiral Nelson, who gave credit to God for his victory at the Battle of the Nile.<sup>363</sup> Abdy expresses his hope that the "religious spirit" that had spread after these God-given victories "might become a fixed and an abiding principle within us, that shall lead us, and thousands and tens of thousands of our Countrymen, to a right understanding, and a zealous profession of 'The truth as it is in Jesus'."<sup>364</sup>

Now that he has established his conviction that God is blessing the nation through military victories, Abdy moves to his third and main point, namely, that true religion is always opposed and persecuted. Abdy maintains that the British are adherents of the true religion and, as such, their enemies plot to thwart them with the "Republican Yoke," which some "Apostles of Sedition and Infidelity" have fallen prey to.<sup>365</sup> "Apostles of Sedition" is a reference to those involved in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, which Admiral Warren had successfully ended at the Battle of Tory Island. Abdy thanks God for this, saying:

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<sup>357</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 11-14.

<sup>358</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 13. Exodus 15:9, "The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil; my lust shall be satisfied upon them; I will draw my sword, my hand shall destroy them."

<sup>359</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 11.

<sup>360</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 12.

<sup>361</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 12.

<sup>362</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 14-15.

<sup>363</sup> James Stanier Clarke and John McArthur, *The Life and Services of Horatio Viscount Nelson: From His Lordship's Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 126; Abdy, *Sermon*, 15.

<sup>364</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 15.

<sup>365</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 16.

The infection is by no means general; nor can it be, whilst Britons are true to themselves, i.e., to those wise laws, and to that holy religion, on which the British Constitution, in Church and State, is evidently founded. 'He is my God,' should every true Briton most devoutly say, with his lips, in his heart, and by his life.<sup>366</sup>

This suggests that "Britons" who are "true to themselves" are true to the Church of England ("that holy religion") on which Great Britain "is evidently founded." Furthermore, all "true Briton[s]" should have a sincere faith that is obvious from the way they live their lives. Conversely, this means that if their faith is not devout, they are not being "true to themselves" or "true Briton[s]." This makes the purity of their faith not just a spiritual matter, but also a matter of their identity as Britons. Abdy subsequently uses this reasoning to dive into the sin that threatens this fabric of the "Church and State."

Abdy approaches the need to be righteous and abstain from sin on an individual level:

Religion is a personal concern...of the citizen, and of the soldier: certainly then, it is the concern of you, *Gentlemen*, in whose person these two dignified characters are blended. And it is a concern, which if it be properly regarded, will reflect additional honor on you, and render your generous services more highly beneficial both to the Church and to the State.<sup>367</sup>

While an individual's religion is a "personal concern" that has an impact on the individual's "honor" when "properly regarded," it also enables the individual to provide better service to both the "Church and to the State." Abdy's reference to religion as a "concern" is noteworthy. In the context of the sermon, this particular term has a warning ring to it, especially since Abdy had just spoken about the French and the Irish who had fallen prey to false ideas of liberty. "Concern" implies that failure to "properly regard" their religion will lead to dishonor and make their military service detrimental "to the Church and to the State."<sup>368</sup> Disregard of the "true" religion will lead to sin and to military failure.

Abdy then praises the soldiers for their faith and profession. He does this to set up "a word of serious caution,"<sup>369</sup> warning that there are many soldiers who claim to be Christians but are not:

Christianity stands a witness against many of its defenders! How many in a national struggle are ready to die for religion, who *yet* are spiritually dead to it! How many spurn at a Decade, yet profane the Sabbath! How many fathers of a Country, and bulwarks of a Church, have secured every thing in both, but their *own* souls:—defended the faith, yet perished in unbelief!—*Opposed Satan one way, been his captives in another!*"<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 16. "He is my God" here probably references Exodus 15:2.

<sup>367</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 17-18.

<sup>368</sup> Other interpretations of Abdy's intent and choice of words in this part of the sermon are conceivable; he may have implied that sin would only make their service *less* beneficial.

<sup>369</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 18.

<sup>370</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 19.



Abdy is very direct both in his warning and who he is directing it to. He does not question the soldiers' dedication to the war and their willingness to lay down their lives. Yet he cautions the men to be careful that they do not deceive themselves into thinking that their death "for religion" is evidence of their spiritual health; neither does their "spurning" of war increase their devotion to "the Sabbath."<sup>371</sup> Abdy stresses that fighting for a religion does not make you religious. This reinforces his previous point of having "concern" for their religion.

Abdy continues to reference his previous points concerning the sober judgment of one's personal religion and possible hidden sin. He reminds the soldiers of their victories in the war and how the glory for these belongs to God, but then adds that they should "improve [these victories] to the great purposes of personal godliness!"<sup>372</sup> Abdy does not explain how their godliness will improve their victories, but he does explain why. He asks the soldiers to "recollect the alarming situation we have frequently been in...during many periods of the present war," which seems to have hastened their personal reflection of their sins, before again pointing to God as their deliverer and salvation.<sup>373</sup> Abdy asserts that these "national deliverances are...merciful and compassionate tokens in favor of his enemies...in the British nation and in the Christian church."<sup>374</sup> It is Abdy's message that God has spared the British because he loves them like Israel, but this is not to be taken for granted, as Israel's continued disobedience led to their nation's defeat at the hands of their enemies.

Abdy pleads with the soldiers to not provoke God by sinning in the wake of these deliverances. He tells the soldiers to "not use our liberty for an occasion of the flesh, by rioting and drunkenness, by chambering and wantonness...[because of their] very critical situation...the nation is this moment placed."<sup>375</sup> He warns them to not tip the scales of God's favor and exhorts them to pursue righteousness instead. He even tells them to consider the families of those soldiers who have died to help deliver these victories, which is a debt they can never truly repay.<sup>376</sup> Abdy follows this with another warning: "think not that after you have been at Church, and contributed to the charitable Fund, the business of the Thanksgiving is then over, and you may return to the world and the flesh as usual!"<sup>377</sup> Church attendance is not enough to practice true religion, nor is giving to the "charitable Fund," which was intended for the families of soldiers killed in action.<sup>378</sup> This kind

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<sup>371</sup> The War of the First Coalition lasted five years (1792-1797). Perhaps Abdy was rounding up or adding the French Revolution (1789-1799) which was seen as the catalyst for the war.

<sup>372</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 20.

<sup>373</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 20-21.

<sup>374</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 21. Abdy here likens Great Britain to Israel as characterized in Hosea 11.

<sup>375</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 22. "Chambering" is a term for impure, immodest, and sexual behavior.

<sup>376</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 22.

<sup>377</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 23.

<sup>378</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 23.

of duplicity would only serve as a "mockery and insult" to God and render their services "displeasing to Him and consequently unprofitable to ourselves."<sup>379</sup> Abdy urges them to repent of these sins that threaten themselves, the Church, and the nation because "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but had rather he should turn from his sin and be saved."<sup>380</sup> Only through their repentance can they hope that God will continue to give them favor and bless their nation in this war and in the future to come.<sup>381</sup>

The theme of consequent sin in Abdy's sermon is at times direct, for example in his use of Isaiah 1:11-21 (where the prophet warns Israel against religious practices that are just for show and not from genuine repentance, obedience, and worship); this leaves little room for interpretation as it is an obvious warning. However, Abdy's rhetoric is just as intriguing in what he leaves unsaid. His conditional phrases that tie God's blessing to Great Britain's adherence to true religion leave the listener to ponder the question of what will happen if they should falter. Abdy's references to France as their "spiritual enemies" and the "Republican Yoke" that has led the French and others away from true religion are connected to the latter's military defeats. Abdy mentions Britain's recent victories in the Battle of the Nile and the Battle of Tory Island nine times during his sermon.<sup>382</sup> Each reference is a stark reminder of the cost of being an enemy of God versus the benefit of enjoying God's favor.

Abdy uses these points to indicate that God's favor toward Great Britain is not unconditional. He reminds them to not "*forget Him;*" that it is God who gives competence to their commanders; and that God's favor is a "marvellous appearance...which we now celebrate."<sup>383</sup> This is a profound statement: Abdy claims that God's favor has not always been with Great Britain—hence its marvelous appearance, which is cause for celebration. This implies the need to abstain from sin, collectively and individually, to avoid giving cause to God to withdraw His favor. Abdy shows tact in that he refrains from propagating a cut-and-dry causal relationship between sin and favor; after all, this would cast suspicion on the men of the corps should the war take a turn for the worse. Implying the idea of consequent sin was sufficient to promote self-reflection and spiritual vigilance among the soldiers.

The danger of sin was not just personal, but national. If soldiers and fellow citizens were to be corrupted by sin, or the sinful influences of rebels and apostates, they would risk the welfare of Great Britain itself. Bateman, too, uses this in his sermon to connect the "Flows and Ebbs of Fortune...in consequence of

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<sup>379</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 23-24.

<sup>380</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 24.

<sup>381</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 25.

<sup>382</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 13-16, 20-21.

<sup>383</sup> Abdy, *Sermon*, 9, 12.

their Obedience or Disobedience to [God's] Commands."<sup>384</sup> This was a common theme during times of civil unrest and civil war, usually in response to Jacobite or Irish uprisings. During such times, chaplains preached that those who were not vigilant in their faith risked turning their minds from "dutiful Regard, and respectful Subjection to their *Liege Lord*...and to draw 'em gradually into Sedition, Stubbornness and Rebellion, as we have seen in [the Jacobite Rising of 1715 and]...it will not fail to provoke GOD, sooner or later, to *pour out the bitterest Vials of his Wrath* upon their impious Heads."<sup>385</sup> The theme of sin threatening the security of the country would have appealed to soldiers on the basis of both faith and profession. As for the former, sin invited discontent that could lead to rebellion against God, as for the latter, sin threatened to cause harm to fellow soldiers as it could lead to rebellion against the Crown. It was for these reasons that chaplains exhorted soldiers to be sensitive to their sins, repentant, and prayerful for those in rebellion, "that they may return to their Duty and Happiness" to both God and country.<sup>386</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Anglican sermons delivered to soldiers in eighteenth-century Great Britain have not received much scholarly attention; at best, they have been given peripheral consideration in treatments of broader topics. These sermons and the chaplains who gave them are invaluable for the insights they provide into the social, religious, literary, and military history of this period. They also provide key context for the development of the Army Chaplains' Department in 1796.<sup>387</sup> Interpreting these sermons has revealed that there were distinct trends in rhetoric, themes, Scripture use, and style. The analysis, comparison, and interpretation of these sermons has offered insights into how the themes of service, conduct, and admonishment against sin were addressed in order to reconcile the military profession and the Christian faith, and to encourage soldiers to uphold Christian principles. This helps us to understand what was preached, how it was preached, and why it was preached.

In the context of the eighteenth century as an ecclesiastical and literary period, it is worth noting what is present, but also what is absent in these sermons. Some of these texts use arguments that echo just-war theory, but they fail to reference Saint Augustine or the development of this theory over time up until the sixteenth century. However, this is not unexpected because Anglicans opposed Catholic tradition as an error of faith. Their respective aversion also affected their views on ecclesiastical history, which explains why eighteenth-century Anglican chaplains relied on similar scriptures to support their points (e.g., Acts 10) despite Church

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<sup>384</sup> Bateman, *Necessity and Advantage*, 12.

<sup>385</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 18–19.

<sup>386</sup> Rawlins, *Great Britain's Happiness*, 19.

<sup>387</sup> Snape, *Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, 26.

tradition that would make strong counterpoints (e.g., Cornelius leaving the army after his conversion to Christianity). It was only in the nineteenth century that Anglicans looked at ecclesiastical history from a more scholarly perspective. Other New Testament scriptures that address violence critically were likely overlooked in light of the sermons' target audience and their intended purpose to support the soldiers' faith (rather than encourage them to change their profession). Officers or high-ranking members of society were usually the ones who arranged for the sermons and sponsored their publication, and they would not have supported sermons that were critical of the military or Great Britain's wars.

A similar logic serves to explain the overall lack of satire in these sermons. Despite its popularity in eighteenth-century Great Britain, satire rarely makes an appearance in these sermons. When it is present, it is outwardly focused, particularly toward the enemies of Great Britain (usually the French). Meanwhile, satire directed toward the British monarchy, government, or its wars is not easily found. The sermons enjoyed the patronage of officers, their wives, or government officials, and none of the latter would have supported publications that would have reflected poorly on themselves or questioned their patriotic duty. The literary style of this period also romanticized classical antiquity. Yet, unlike in contemporary literature, Greco-Roman references seem perfunctory when they appear in the sermons. They are usually included to provide token support to Biblical analogies and characterizations, or to allow for comparisons of empires (Roman and British) or virtues (Greek and British). Overall, the relative neglect of these style elements in the sermons may be ascribed to the sermons' emphasis on Biblical references.

The eighteenth century was riddled with wars, and it witnessed the publication of nearly 15,000 sermons; thus, there is a wealth of sources that can be investigated to expand this research, which has only begun to scratch the surface.<sup>388</sup> That said, sermons that specifically address soldiers are few and far between, with fewer than thirty military sermons identified between 1660 and 1783.<sup>389</sup> However, there are likely sermons that have not yet been properly identified or that were preached to "mixed" audiences of soldiers from a regiment who were joining a service for a special occasion or deployment and local parishioners (e.g., Abdy's sermon). Thus, a next step would be to identify these sermons to gain additional data for further comparative analysis.

There are questions that were either not answered in this article or generated as a result of it. These questions can spark new avenues of research and ways to utilize these primary sources in further comparative analysis: What were the

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<sup>388</sup> Caudle, "Measures of Allegiance," 128; according to estimates, between one out of every fourteen and one out of every thirty-three publications was a sermon during this century.

<sup>389</sup> John Cooke, *The Preacher's Assistant [...] Sermons and Discourses Published [...] since the Restoration to the Present Time [...]*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Printed for the Editor, at the Clarendon-Press and Sold by [many], 1783), 394. This figure is askew as there are sermons listed that are not marked as "military" and which were given to military audiences (e.g., Kyte, *True Religion*).

differences between the sermons discussed above and contemporary sermons addressed to British soldiers outside of Great Britain? What were Great Britain's enemies preaching to their soldiers? Are there significant differences between peacetime and wartime sermons? How did sermons change with the establishment of the Army Chaplains' Department going into the nineteenth century? What were the soldiers' reactions, and what was the public reception of these sermons? Are there major differences between sermons delivered to full-time, part-time, or volunteer soldiers? What did opponents and dissenting preachers have to say in their sermons, especially with regard to the themes discussed above?<sup>390</sup> What was said to soldiers before and after battles?

The research potential and possible applications are immense. The latter is especially true for military chaplaincy today. Just as the battlefield is ever evolving, so too are the spiritual needs of soldiers. However, what is unique about their spiritual needs is that, although the centuries pass (or millennia in the case of Cornelius), the fundamental needs of Christian soldiers have remained the same, namely, the need to reconcile the Christian faith and the military profession, and the always present fight for righteousness. As Broughton recognized the unique difficulties faced by Christian soldiers in the opening quotation of this article, it seems fitting that he close it as well:

Can Devotion lodge in the Breast of a Soldier? Or the bloody Trade of War yield faithful Servants to the God of Peace? Yes; for with God *all things are possible*, and Cornelius has given us an Example that All This is easy to be done.<sup>391</sup>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Clay Kenworthy of Pratt, Kansas, earned both a B.A. in History and a B.A. in Anthropology (2009) at Kansas State University, and an M.A. in History (2022) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He teaches U.S. and World History at Eastside Christian Schools in Fullerton, California. The article published here is based on his M.A. thesis.*

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<sup>390</sup> Rev. John Wesley, the leader of the Methodist movement, was repeatedly turned away when he was trying to speak to soldiers; see Kopperman, "Religion and Religious Policy," 397. An excellent example of an Anglican sermon opposing Christians serving as soldiers is John Henry Williams, *War the Stumbling-Block of a Christian: Or, the Absurdity of Defending Religion by the Sword* [...] (London: Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, 1795).

<sup>391</sup> Broughton, *Christian Soldier*, 5. For the italicized text, see Matthew 19:26: "But Jesus beheld them, and said unto them, With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible."

Grislean Palacios

*The U.S. Supreme Court and the First Amendment:  
Michael Les Benedict's Interpretations in "The Blessings of Liberty"*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay outlines some of the major U.S. Supreme Court cases that have redefined how the First Amendment is interpreted and what having freedom of speech, press, assembly, and religion means. Based on Michael Les Benedict's examination of landmark Supreme Court cases in his work "The Blessings of Liberty," it guides the reader through major events in American history that intertwine with changing views of the First Amendment. It argues that each interpretation is a response to current events, technological advancements, and Civil Rights changes, but that no interpretation is irreversible.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; United States (U.S.); U.S. Constitution; Bill of Rights; First Amendment; U.S. Supreme Court; justices; cases; Civil Rights; legal history*

*Introduction*

Just as society has changed since the 1791 ratification of the Bill of Rights – the ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution detailing American rights – interpretations of the First Amendment have changed with it. Although the amendment itself has remained literally unaltered, its interpretation throughout the years has adapted to social issues and current events. The First Amendment grants Americans the freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and the right to petition. Yet various laws and Supreme Court cases have challenged – and at times succeeded in changing – the public definition of, for example, what it means to have freedom of speech. So, what is legally protected by the rights granted under the First Amendment, and what is not? Based on Michael Les Benedict's seminal study of landmark Supreme Court cases in his work *The Blessings of Liberty* (first published 1996),<sup>1</sup> this essay argues that, although the wording of the First Amendment itself remains unchanged, interpretations of it have shifted and adapted to parallel society's technological advancements and Civil Rights changes. These interpretations extend to modern issues, including questions of wartime policing, Civil Rights debates, political protests, and public health concerns.

Soon after the Bill of Rights' ratification, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 were the first test of free speech and free press. The Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) were "passed in preparation for an anticipated war with France" and "tightened restrictions on foreign-born Americans and limited speech critical of the government" which targeted potentially disloyal French sympathizers living in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Specifically, the Sedition Act "made it a crime to falsely criticize government officials," and the Alien Act allowed the U.S. government to deport "dangerous" immigrants, including those affected by the Sedition Act.<sup>3</sup> For the

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Les Benedict, *The Blessings of Liberty: A Concise History of the Constitution of the United States*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017; first published 1996), 98.

<sup>2</sup> "Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)," National Archives, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 98.

first time, American laws were restricting free speech and free press. The acts were nothing if not controversial, and their ramifications became clear soon. Accused of committing illegal “seditious libel,” many Democratic-Republican newspaper editors and congressmen who questioned the constitutionality of the Sedition Act were prosecuted by the Federalist-controlled government.<sup>4</sup> The controversial Sedition trials, particularly the aforementioned prosecutions, contributed to the defeat of the Federalists in the election of 1800. The Democratic-Republican Party repealed the Alien and Sedition Acts or allowed them to expire, deciding unanimously in favor of political freedom and a democracy with opponents rather than suppressing the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press.<sup>5</sup>

*I. African Americans from Enslaved to Freedom (1865–1877):*

During the Reconstruction era (1865–1877), a period following the American Civil War when the previously seceded Southern states rejoined the United States, African Americans struggled to protect their constitutional rights. Prior to the abolition of slavery under the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), enslaved Blacks had lived highly restricted lives under a set of laws known as the Slave Codes. These Slave Codes prohibited enslaved Blacks from having any rights, including the liberties of the First Amendment, since they were considered property rather than humans. For example, enslaved people were not free to assemble in groups of more than five without a white person in attendance for surveillance, and they did not have the freedom of religion due to the prohibition of religious texts, including the Bible. Additionally, the Slave Codes restricted white abolitionists’ rights to free speech and free press by banning pro-abolition publications.

After the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), the Slave Codes were abolished; however, they served as forerunners for the Black Codes—or Jim Crow laws—enacted across all Southern states in 1865 and 1866. The Black Codes continued to restrict formerly enslaved Blacks until Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which granted all Blacks equal protection of their rights and liberties. A short time later, the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) solidified what the Civil Rights Act of 1866 had set forth by guaranteeing “all persons born or naturalized in the United States” due process and “equal protection of the laws.”<sup>6</sup> How precisely the Fourteenth Amendment would be applied and enforced would be determined years later in *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1876), when U.S. Supreme Court Justice Waite overturned the convictions of several white men who had been charged with depriving Blacks of their constitutional right to assembly. The men on trial had killed one hundred (or more) Blacks in the 1873 Colfax Massacre for protesting the rigged victory of a white Democrat (John McEnery) against a

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<sup>4</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 102.

<sup>6</sup> “Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868),” National Archives, [online](#).

Republican (William Pitt Kellogg) who had already been pronounced the winner. Justice Waite argued that the Fourteenth Amendment did not protect individuals from other individuals, but only from the deprivation of rights by the government. The *Cruikshank* decision tied the First and Fourteenth Amendment rights to state and local governments and therefore did not guarantee complete protection of constitutional rights with regard to interaction between individuals.

## II. National Unity or Liberties Amid Global Fear and Uncertainty (1914–1945)

With the U.S. involvement in World War I (1914–1918) and the new fear of communism, the expired Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 returned in a new form as the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918, which were meant to restrict and control new radical ideas. The Espionage Acts, like the Sedition Act of 1798, restricted free speech by making criticism of the government illegal. In response to the Espionage Acts, many civil libertarians banded together to form the Civil Liberties Bureau (C.L.B.), which preceded the National Civil Liberties Bureau (N.C.L.B.) of 1917 and the American Civil Liberties Union (A.C.L.U.) of 1920 that exists to date. The C.L.B. was an American Civil Rights organization founded as a branch of the American Union Against Militarism (A.U.A.M.), specifically dedicated to opposing U.S. involvement in World War I. It defended approximately two thousand people arrested under the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918.<sup>7</sup>

For example, Jacob Abrams, of *Abrams v. U.S.* (1919), was a Russian immigrant arrested for posting flyers in ammunition factories encouraging workers to strike due to the U.S. involvement in the Russian Revolution. Supreme Court Justice Holmes determined that the pamphlets did not endanger the war effort against Germany and thus did not violate the Espionage Act. Other Justices claimed Adams's actions did not pass the bad tendency test, which originates from English common law and "measure[s] the legality of speech by its tendency to cause an illegal action."<sup>8</sup> Ultimately, Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis opposed the bad tendency test in favor of protecting the First Amendment right of free speech.<sup>9</sup> The Espionage and Sedition Acts were finally repealed after the Red Scare of the 1920s, when mass hysteria surrounding communism led to the arrest of many radicals and labor union leaders who criticized the U.S. government.

During the Great Depression (1929–1939), many businesses feared communism-inspired revolts, while workers feared losing their First Amendment liberties and their financial stability due to economic uncertainty. The presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945) saw the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Act, of 1935 as part of FDR's New Deal (1933–1939), a series of federal relief programs, reforms, and public projects meant to alleviate

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<sup>7</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 266.

<sup>8</sup> David M. Rabban, "Bad Tendency Test," in *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. Kermit L. Hall, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), published online.

<sup>9</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 267.



the psychological and financial fears brought on by the economic depression after the stock market crash in 1929. The Wagner Act created the National Labor Relations Board (N.L.R.B.), a federal agency meant “to prevent unfair labor practices that obstructed union organization,” ultimately guaranteeing workers the freedom of speech and assembly with the federal government’s support.<sup>10</sup> The Wagner Act protected workers’ legal right to organize and join labor unions – the freedom of assembly. Before the Wagner Act, workers had struggled to obtain just treatment and conditions against anti-union management and the state and local governments that supported them.

During the Great Depression, local and state governments also threatened the liberties of Americans who were not specifically tied to the labor movement. In *Lovell v. Griffin* (1938) and *Schneider v. Irvington* (1939), the Supreme Court ruled against the violations of liberties, stating that any city law that prohibited the distribution of publications without permission was unconstitutional. The court determined that such laws violated Americans’ freedom of the press and religion. In *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940), Justice Roberts ruled against laws prohibiting the solicitation of money for charity or religious causes without permission, declaring them a violation of the freedom of religion. Conflicts between the freedom of religion and the freedom of speech appear in various other Supreme Court cases.

The underlying issue in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940) was that school administrators had potentially violated two Jehovah’s Witness students’ freedoms of speech and religion by expelling them for refusing to salute the American flag as required by the state legislature. The students argued that saluting the flag was against their religious beliefs since it was like “paying homage to a graven image.”<sup>11</sup> However, Justice Frankfurter led the court’s majority in favor of national unity and the right for public schools to persecute students who refused to salute the American flag or recite the Pledge of Allegiance. Three years later, the Supreme Court overturned this decision in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943), arguing that states did not have the power to restrict anyone’s constitutional right to free speech. National unity was no longer superior to the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment, as seen during times of fear in World War I and World War II. However, during the Cold War era, this would once again change.

### III. Modern Political Challenges and the Continued Strife for Freedoms (1947–present)

The Cold War era (1947–1991) brought new restrictions of free speech and assembly. Similar to the Espionage Acts of World War I, new legislation was enacted during this time of geopolitical tensions between world superpowers, namely, the United States, the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.), and their respective allies.

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<sup>10</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 289.

<sup>11</sup> Alex Aichinger, “*Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940),” *The First Amendment Encyclopedia*, Middle Tennessee State University, [online](#).

During the Korean War (1950–1953), Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) to avoid strikes interrupting steel production. The act gave the president the power to “order strikers back to work in cases threatening the national welfare.”<sup>12</sup> It also required workers to take an oath stating no affiliation with communism as part of their employment contract. Overall, the act violated workers’ freedom of assembly by prohibiting boycotts and strikes and their freedom of speech by prohibiting unions from contributing to political campaigns. The U.S. government justified the act under its federal power to regulate commerce and protect national security as a higher priority than protecting constitutional liberties, as seen in cases like *Dennis v. U.S.* (1951).<sup>13</sup>

In *Dennis v. U.S.* (1951), Justice Black and Justice Douglas used the clear and present danger test to determine whether Dennis’s communist doctrine teachings would inevitably lead to the overthrow of the U.S. government.<sup>14</sup> After taking a cost-benefit approach, according to which the cost of no free speech would be weighed against the benefit of public safety, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of regulating free speech in all cases involving communism. In 1950, fearful of the danger posed by communism, Congress passed the Subversive Activities Control Act, or McCarran Act, prioritizing national security and public safety over constitutional liberties. The act required communists and other subversive group members to register with the attorney general. Yet in *U.S. v. Robel* (1967), when Robel was charged under the McCarran Act for being a registered communist who was working illegally in a defense facility, the Supreme Court ruled the act unconstitutional and a violation of the right to free assembly. In *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969), the Supreme Court ruled all laws curtailing the freedom of speech unconstitutional, no matter how radical the ideas, unless they posed a threat according to the clear and present danger test. These cases upheld free speech for all during times of uncertainty and fear of impending international conflicts.

In addition to communist-related cases, other cases like, *U.S. v. O’Brien* (1968), *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969), and *Johnson v. Texas* (1989), introduced the debate pertaining to radical actions as an expression of free speech or as a threat to government interests. In *O’Brien* (1968), David Paul O’Brien had illegally burned his draft card as a form of protest based on his anti-war beliefs. The Supreme Court ruled against the burning of the draft card, arguing that such an action disrupted the efficiency of the “government’s legitimate interest in administering the draft” and maintaining an efficient military draft system.<sup>15</sup> In *Tinker* (1969), school administrators suspended two students for wearing black bands in protest of the Vietnam War (1954–1975). Justice Fortas argued that schools did not have the right to prohibit student’s free speech or any other constitutional right unless it

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<sup>12</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 353.

<sup>13</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 353.

<sup>14</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 316.

<sup>15</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 386.

interfered “materially and substantially” with the operation of the school. In *Johnson* (1989), Gregory Johnson was charged under Texas law for burning an American flag at the 1984 Republican Convention. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Johnson, arguing his action was a representation of free speech in the form of anger and protest rather than opposition to the U.S. government and the values represented by the flag. Justice Brennan stated that, although many did not approve of the action, the First Amendment guarantees free speech to everyone.

Although most Supreme Court cases discussed by Michael Les Benedict involve issues over free speech, many other cases involve debates over the freedom of religion, such as *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963) and *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971). In *School District of Abington Township* (1963), the Supreme Court ruled against the encouragement of religious prayer or instruction in public schools due to the violation of the students’ right to freedom of religion. Additionally, they ruled that imposing religious beliefs on students further violated the separation of church and state.<sup>16</sup> In a similar case, *Lemon* (1971), the Supreme Court overturned a Pennsylvania state law that provided aid to religious schools as blurring the separation of church and state. To resolve future state-religion cases, the courts created the *Lemon* test, which helps determine whether there is “excessive entanglement” between government and religion that would violate the constitutional right to freedom of religion.<sup>17</sup> In one *Lemon* test case, *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984), the Supreme Court determined that a religious display on government property did not violate the freedom of religion. They reasoned that it had the “secular purpose of celebrating a state-sanctioned holiday.”<sup>18</sup> Another *Lemon* test case, *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* (2002), brought into question government aid of religious schools through a school voucher plan. However, the Supreme Court reasoned that the program did not violate the *Lemon* test since it gave aid to the parents rather than directly to the religious schools.

In the early 2000s, there were multiple Supreme Court cases, similar to those during World War I, World War II, and the Cold War, resulting from global fear and uncertainty. Most of these cases occurred in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks (2001) and the subsequent passage of the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act (2001). This act provided law enforcement with the tools to expand federal surveillance powers, including eavesdropping on telephone and electronic communications with anyone. Although the purpose was to obtain information on serious crimes, the government’s invasion of the public’s privacy fueled a lot of debate surrounding violations of various First Amendment liberties, including free speech and free press. Specifically, the act allowed the government to impose searches based on speech, assembly, and the press, all of which should be protected under the First Amendment. Additionally, it permitted gag orders

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<sup>16</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 320.

<sup>17</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 386.

<sup>18</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 392.

without judicial review. Just as violations of free press, assembly, and speech continue to be debated in the U.S. Supreme Court, freedom of religion has been the topic of many recent debates and cases.

Freedom of religion has been highly contested when it comes to public health issues, including access to birth control. In *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores* (2014), Hobby Lobby owners refused to provide contraception coverage as part of their health insurance under the protection of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (R.F.R.A.) of 1993. The act gave “private individuals [the freedom] from [not] having to conform to federal laws inconsistent with their religious beliefs.”<sup>19</sup> The Supreme Court argued that, according to the R.F.R.A., corporations were legally individuals, and therefore had the constitutional right to freedom of religion. The courts ruled that the contraceptive mandate under the Affordable Care Act violated the R.F.R.A., and thus Hobby Lobby was not required to provide their employees with coverage of certain contraceptives. As can be seen with the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* (1973) in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* (2022), women’s health and the freedom of religion continue to be highly debated topics.

### *Conclusion*

Although the First Amendment is the best-known portion of the Bill of Rights, its constitutional guarantees of the freedom of religion, speech, the press, assembly, and the right to petition have been—and continue to be—at the center of many U.S. Supreme Court cases. These cases have changed what is and what is not protected under certain liberties. However, as we have seen with the most recent controversial case, *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization* (2022), the court’s decisions are never truly finite and irreversible. Because of this, Americans’ rights and liberties are constantly shifting based on new interpretations. The First Amendment may be one of the easiest amendments to understand linguistically, however, the pertaining interpretations have morphed repeatedly over time. As we approach new challenges and modern debates, the First Amendment will continue to see interpretations that differ from the many that have preceded it.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Grislean Palacios of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in Global Cultures with minors in History and Biological Sciences (2018) at the University of California, Irvine, and an M.A. in Public History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She interned for the Library of Congress’s Herencia Crowdsourcing Campaign, where she published, “Mexico City’s Desague of 1607: From an Island to a Water Crisis” (2022). The essay published here originated in a seminar on American Legal and Constitutional History offered by CSUF’s History Department.

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<sup>19</sup> Les Benedict, *Blessings of Liberty*, 488.

David Cantwell

*The “Lost Cause” Movement  
and the Debate over Confederate Monuments*

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the ongoing debate over the removal of Confederate monuments from public display. An examination of the pro-Confederacy “Lost Cause” movement (that originally constructed the memorials in the early 1900s) reveals how and why the controversy surrounding these statues has waxed and waned over time. In the early twenty-first century, the battle for social justice is raging once again around these monuments, sparked by the murder of George Floyd. The article argues that, until the United States comes to terms with the implicit racism of Confederate monuments, it will never truly be able to move on.

KEYWORDS: modern history; United States (U.S.); Confederate States of America (C.S.A.); Civil War; Robert E. Lee; monuments; memorials; Lost Cause; race relations; Civil Rights

*Introduction*

New Orleans, 1884: The city once known as “The Jewel of the Confederacy” shines, pulsing with the party atmosphere of Carnival season. On this February twenty-second, amidst the citywide festivities, a crowd of thousands gathers in Lee Circle, including VIPs from all over the South—a veritable who-is-who of state officials, judges, mayors, and other dignitaries. As the moment of the grand reveal approaches, a sudden rain brings an abrupt halt to the litany of speeches and orations about the man being honored. As a reporter for the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* later described the scene: “[T]here swept through...one of the most terrific storms...that scattered the crowd almost in a panic.”<sup>1</sup> Luckily for the celebrants, there soon comes a respite in the downpour, and much of the (now rather damp) crowd returns just in time to witness former Confederate States of America President Jefferson Davis pull the rope, releasing the veil covering the bronze monument dedicated to the late General Robert E. Lee, towering triumphantly over the mass of people below. A roar of approval bursts from the excited crowd, especially from a large collection of proud Confederate veterans, as Lee’s statue gazes toward the North, seemingly scanning the horizon for the Union enemy.

New Orleans, 2017: After many decades of confrontations and controversy, Confederate statues across the city are being removed in response to calls for racial justice and equity that echo throughout the United States. Despite dust-ups and fistfights during the removal of other statues between advocates both for and against, a pervasive Mardi Gras-like party atmosphere saturates Lee Circle this May nineteenth, as thousands gather to witness the permanent removal of the Robert E. Lee statue from its eighty-foot-high perch. While the work crew (clad in full-face masks and bulletproof vests in response to anonymous death threats) moves to set up their equipment, the crowd surrounding the circle parties on.

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<sup>1</sup> “Multiple News Items,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, February 28, 1884, 4, Nineteenth Century U.S. Newspapers [database].

Brass bands play counterpoint to radio broadcasts; kids and adults alike jump rope or dance; some take a moment to pay respects by saluting the General; some take pictures, all seeming to have a good time. Finally, as the workday ends just after six p.m., a crane reaches out and lifts the statue off its lofty position of high honor with little fanfare, ending over a century of Lee's northward gaze. In a blink, the monument is gone, summed up by one observer as, "It happened just like *that*."<sup>2</sup>

The statue of Robert E. Lee in New Orleans is only one example of the Confederate monuments that pepper the United States from coast to coast. The majority of them, erected mostly in the early decades of the twentieth century, coincided with the passing of segregationist Jim Crow laws in the former slave states and a resurgence of the white supremacist terrorist group known as the Ku Klux Klan. A second wave of monument building kicked off in the 1950s and 1960s as a response to the Civil Rights movement, as summed up by Alabama Governor George Wallace in his 1963 inaugural address: "I say segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."<sup>3</sup> Though protests against Confederate memorials have taken place since their inception, the latest push for their removal began primarily as part of protests following the 2015 Charleston shooting incident at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Protesting has continued more or less unabated to the present before coming to a head in the wake of the murder of George Floyd in May 2020. The contrast in society's attitude between the two highlighted time periods demonstrates how the country has moved away from the glorification of the Confederacy and its attendant heroes. I argue that though progress has been made over the years, until the United States is willing and able to address the disparate race-based reaction to Confederate monuments and their implicit support for a failed white supremacist regime, racial division in society will continue to fester and never properly heal.

### *I. The Mythological Confederacy*

There is a vocal contingent of Americans in the modern era who consider removing Confederate monuments to be a slippery slope. "What's next?" they might argue, "removing statues of Washington and Jefferson because they were slave owners? Why are you trying to erase history?" This is a common argument put forth in favor of preserving the monuments: they are important for remembering a troublesome past and removing them just to ease the fears of the offended is tantamount to erasing said past. This argument is laced with irony, as it was essentially the mission of pro-Confederate groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (U.D.C.), various connected monument associations, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (S.C.V.), and a variety of other veteran and women's associations to rewrite or reinvent the actual history, which

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<sup>2</sup> Campbell Robertson, "From Lofty Perch: New Orleans Monument to Confederacy Comes Down," *The New York Times*, May 20, 2017, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 407.

they found offensive. Whatever way such groups may wish to spin it, the removal of Confederate monuments, far from being an erasure of history, can be thought of as a kind of "course correction," working to remove the remnants of white supremacy's failure and the demonstrably false political propaganda known as the "Lost Cause."

There is often a misperception that the "Lost Cause" narrative is legitimate history and is simply the Civil War told from the South's point of view. None of these claims are even remotely true. At the conclusion of the Civil War, the United States was grappling with the devastating losses and destruction left in its wake, especially prominent in the defeated and demoralized former states of the Confederacy. The death toll of the war had claimed nearly an entire generation of men, leaving survivors with the feeling that the Southern way of life was under threat of total eradication. This was a bitter pill for Southerners to swallow, having fought, sacrificed, and prayed so much and so hard while still being denied the promised victory against Federal oppression. The population began to question themselves: "What did we fight for? Was it worth it? How are we going to remember what happened?" The imaginary ahistorical narrative of the "Lost Cause," as outlined by authors such as Edward Pollard, former Confederate General Jubal Early, and former Confederate President Jefferson Davis, was invented as an attempt to answer these questions, justify secession, and obfuscate the actual history of the Confederate States of America (C.S.A.).<sup>4</sup>

The tenets of the "Lost Cause" include a litany of excuses for the South's eventual defeat, such as that they were outmanned and outgunned from the start and that the Union generals employed dishonorable and dirty tactics to win, among a slew of others. Confederate notables such as the "holy trinity" of Robert E. Lee, Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson, and Jefferson Davis are practically treated as saints in this new Southern mythology, while battlefield soldiers are idealized as honorable and stalwart defenders of their homeland and the Southern way of life, doing their constitutional duty to stand against federal tyranny.<sup>5</sup> Slavery and its attendant evils are whitewashed and downplayed, putting forth the imaginary character of the "faithful and happy darkie," while claiming that the South would have given up slavery in time.<sup>6</sup> The push for erecting monuments and memorials to commemorate the Confederacy grew in tandem with the dissemination of the "Lost Cause" myth, a movement driven primarily by the women of the South.

During the years of reconstruction following the war, the "Lost Cause" really began to hit its stride. Southern white women, drawing on a nineteenth-century

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<sup>4</sup> Matt Atkinson, "Jubal Early and the Molding of Confederate Memory," lecture, February 16, 2016, *YouTube*, [online](#); Edward Alfred Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2010; first published 1866).

<sup>5</sup> Caroline E. Janney, "The Lost Cause," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, February 6, 2023, [online](#).

<sup>6</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018; first published 1997), 46–47.

societal belief that women were inherently apolitical, organized into memorial associations, the largest and most connected of which was known as the United Daughters of the Confederacy.<sup>7</sup> The specific purpose of the U.D.C. was to shore up and supplement the political writings of their menfolk, and it is largely due to their efforts that memorials glorifying the C.S.A. became so widespread. According to Karen L. Cox, history professor at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte,

White Southerners understood these monuments as symbols of defiance—against racial inclusion, federal intrusion, and challenges to the Southern way of life. African Americans understood that the hundreds of Confederate monuments spread throughout the Southern landscape in places of prominence, whether in town squares, on courthouse lawns, or on university campuses, stood as symbols of racial inequality.<sup>8</sup>

Although the memorial associations never explicitly stated that their work was intended to intimidate blacks or celebrate the plantation class's return to power post-Reconstruction, their tacit endorsement and approval of racially motivated violence and oppression makes it difficult to believe any different. Perhaps the most succinct summation of this attitude appears in a 1916 book penned by Los Angeles U.D.C. chapter president Annie Cooper Burton, titled *The Ku Klux Klan*, at the end of her introduction: "[The Klan's] work was nobly done; and our rescued South still sings her gratitude to her heaven-sent protectors, the mysterious K.K.K."<sup>9</sup> All of these measures to promote an imaginary past were undertaken as part of an overall intent to focus on more than simply "polishing up" the South's reputation; they also served as an attempt to reverse the war's effects on the South through political agitation. The end goal was to reestablish the unparalleled antebellum power the plantation class had once held and retighten their grip on the political landscape before they lost all control permanently.

## *II. Political Ploys Protecting Power*

After the Civil War, the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery; the Fourteenth granted American citizenship to those newly freed; and the Fifteenth protected the right to vote for black men. Nullification of these new laws became another goal of this movement, and to that end, most Southern states instituted poll taxes and literacy tests, attempting to limit black access to the ballot box. In a rather ironic twist, these laws often had the unintended consequence of also preventing most of the poor white population from exercising their voting rights. While such measures were also employed in the North (especially for incoming waves of immigrants in the late 1800s), what set the South apart was the addition of violent

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<sup>7</sup> Janney, "Lost Cause."

<sup>8</sup> Karen L. Cox, *No Common Ground: Confederate Monuments and the Ongoing Fight for Racial Justice* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 21.

<sup>9</sup> Annie Cooper Burton, *The Ku Klux Klan* (Los Angeles: Warren T. Potter, 1916), 1.



physical intimidation to promote black voter suppression.<sup>10</sup> Many elected officials in the South voiced full-throated approval of the violence, openly advocating for what was essentially terrorism. In 1900, Senator Benjamin "Pitchfork" Tillman of South Carolina went so far as to defend white supremacist violence on the floor of the U.S. Senate, stating in a blatantly racist tirade:

We did not disenfranchise the negroes until 1895. Then we had a constitutional convention convened which took the matter up calmly, deliberately, and avowedly with the purpose of disenfranchising as many of them as we could under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments...[The negro] is not meddling with politics, for he found that the more he meddled with them the worse off he got. As to his 'rights'...We of the South have never recognized the right of the negro to govern white men, and we never will. We have never believed him to be equal to the white man.<sup>11</sup>

Whatever the stance in the Senate or the South may have been, there were numerous white Union veterans in the North who stood vehemently against memorializing the C.S.A. For example, in 1889, Grand Army Regiment Post 88 of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, filed a petition with the state protesting the erection of the first Confederate monument at the Gettysburg battlefield. Their strong stance gained much support from the local population as well as other Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) posts across the country. These men had fought in battle and felt betrayed that the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association would choose to build a monument "commemorating the disloyal deeds of...[a] rebel regiment."<sup>12</sup> In response to their petition, Pennsylvania Governor James Beaver, himself a Battle of Gettysburg veteran, stated in an interview, "I am strongly in favor of the government making appropriations to erect markers on the positions occupied by the Confederate commands, as a matter of history...[but] I am and always will be opposed to any rebel organization erecting its own monuments within the grounds."<sup>13</sup> The petition did not go unopposed, however, as ex-Confederates, Southern apologists, and even some Unionists (acting in the spirit of national reconciliation) stood fiercely against it.

No matter how heavy the opposition, G.A.R. Post 88 chose to double down on their position, releasing a scathing statement to the press on Halloween 1889:

As soldiers and citizens we have no apologies to make for calling words by their proper names, 'traitor' a traitor and 'rebel' a rebel...We reiterate that we are opposed to the erection of monuments...upon the battlefields of Gettysburg or any other...that will in the slightest degree

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<sup>10</sup> Brad Epperly, Christopher Witko, Ryan Strickler, and Paul White, "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the U.S.," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (2020): 756–769.

<sup>11</sup> "Speech of Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, March 23, 1900," *Congressional Record*, 56<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, 3223–3224, reprinted in Richard Purday, ed., *Document Sets for the South in U.S. History* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1991; first published 1990), 147.

<sup>12</sup> "Opposing the Rebel Monument," *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, November 21, 1889, 2, [online](#).

<sup>13</sup> "Monuments at Gettysburg," *Rock Island Daily Argus*, October 26, 1889, 2, [online](#).

make glorious the deeds of those who trampled underfoot the national ensign. We believe in making treason odious."<sup>14</sup>

These statements show that back then, even as now, opposition to honoring the Confederacy had been given voice since the first dedications in the closing years of the nineteenth century. After the rash of memorial construction funded by the U.D.C. in the 1910s and 1920s waned, dissemination and support for the "Lost Cause" were diminished but never fully disappeared, becoming a "sleeping dragon" that could stir at any time. In the 1950s and 1960s, the snoozing beast of the Confederacy once again awoke to attack the burgeoning Civil Rights movement.

### *III. Mid-Century Resurgence*

In the first years of the 1960s, young black men and women began to take direct political action to draw attention to America's racial inequality. Protests such as the 1960 Greensboro "sit-in," organized by North Carolina Agricultural and Technical (A&T) State University students, and the Freedom Riders' testing of federal laws regarding segregation on interstate public transit in 1961 kicked off the Civil Rights movement in earnest. With those first actions establishing a solid foundation, the stage was set for the 1963 March on Washington, where over 250,000 people walked to the Capitol to present their arguments for racial equality to Congress.<sup>15</sup> The message came through loud and clear, and the government finally responded. In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, outlawing discrimination based on race, color, religion, gender, or national origin. The following year, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, prohibiting racial discrimination in the voting process. These sudden changes righting historic racial inequities triggered many white Southerners, creating the right conditions to allow the "Lost Cause" to come to the fore once again, just in time for the centennial of the Civil War.

The time between 1961 and 1965 was chock full of displays of the "Lost Cause" and the revival of Confederate heroism during centennial commemoration ceremonies. Multiple state legislatures voted to add the Confederate Battle Flag to their state banners, supported by white supremacist groups like the Citizens Councils of America, a.k.a. the "White Collar Klan." Those same legislatures authorized hundreds of thousands to fund centennial celebrations, including battle reenactments and parades. Monument building was not left out of the mix, with thirty-four new statues erected between 1950 and 1969.<sup>16</sup> Many of these became rallying points of protest for black Americans, such as the Meredith March in June 1966 in Grenada, Mississippi. Though the Confederate soldier monument located in the center of the town was not the primary point of the march, the

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<sup>14</sup> "By Their Proper Names," *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, October 31, 1889, 2, [online](#).

<sup>15</sup> Cox, *No Common Ground*, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Cox, *No Common Ground*, 70-71.

bronze statue stood as a symbol of the white dominance facing challenge.<sup>17</sup> Protests for equality continued to mount, shifting the target and attacking the statues directly. One such demonstration took place in Tuskegee, Alabama, following the killing of twenty-one-year-old black man Sam Younge Jr. and the escape from justice of the sixty-eight-year-old white man who had shot him dead after an argument over which restroom Sam could use. Following the shooter's acquittal, the furious crowd defaced and damaged the local Confederate soldier monument, splashing it with black paint and stoking a bonfire at its base. Passions ran high, with cries of "Black Power!" ringing out and one woman shouting, "Let's get *all* the statues – not just one! Let's go all over the state and get all the statues!"<sup>18</sup> Since the crowd could not act against the killer directly, the statue stood as an analogue and target for their anger and frustration. The same feelings would continue into the mid-1970s, though they lost steam as the Confederate dragon returned to its slumber and passions cooled off. Just as before, the beast was merely snoozing, and the underlying issues still remained unaddressed and unameliorated.

#### IV. Here in the Now

Now, in the first two decades of the twenty-first century, the controversy over the Confederacy has once again risen to prominence. Questions over the legitimacy and often de facto, if not explicit, government approval of Confederate monument culture have been on the rise, expanding beyond the medium of honorary sculpture into naming conventions. Though statues and stone markers are the most common manifestations of "Lost Cause" memory, commemorations take a wide variety of forms. The names of schools and colleges, military bases, counties, cities, and even state holidays all serve to normalize the false memory of the C.S.A. in America today. Until very recently, the majority of government entities at the state level have supported keeping Confederate monuments intact and maintained by tax dollars despite protests from local residents. Furthermore, there is little evidence to support claims of a cohesive nationwide movement to bring down the monuments en masse. In fact, out of the over 1,700 examples located across the country, only about 100 have been removed or renamed since June 2015.<sup>19</sup> Claims that the calls for removal come top-down from one side of the aisle or the other have been proven false, and the majority of opposition has come at the local, grassroots level. For example, the order to remove four C.S.A. statues in New Orleans (including that of the aforementioned General Lee) came after a vote of the city council in response to public outcry following the 2015 shooting at

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<sup>17</sup> Cox, *No Common Ground*, 100–101.

<sup>18</sup> Cox, *No Common Ground*, 102–104.

<sup>19</sup> "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, February 1, 2019, [online](#).

"Mother Emanuel" in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>20</sup> "Old Joe," a Confederate statue in Gainesville, Florida, was quietly removed and relocated by order of the county commissioner after being in place for over a century.<sup>21</sup> In October 2017, a Fayette County council vote to remove two statues in Lexington, Kentucky, was unanimous, and the statues were relocated to a local cemetery, despite protest from the state heritage council. As Mayor Jim Gray put it, "our local authority remains intact; this is a local decision, as it should be."<sup>22</sup>

Also in 2017, the city of Memphis, Tennessee, wished to remove a statue of the notorious Confederate General and Ku Klux Klan founder Nathan Bedford Forrest, initially funded by the U.D.C. and erected in 1905.<sup>23</sup> Preventing the removal was a state law that prohibited the city itself from acting. The council got creative, finding a workaround by selling the land to a non-profit organization, which chose to promptly relocate the statue to a local cemetery maintained by the Sons of Confederate Veterans organization. Shortly after the relocation, a Republican contingent of the Tennessee legislature retaliated, opting to cut \$250,000 in funding for the city, which Democrats and even some of their fellow Republicans condemned as a "punitive" measure.<sup>24</sup> There are numerous more examples to choose from, though the overall pattern is the same: state legislatures serve as the primary obstacle to towns and cities deciding whether or not to keep or remove their local monuments. However, that obstacle has not curtailed ongoing efforts by some local-level governments to remove the monuments from the public sphere.

While there is nothing inherently wrong with honoring war dead, if one believes that monuments to the Confederacy have any connection to true historical education, that belief is dead wrong. In fact, the majority of those today who wish to use the memorials as historical research tools are those who oppose their existence. The overwhelming consensus holds the position that these statues belong in museums rather than in public, but unfortunately, most museums cannot or do not want to be saddled with the burden of them in their collections. Large pieces of statuary are difficult and expensive to maintain, and the logistics involved with placing outdoor sculptures into limited indoor spaces are usually beyond the average museum's means.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> City of New Orleans, Mayor Latoya Cantrell, "City of New Orleans Begins Removal of Divisive Confederate Statues Commemorating 'Cult of the Lost Cause'," April 24, 2017, [online](#).

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Caplan, "'Old Joe' Comes Down," *The Gainesville Sun*, August 15, 2017, [online](#).

<sup>22</sup> "Kentucky City Removes 2 Confederate Statues from Courthouse," *CBS News*, October 18, 2017, [online](#).

<sup>23</sup> Lorado Taft and Adeline Adams, *The History of American Sculpture* (Tokyo: Athena Press, 2019; first published 1930).

<sup>24</sup> Alex Horton, "Tennessee Lawmakers Punish Memphis for Removing Statue of Confederate and KKK Leader," *The Washington Post*, April 18, 2018, [online](#).

<sup>25</sup> Noah Caldwell and Audie Cornish, "Where Do Confederate Monuments Go after They Come down?," *NPR*, August 5, 2018, [online](#).

One possible solution to display these pieces would be the establishment of a new museum dedicated to the history of slavery and black oppression in America. Such an exhibition would have the potential to shift the context in which these monuments are interpreted and promote the truth behind their construction and promotion. The downside of this approach would be the possibility of such a place becoming a twisted type of shrine for white supremacists, similar to the actions of Neo-Nazi groups in Holocaust museums and concentration camps in Germany.<sup>26</sup> In the end, there may be no good answer to the Confederate conundrum, and even if every monument faced a vote to be removed, it would take years, if not decades, to accomplish that goal.

With all of the difficulties and controversies involved in combatting the historic revisionism of the “Lost Cause” and its propagation of a false history of heroism on the part of the C.S.A., historians are faced with the question of whether or not the effort is worth it. Intense examination of the dark eras of the nation’s past can aid us in dealing with the issues we have today and counteracting the fake narrative of the Confederate States. It provides context to the origins of modern problems and can help stimulate creative solutions. While it is fairly easy to explain how the Battle of Waterloo or the “fall” of Rome have shaped the modern world, discussing the influence of slavery, colonialism, and indigenous genocide poses a much more difficult challenge. Comparatively, however, the latter is probably a much more constructive conversation to have.

### *Conclusion*

The establishment of the Confederate States of America and the resultant Civil War mark one of the darkest and bloodiest times in America’s history, and the disagreements, conflicts, and debates over whether those who rebelled against the Union deserve recognition are ongoing and seemingly without a solution. Conflict arising from the message and meaning of symbolic Southern statuary will continue to take place as it has since the very beginning, driving ever-increasing racial unrest and division in society. Monuments serve as a type of storytelling, displaying the historical narrative of a country and showing what it values and honors the most. More than a century after their construction and dedication, these memorials to Confederate white supremacy and its “heroes” remain lightning rods of racial division and unrest in the country. The United States must finally recognize, acknowledge, and fight against the false “Lost Cause” narrative of Confederate historical claims, in addition to removing its monuments, if it wishes to finally mend the wounds that remain open and bleeding freely after all these years.

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<sup>26</sup> Agence France-Presse, “Neo-Nazi Provocations on the Rise in Germany,” *Courthouse News Service*, April 14, 2020, [online](#).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *David Cantwell of Riverside, California, earned a B.A. in History (2023) from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The article published here originated in a Historical Writing seminar offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Walter Wheeler

*Community Builders:  
Mexican-American Women and Olvera Street  
in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*

ABSTRACT: This article examines the role of Mexican-American women in the Olvera Street/Plaza area of Los Angeles, California, during the twentieth century. Based on a combination of newspaper articles, photographs, and oral history interviews from the period, as well as existing scholarly research, it focuses on the response of Mexican-American women to the encroachment of Anglo tourists and business interests into their existing community. The article demonstrates how Mexican-American women protected and facilitated the growth of their community over time.

KEYWORDS: modern history; United States (U.S.); American West; California; Los Angeles; Olvera Street; Plaza; Mexican-American women; cultural displacement; ethnotourism

*Introduction*

On Easter Sunday 1930, Olvera Street in Los Angeles opened as a Mexican marketplace modeled on California's Spanish colonial past. The project enjoyed resounding commercial success by creating a Mexican-themed oasis in the city's old downtown district marketed toward Anglo tourists and locals. For Anglos, Olvera Street offered a Mexican cultural experience without the need to travel south of the border. As an imagined landscape, Olvera Street fits the romantic Spanish vision popularized during the 1920s and 1930s in California. Olvera Street's connection to California's past serves as the point of departure for my research. The location's compelling story stems not from its financial success but from the Mexican-American community's spatial, social, and political relationship with the attraction's Anglo boosters, benefactors, and visitors. More specifically, my study examines the reaction and response of the Mexican-American community to the construction of Olvera Street. Ultimately, my article reveals the pivotal role Mexican-American women played in building a strong community despite the challenges posed by the encroachment of Anglo Angelenos.

The story of Olvera Street and the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles derives itself from California's complex colonial past. In her 2018 monograph, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769–1885*, Erica Perez delves into the cultural and interpersonal realities brought on by the shift in control over California from indigenous groups to Spain, Spain to Mexico, and Mexico to the United States. As a central theme, Perez examines how “Californios and Native peoples in the nineteenth century” as well as “twentieth century Mexican Americans...faced challenges in preserving the integrity of their culture.”<sup>1</sup> The cultural displacement, through both overt and subtle methods, of the conquered by the conqueror played

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<sup>1</sup> Erika Perez, *Colonial Intimacies: Interethnic Kinship, Sexuality, and Marriage in Southern California, 1769–1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 244.

a central role in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. While colonial laws and edicts certainly impacted people's lives, the strength of Perez's analysis lies in a focus on the impact of cultural colonialism on communities. In examining Olvera Street and the Mexican-American community, I apply a similar framework by centering my analysis on the community itself rather than the broader political and social realities of California.

While William D. Estrada's 2008 study, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space*, provides valuable context and background information,<sup>2</sup> the existing scholarship lacks a gender-oriented and community-based approach. In a similar vein, Phoebe Kropp's 2006 monograph, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place*, offers a compelling analysis of the broader statewide obsession over California's Spanish and Mexican past,<sup>3</sup> but does not present Olvera Street as a story of gender and cultural resilience. Meanwhile, William Deverell's 2014 work, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*, examines the whitewashing of Los Angeles' history by Anglo elites.<sup>4</sup> My study aims to break new ground by using gender and community as the analytical framework to guide my research. In order to dig deeper, I rely on a collection of primary sources, including historical photographs, newspaper articles, interviews, and sociological studies. In addition, Elizabeth R. Escobedo's 2013 study, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits: The Lives of Mexican American Women on the World War II Home Front*, successfully highlights the impact of Mexican-American women in Los Angeles.<sup>5</sup> Taken together, the evidence tells the significant story of Mexican-American women on both Olvera Street and in broader Los Angeles.

### *I. Political and Social Circumstances*

During the early twentieth century, Los Angeles rapidly industrialized. Industrial growth brought with it a drastic need for labor to fuel continued economic development. At the time, the general area surrounding what would eventually become Olvera Street went by the name of "Sonoratown," while the specific future location of Olvera Street was generally referred to as "the Plaza." For the city's Anglo leadership and business interests, the people living in Sonoratown formed the backbone of the industrial labor force.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, racial issues and conflict

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<sup>2</sup> William D. Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth R. Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits: The Lives of Mexican American Women on the World War II Home Front* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Isabela Seong Leong Quintana, "Making Do, Making Home: Borders and the Worlds of Chinatown and Sonoratown in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 1 (2014): 47-74, here 53.



played a major role in early twentieth-century Los Angeles and the Sonoratown neighborhood. Isabela Seong Leong Quintana's 2014 article, "Making Do, Making Home: Borders and the Worlds of Chinatown and Sonoratown in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles," details the segregation of Chinese and Mexican Americans in Sonoratown.<sup>7</sup> For Anglo Los Angeles, the city's "image was based on an ideal of a white city maintained through segregation, commerce, and public services."<sup>8</sup> Racial segregation combined with increased immigration brought on by industrialization resulted in a high concentration of working-class Chinese and Mexican-Americans packed into Sonoratown.

In Sonoratown, Chinese and Mexican-Americans struggled to "make do" with their less-than-ideal circumstances. As Quintana has shown, Plaza residents repurposed the large villas of former *Californio* elites into house courts containing large numbers of families and single-male industrial laborers.<sup>9</sup> Within these house courts, residents typically lived in very close proximity to one another, with individual rooms partitioned for each family or individual. In 1906, the Sanborn Map Company produced a fire insurance map depicting the layout of the large Buena Vista/New High Street house court.<sup>10</sup> This map conveys the stark contrast between the home lives of Sonoratown's minority residents and the traditional nuclear family-based housing constructed for Anglos. In addition to house courts, many denizens of the Plaza resorted to living inside multi-family shared railroad boxcars provided by their industrial employers.<sup>11</sup> Life in boxcars closely mirrored the experiences of house court residents.

The inherently tight quarters in these house courts and boxcars posed challenges to everyday life. Spatial constraints, poverty, and a lack of resources resulted in a lack of privacy, scarce access to clean water, and exposure to disease.<sup>12</sup> However, Plaza life did result in the formation of community connections, primarily through forced interaction. As Quintana explains, Mexican-Americans living in house courts relied on shared space to access water, bathrooms, and fire pits for cooking. Further, these communal spaces provided a place for women to bond and assist one another in laundry, gardening, and shared

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<sup>7</sup> Quintana, "Making Do, Making Home," 53.

<sup>8</sup> Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 54.

<sup>9</sup> Quintana, "Making Do, Making Home." See also the historical photograph "Adobe House Court in Sonora Town" (ca. 1890), Security National Bank Collection, Courtesy of the Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection, Los Angeles, California.

<sup>10</sup> See the historical Sanborn Fire Insurance map, depicting each unit of the Buena Vista/New High Street house court (1906), Sanborn Map Company, Insurance Maps, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, Volume 3 (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1906), sheet 338.

<sup>11</sup> Quintana, "Making Do, Making Home," 58.

<sup>12</sup> Dana Cuff, "The Figure of the Neighbor: Los Angeles Past and Future," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2004): 559–582, here 563.

childcare.<sup>13</sup> While men worked industrial jobs during the day, Mexican-American women had little choice but to interact with their neighbors and fellow community members. Community bonds and networks formed during the years preceding Olvera's development would later help facilitate the development of a strong Mexican-American community in the Plaza area.

The problems in the Plaza area only served to reinforce negative racial stereotypes propagated by powerful Anglo institutions in the city. The overcrowding of the Plaza area combined with poverty and crime resulted in what Anglo Los Angeles described as an unsanitary and dangerous slum.<sup>14</sup> Violence, sickness, and dilapidation in the Plaza area served as a punching bag for elite institutions such as the *Los Angeles Times* and provided a useful scapegoat for the city's ills. Certainly, the real issues facing the denizens of the Plaza did not stem from stereotypes but rather from a concerted effort to cram impoverished working-class minorities where they could remain out of sight and out of mind. Although the *Times* provides numerous examples to select from, one of the most revealing articles describes testimony in a court case surrounding a potential ban of vehicular traffic on Olvera Street in 1931 after the completion of the renovations. This article, titled "Olvera No Rose Garden: Historic Street Strewn with Dead Dogs and Cats Before Rehabilitation, Witness Declares," discusses the juxtaposition between old and new photographs of Olvera Street.<sup>15</sup> In court, "[t]he photographs showed the old Olvera [S]treet, with rubbish heaps and broken walls, contrasted with the later pictures of the gay, clean Paseo."<sup>16</sup> The witness testimony speaks to the overwhelmingly negative portrayal of the Plaza in the years preceding Olvera Street. Overall, the presentation of the Plaza area to the *Times'* Anglo audience communicated the need to address the city's "Mexican problem."

In 1926, Angeleno voters approved Proposition 9, laying the groundwork for the destruction of old Chinatown in order to build Union Station.<sup>17</sup> While the demolition of Chinatown targeted and displaced Chinese-Americans living adjacent to the Plaza, the bulldozer also presented an appealing solution to the Plaza problem for many Anglo Angelenos. The urge to demolish served as the backdrop for a well-to-do socialite from San Francisco named Christine Sterling. Sterling, who went by Christine Hough at the time of her arrival in Los Angeles, brought with her an understanding and appreciation for Mexican art and culture

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<sup>13</sup> Emily S. Bogardus, "The House-Court Problem," *The American Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 3 (November 1916): 391–399, here 393.

<sup>14</sup> Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 108, 126.

<sup>15</sup> "Olvera No Rose Garden: Historic Street Strewn with Dead Dogs and Cats Before Rehabilitation, Witness Declares," *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 1931, Los Angeles Times Historical (1881–1987) [database].

<sup>16</sup> "Olvera No Rose Garden," *Los Angeles Times*, January 14, 1931.

<sup>17</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 179.

as well as the expectation for a romantic Spanish experience.<sup>18</sup> Upon her arrival in Los Angeles, the ramshackle condition of the Avila Adobe<sup>19</sup> dismayed Sterling.<sup>20</sup> Sterling's early efforts to preserve the Avila Adobe launched her overall campaign to preserve Olvera Street and construct the romantic Spanish oasis she had initially expected to find. Through her campaign to save the Avila Adobe, Sterling found support from some of the city's largest power brokers.

As publisher of the *Los Angeles Times* and one of the wealthiest men in the city, Harry Chandler wielded significant influence. Sterling's Mexican marketplace project not only offered an alternative to the bulldozer but also a fantastic commercial opportunity for businessmen and property owners. Further, "the creation of a colorful tourist attraction undoubtedly appeared to be a novel solution to fighting labor unions, communists, and other enemies of free enterprise who continued to gather at the city's Hyde Park."<sup>21</sup> Sterling successfully framed her Olvera Street project as an effort to save Anglo Angeleno heritage by positing the Avila Adobe at the center of a triumphant Anglo founding narrative.<sup>22</sup> Together, Chandler and other mainly Anglo boosters raised the necessary funds to bring Sterling's vision to life.

While Olvera Street served as an attractive location for Anglo Angelenos to spend an afternoon, many Mexican-American Angelenos called the Plaza home. In 1920, the social reformer G. Bromley Oxnam conducted a survey projecting shifts in the Mexican-American population on behalf of his church (i.e., the Methodist Episcopal Church). Oxnam noted, "It is quite likely that the Mexican[s] now situated around the Plaza and in the Macy Street District, will be forced to go to other parts of the city."<sup>23</sup> By the time of Olvera Street's grand opening in 1930, "the Mexican population within the Sonoratown-Plaza area was mostly displaced," bearing out Oxnam's earlier prediction.<sup>24</sup> The removal of Mexican-Americans from Olvera Street and the broader Plaza area dramatically impacted Mexican-Americans by forcing them into Boyle Heights, Lincoln Heights, Belvedere, Maravilla, and Watts.<sup>25</sup> Writing on both Chinatown and Sonoratown, William D. Estrada has noted the resulting paradox whereby the people who found their neighborhoods destroyed were the very same people who were

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<sup>18</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 184.

<sup>19</sup> Located on Olvera Street, the Avila Adobe is the longest standing home in Los Angeles. The Avila Adobe served as American General Robert Stockton's headquarters in 1847 during the Mexican-American War.

<sup>20</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 185.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt, *Thinking Big: The Story of the Los Angeles Times, Its Publishers, and Their Influence on Southern California* (New York: Putnam, 1977), 152.

<sup>22</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 195.

<sup>23</sup> G. Bromley Oxnam, *The Mexican in Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Survey* (San Francisco: California Interchurch World Movement of North America, 1920), 23.

<sup>24</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 180.

<sup>25</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 180.

necessary to bring the simulated neighborhoods, which replaced their own, to life.<sup>26</sup> Examining how the Mexican-American community reacted and responded to their physical and cultural displacement reveals the role of women in this community.

## II. Women and Community in Olvera

Although Olvera Street originated as a decidedly Anglo-led project, the site ultimately stands as a center for Mexican-American Angelenos. Through business involvement, activism, and community networking, Mexican-American women resisted the influence of Anglo Los Angeles over their community. While scholars and community members often disagree on generalized final takeaways from the Olvera Street project, the importance of Mexican-American women to their community remains clear.

Attempting to place the contributions of Mexican-American women into the traditional historical categories of economic, political, and social impacts illuminates the interconnectedness of each aspect when using a “bottom-up” social history framework. On an individual and community level, the aforementioned categories do not fully encapsulate the role of women and only serve as a loose guide for the following analysis. Economically, women played a critical role in the imagined landscape of Olvera Street through their participation, production, and entrepreneurship. Politically, Mexican-American women used their voices to advance the labor movement and push for civil rights. Finally, Mexican-American women formed female networks, supported their community in times of need, and seized opportunities to advance in society. Together, Mexican-American women made possible the reclamation of Olvera Street as a center of Mexican-American business, activism, and culture.

While men like Harry Chandler reaped the financial benefits of Olvera Street’s commercial success, Mexican-American women also played a distinct role in the Mexican marketplace. Sterling’s vision for Olvera Street necessitated and encouraged the participation of Mexican-American workers to staff the attraction. In *California Vieja*, Phoebe Kropp details the importance of the Mexican *señorita* in creating Sterling’s desired atmosphere at Olvera Street. Kropp writes, “[n]ot only had the *señorita* become Los Angeles’ mascot, but she had long stood at the center of Anglo yearnings for Spanish romance.”<sup>27</sup> Sterling recruited a significant number of Mexican-American women to both dance for and serve Olvera Street’s visitors.<sup>28</sup> In a broad sense, the influence of the *señorita* as a symbol and the prevalence of actual Mexican-American *señoritas* on Olvera Street “challenged the notion that Mexicans existed only as a memory,” and demonstrated how

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<sup>26</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 181.

<sup>27</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 247.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the historical photograph “Local Color” (ca. 1935), depicting two women dressed in typical *señorita* attire, Automobile Club of Southern California, University of Southern California Digital Archives, Los Angeles, California.

“Mexicans in Los Angeles refused to become simply part of the city’s colorful atmosphere.”<sup>29</sup> Ultimately, Mexican-American *señoritas* played an important part in preventing the full Anglicization of Olvera Street through their strong presence.

Additionally, Mexican-American women used their skills and labor to support their families and community. In her correspondence, Sterling urged vendors to “do more than just sell Mexican souvenirs” and instead “demonstrate traditional crafts in action.”<sup>30</sup> While both Mexican-American men and women engaged in economic production on Olvera Street, thrusting the work of women into the spotlight bore significance. Although Mexican-American women had long engaged in the production of pots, baskets, blankets, clothing, and other products, Olvera Street made women and the products they produced a visible attraction.<sup>31</sup> In this way, the economic engagements of Mexican-American women not only provided an additional means to support their households but also a means to preserve their own culture within the confines of Olvera Street. Therefore, the presence of Mexican-American laborers and *señoritas* paradoxically enabled both the initial creation as well as the eventual reclamation of Olvera Street.

During the initial planning phase, Sterling expressed a desire to “give the Mexican people one place which is really and rightfully their own.”<sup>32</sup> As Kropp notes, Sterling’s “seeming willingness to allow them to fashion their own presentation broke markedly from the traditions established by her forerunners and caused concern among her potential Anglo supporters.”<sup>33</sup> Although Anglos owned most of the businesses in operation at the time of Olvera Street’s opening, Sterling did facilitate entrepreneurial ventures for Mexican-American women. For instance, Consuelo Castillo de Bonzo owned a popular café on Olvera Street named *Casa La Golondrina*. Through her ownership, de Bonzo “used her resulting stature on the street to sustain an independent Mexican agenda.”<sup>34</sup> De Bonzo’s restaurant served as a community gathering place where Mexican-Americans discussed pressing social issues such as the deepening racial divide in Los Angeles. Further, de Bonzo organized fundraising and volunteer efforts to assist community members in need as well as victims of natural disasters in Mexico.<sup>35</sup> Through her commercial success on Olvera Street, de Bonzo strengthened community bonds and uplifted other Mexican-Americans. Moreover, she

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<sup>29</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 260.

<sup>30</sup> Letter from Christine Sterling to Mr. Wirsching, Board of Public Works, May 22, 1941. Christine Sterling Correspondence File, El Pueblo Archive. See also Kropp, *California Vieja*, 243.

<sup>31</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 243.

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Christine Sterling to Clarence Matson, Trade Extension Department, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, March 29, 1926. Christine Sterling Correspondence File, El Pueblo Archives. See also Kropp, *California Vieja*, 227.

<sup>33</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 227.

<sup>34</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 253.

<sup>35</sup> “Tampico Relief Fund President Named,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, October 3, 1933, cited in Kropp, *California Vieja*, 253, 345.

provided a place (among others) where Mexican-Americans gathered together on Olvera Street, thereby drawing a contrast with the mostly Anglo patrons of other establishments.

Throughout the history of the Plaza area, Olvera Street has served as a center for political activism. On Christmas Day 1913, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) hosted a rally in the Plaza. When the police arrived, the rally turned violent. In the following day's issue, the *Los Angeles Times* lamented the violent riot during a "gathering of the unemployed," wherein "I.W.W. laborites and trouble-makers participated."<sup>36</sup> Conflict between Mexican-American union activists and the police continued until 1930 and the founding of Olvera Street. Indeed, the Plaza's history of radical political activism helped generate support for Sterling's project from the city's elite. Certainly, "for Harry Chandler, Olvera Street was a welcome stand-in for Mexico and its people, an ideal place to interact and do business with Mexicans who were safely contained in time and space," compared to his previous encounters with armed revolutionaries.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately for Chandler and his fellow elites, Olvera Street's creation did not quell Mexican-American political activism.

In 1939, the Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples (*El Congreso*) held a rally in the Plaza in celebration of its first national convention. At the rally, *El Congreso* "made a dramatic and radical attempt to reclaim the space politically."<sup>38</sup> Luisa Moreno, a key Southern California labor activist, helped organize the rally in support of labor rights for Mexican-American workers. The rally's organizers selected a young Mexican-American activist named Josefina Fierro to give the kickoff speech.<sup>39</sup> In her speech, Fierro dubbed the rally "a different kind of celebration than Olvera Street has ever seen before. An awakening of Mexican people in the United States!"<sup>40</sup> The prominence of Mexican-American women like Moreno and Fierro in the labor movement put these women at the tip of the spear in the fight for improved wages and working conditions for their community. Instead of taking a backseat, women like Moreno and Fierro used their skills and connections to bring their community together in a unified call for a better life.

The activism of Mexican-American women like Fierro did not stop with the labor movement. Although working conditions and low wages plagued Mexican-American workers in the Plaza, female activists also advocated for an end to discrimination and civil rights. Historian George Sanchez has observed a distinct

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<sup>36</sup> "Plaza District Put Under Martial Law," *Los Angeles Times*, December 26, 1913, Los Angeles Times Historical (1881-1987) [database].

<sup>37</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 199.

<sup>38</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 257.

<sup>39</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 257.

<sup>40</sup> Josefina Fierro, quoted in John Bright, "Las Mananitas: A New Awakening for Mexicans in the United States," *Black and White* 1 (June 1939): 14-15, here 14.

increase in Mexican-American political activism in Los Angeles during the 1930s.<sup>41</sup> Due to increased repatriation and forced deportation, the population of first-generation Mexican immigrants declined in comparison to a growing population of American-born and American-educated second-generation Mexican-Americans.<sup>42</sup> This demographic shift opened the door for young reformers like Fierro, who utilized increasingly vocal methods of opposition. As Sanchez notes, “[y]ounger Mexican-Americans proved both willing and able to use American political institutions to demand inclusion in the city.”<sup>43</sup> Over time, Mexican-American women continued to use their voice and increased influence to advocate on behalf of their community in the American political system.

From a social standpoint, Mexican-American women held the community together and preserved Mexican culture. Immigration and deportation efforts served as one of the most salient political and social issues for Mexican-Americans in the Plaza. Throughout the twentieth century, “immigration agents found the Plaza a great target for repatriation.”<sup>44</sup> On February 26, 1931, federal immigration agents descended on the Plaza in search of “Mexican aliens.”<sup>45</sup> By the end of the day, the agents had detained approximately four hundred individuals, eventually resulting in scores of deportations.<sup>46</sup> The raid kicked off an expansive nationwide deportation initiative spurred by the Great Depression and increased anti-immigrant sentiment. Nativist groups successfully argued for deportation in order to open up the job market and increase wages for Anglo workers, resulting in the deportation of more than one million individuals during the 1930s.<sup>47</sup>

While immigration agents targeted both men and women, raids frequently focused on male industrial workers. The oftentimes sudden removal of Mexican-American men left women to decide between following their partners to Mexico and staying in the United States. Additionally, anti-Mexican sentiment and poor economic conditions drove countless Mexican-Americans to leave the United States. In a 2001 article from the *Los Angeles Times* reflecting on the legacy of repatriation, local historian Raymond Rodriguez recalled the day his father left for Mexico.<sup>48</sup> Although his father pleaded for his family to follow him to Mexico, Rodriguez’s mother defiantly chose to keep herself and her children in the United

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<sup>41</sup> George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 226–229.

<sup>42</sup> Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 226–229.

<sup>43</sup> Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, 226–229.

<sup>44</sup> Kropp, *California Vieja*, 258.

<sup>45</sup> Antonio Olivo, “Ghosts of a 1931 Raid,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 25, 2001, [online](#).

<sup>46</sup> Olivo, “Ghosts of a 1931 Raid.”

<sup>47</sup> Olivo, “Ghosts of a 1931 Raid.” The mass deportations of the 1930s not only failed to improve economic conditions for Anglo laborers, but in fact further depressed the economy by lowering the demand for goods and services.

<sup>48</sup> Olivo, “Ghosts of a 1931 Raid.”

States. While Mexican-American men left the United States either by force or by their own volition during the 1930s, women often made the agonizing choice to stay behind with their children. As a result, women had no choice but to deviate from gender norms and assume new roles within their families and communities.

With the onset of World War II, demand for labor and the draft presented Mexican-American women with new economic and social opportunities. As for the Olvera Street area, “[t]he Plaza’s era of radical free speech and mass demonstrations had come to an end—for the time being,” as tensions between labor and industry eased.<sup>49</sup> Throughout Los Angeles, Mexican-American women leapt at the chance to fill the void and entered the industrial workforce.<sup>50</sup> During the war, aerospace dominated the Los Angeles defense industry, allowing women of all backgrounds to support the war effort and enter traditionally male-dominated spaces. Defense work enabled Mexican-American women to support their families and increase their economic footprint in Los Angeles. In an interview with the “Rosie the Riveter Project,” Mary Luna recalls her father’s elation upon learning that her new job at Douglas Aircraft would enable their family to get off welfare.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, supporting the war effort offered a “status of respectability” for their patriotic service as well as the opportunity to cross racial divides in non-segregated workplaces.<sup>52</sup> Through their employment, Mexican-American women used their improved social status to materially benefit their community (including those serving overseas) as well as to connect with women of different racial backgrounds.

Unfortunately for many Mexican-American women, the conclusion of the war brought with it diminished employment prospects. Although Mexican-American women “believed quite definitively that their wartime experiences had earned them a right to equal treatment,” many found themselves unceremoniously fired the moment Anglo workers became available.<sup>53</sup> Sworn affidavits filed with the Los Angeles Committee for Fair Employment Practices (F.E.P.C.) highlight the extent of the discrimination faced by Mexican-American women immediately following the end of the war. According to the women, Anglo workers rapidly replaced them for no other reason than their ethnicity.<sup>54</sup> In one instance, a coffee shop employee named Guadalupe Cordero recalled the day her employer dismissed all Mexican-American employees only to replace them with “an equal number of girls, all so-

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<sup>49</sup> Estrada, *Los Angeles Plaza*, 167.

<sup>50</sup> Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, 2–3.

<sup>51</sup> Mary Luna, Oral History Interview by Cindy Cleary, Rosie the Riveter Project Revisited, CSULB Visual and Oral History Archive, February 2, 1981, [online](#).

<sup>52</sup> Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, 74–75.

<sup>53</sup> Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, 126.

<sup>54</sup> Affidavit of Guadalupe Cordero, Emma Acosta, Luisa Martinez, Reina Ramirez, and Agrippina Guillen, Box 852, Regional Files XII, Non-docketable Cases A-Z, FEPC Records.



called Americans.”<sup>55</sup> While the shifting labor landscape forced Mexican-American women back to the lower paid service and production jobs found in the Plaza, they did not stop striving for a better life for themselves and their community.

In the subsequent decades, Mexican-American women formed alliances with other marginalized Angelenos. In 1947, a diverse group of activists founded the Community Service Organization (C.S.O.) to encourage broader civic participation through voter registration drives and other forms of community outreach.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, the C.S.O. fought against discriminatory racial covenants in housing and police brutality.<sup>57</sup> Within the C.S.O., Mexican-American women played a dominant role and used their experience on the home front to inform their activism.<sup>58</sup> Due to their strong participation and leadership, “Mexican American women played an integral role in the C.S.O. from its inception, quickly becoming the ‘backbone’ of the organization’s coalition.”<sup>59</sup> Overall, Mexican American women in the Plaza area and beyond made a significant positive impact in their communities.

### III. The Legacy of Olvera

The study of Olvera Street and the Mexican-American community reveals a complicated cultural past, not unlike the American West as a whole. For scholars and community members alike, Olvera Street elicits divergent conclusions on the marketplace’s legacy and identity. From a skeptical standpoint, Olvera Street stands as an example of Anglo America’s erasure of minority culture and functions as a form of cultural colonialism. Certainly, Sterling’s project provided significant material benefits to the Anglo elites of Los Angeles while relying on Mexican-American labor and participation.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, a long-term examination of the evidence indicates the resilience of the Mexican-American community in resisting the encroachment of Anglo political and economic interests.

While Olvera Street and the Plaza fit within the broader Southern California narrative of an Anglo manufactured romantic Spanish past, the space in many ways remained a center for traditional Mexican culture. Further, Mexican-American women led the charge in utilizing Olvera Street as a center for political engagement and as a means to support themselves and their community. Through

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<sup>55</sup> Affidavit of Guadalupe Cordero et al., Box 852, FEPC Records.

<sup>56</sup> Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, 135.

<sup>57</sup> Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, 135.

<sup>58</sup> Margaret Rose, “Gender and Activism in Mexican American Barrios in California: The Community Service Organization, 1947–1962,” in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 177–200, here 189.

<sup>59</sup> Rose, “Gender and Activism,” 189.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, the historical photograph, “Anglo Woman Leans against Automobile while a Mariachi Band Plays” (ca. 1930), Bon Plunkett, Olvera Street 1930s, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

entrepreneurship, activism, and community organizing, Mexican-American women contributed mightily to the preservation of their community and the establishment of a thriving Mexican-American community in Los Angeles. Wherever the ultimate legacy of Olvera Street lies, the influence of Mexican-American women remains clear.

### *Conclusion*

At the conclusion of my research, I did not find an affirmative answer to the merits of Sterling's Olvera Street project. As is often the case in a study of social history, the final perspective rests in the eye of the beholder. At the beginning of my research, I had encountered a quote from historian Kevin Starr that stuck with me throughout my explorations. For Starr, "Olvera Street might not be authentic Old California or even authentic Mexico, but it was better than the bulldozer."<sup>61</sup> Ultimately, without the creation of the Olvera Street marketplace, the Plaza and its history would have faced near-certain total destruction. Instead, Olvera Street successfully evolved over time through the contributions of Mexican-Americans into a center of culture and community in Los Angeles.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Walter Wheeler of Fullerton, California, earned a B.A. in History (2023) from California State University Fullerton (CSUF). The article published here originated in a seminar on Women and the West offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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<sup>61</sup> Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 205.

Sarabeth Johnson

*“Not into exile, but on a mission”:*

*Identity and the Literature of Russian Émigrés in Paris (1918–1939)*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article analyzes the Russian émigré authors’ mission movement in Paris during the Interwar period through a social and cultural lens. Using novels, short stories, poetry, diary entries, and international reviews, it analyzes the foundations of the movement as a cultural preservation effort. It begins by defining their mission, then examines generational divides, acknowledges the coping mechanisms used to deal with exile, and finishes with the multifaceted reactions toward the movement as a whole. The author argues that the émigré authors’ image was received as anticipated, however, international perception extended beyond the mission’s goals due to the émigré authors’ transparent grieving.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; Russia; Paris; Zinaida Gippius; Ivan Bunin; Teffi; Alexei Remizov; Nina Berberova; Gaito Gazdanov; transnationalism*

*Introduction*

I say I am not going into exile,  
I don’t seek out earthly paths,  
Not into exile, but on a mission,  
It’s easy for me to live among people.  
And my life – it’s almost simple –  
A double life, and when I’m dying  
In some great city  
I will return to my ancient home,  
To whose doors at times  
I cling, perhaps like  
The leaf to the branch before the storm,  
In order to remain whole, in order to survive.

Nina Berberova (1924–1926)<sup>1</sup>

Desperate for refuge from a country that no longer offered them a home after October 1917, Russian émigrés fled in droves and scattered worldwide.<sup>2</sup> With this diaspora came some of Russian history’s best emotionally driven art. The most prominent subgroup in the deracination were the émigré authors who publicized

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<sup>1</sup> Nina Berberova, “Untitled Poem about Exile,” in Dominique Hoffman, “Without Nostalgia: Nina Berberova’s Short Fiction of the 1930s” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), 159.

<sup>2</sup> The Bolshevik Revolution began in Russia in October 1917. Led by Vladimir Lenin, it sought to establish a communist system, as opposed to the longstanding Tsarist (or monarchist and aristocratic) system. Communism is a social and political ideology that propagates a classless society and emphasizes community as a priority, leading to private property becoming public and to need-based wages. Those who had benefitted from the Tsarist system (including those of royal blood, the wealthy, and business and political leaders) became targets for robbery, imprisonment, exploitation, and murder. During the subsequent Russian Civil War between the Bolsheviks (Reds) and Monarchists (Whites), the Bolsheviks supported communism while the Monarchists wanted to keep the Tsarist tradition of monarchy in Russia. These events encouraged many Russians to flee over the course of the next five years.

their grieving and hatred toward a group that had not only robbed them of their home, but their identities too—specifically, the identity of simply being Russian since the traditional culture was at risk for extinction in the new Soviet era.<sup>3</sup> In the midst of this grieving, the émigrés were determined to not give up their identity so easily. Inspired by the first wave of Russian emigrants from a couple of decades prior, who had left Russia and gone into exile with the intention of spreading political propaganda and returning victoriously, these new émigrés were hoping for a similar fate.<sup>4</sup> Further fueled by fervent nationalism from World War I and guilt from the results of the Revolution, the émigrés developed a plan to win back their Russia and preserve its memory in the meantime. The second wave emigrants began by developing the title “émigré.” Borrowed from the first-wave emigrants, they too wanted to emphasize their self-will toward exile and show that their banishment was not permanent.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately, the majority of émigré authors found the perfect place to establish this idea in their writing: Paris. However, their journeys were not as fortunate as their destination. Already upset from having to leave a place they loved so dearly, many of the authors were forced to traverse the European continent either west or south. They began in Kyiv but would soon be forced out due to the Ukrainian Independence movement. The journeys west and south were fairly similar, since both led to severely economically destitute cities, namely, either Berlin and Istanbul. Once they understood the impracticality of residing in these cities long term, they pushed further west and arrived in Paris, the cultural capital of the world. Most of the authors arrived in Paris between 1920 and 1922.<sup>6</sup> The French metropolis was attractive because of its economic opportunity, political flexibility, and large cultural output due to the contemporary jazz movement.<sup>7</sup>

The authors analyzed in this article vary in age, political affiliation, gender, popularity, and literature style. They include Zinaida Gippius (1869–1945), Ivan Bunin (1870–1953), Nadezhda Alexandrovna “Teffi” Buchinskaya (1872–1952),<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The Soviet era, initially under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, followed the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Civil War. It was the first official trial of communism in a government system and lasted from 1922 to 1989. However, under Joseph Stalin, who came to power in 1924, it morphed into a dictatorship. The Soviet era featured policies, such as language revision and censorship, and meted out brutal punishment for not following Soviet policies.

<sup>4</sup> John Slatter, “Bears in the Lion’s Den: The Figure of the Russian Revolutionary Emigrant in English Fiction, 1880–1914,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 77, no. 1 (1999): 30–55, here 31.

<sup>5</sup> The first wave of émigrés were mostly political exiles that arrived in London and Paris from the beginning of the twentieth century up to the start of World War I.

<sup>6</sup> Except for Berberova who arrived in 1925. Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance: A Cultural History of Russia* (New York: Picador, 2002), 532.

<sup>7</sup> Edythe Haber, *Teffi: A Life of Letters and of Laughter* (London: I. B. Tauris & Company, Limited, 2018), 100; Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Henceforth, I will refer to her as “Teffi.”

Alexei Remizov (1877–1957), Nina Berberova (1901–1993), and Gaito Gazdanov (1903–1971). Based on their age, these authors belong to two distinct generations. To better comprehend the intentions these authors expressed in their literature, a brief history of each individual is necessary.

Taking them from the oldest to the youngest, the first is Zinaida Gippius who was best known for her emotionally and religiously driven poetry and essays.<sup>9</sup> She specialized in the symbolist style and was also a major critic for the émigré press.<sup>10</sup> Ivan Bunin, a close friend of Gippius, was the most popular of the émigré authors. He was a realist author<sup>11</sup> and the most open about his hatred of the Soviet Union and their hatred of him.<sup>12</sup> Teffi was a humorist who, pre-Revolution, had been a popular author as she was admired by the Tsar and Lenin alike, which often caused her to fall victim to nostalgia.<sup>13</sup> Alexi Remizov, the last of this older generation of authors, was a modernist who, despite having a wealthy background, used the Russian peasantry as his subject for most of his work.<sup>14</sup> These four constitute the older generation of authors. Nina Berberova, on the other hand, was part of the younger generation of authors and lived in deep poverty.<sup>15</sup> She had many ties to the literary circles and liked to take an honest view on the reality of the situation in Paris. Gaito Gazdanov is the other member of the second generation. His writing style was modernist, he was politically neutral and very poor, and he worked as a taxicab driver.

Despite their differences in age, gender, political beliefs, wealth, and literary style, these authors formed a community. While they shared a common nationality and aristocratic backgrounds in Russia, the émigrés became something new in France. Looking back to the introductory poem by Berberova, the émigré authors decided to take advantage of their publicity and combat their denationalization—or loss of physical nationality—by establishing a mission movement within the émigré community.<sup>16</sup> Berberova's poem was "transformed into a rallying cry" for

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<sup>9</sup> Temira Pachmuss, "Ivan Bunin through the Eyes of Zinaida Gippius," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 44, no. 103 (1966): 337–350, here 343–344.

<sup>10</sup> Zinaida Gippius, *Between Paris and St. Petersburg: Selected Diaries of Zinaida Hippius*, trans. Temira Pachmuss (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 3; Pachmuss, "Ivan Bunin," 337.

<sup>11</sup> Haber, *Teffi*, 95.

<sup>12</sup> Ivan Bunin, *From the Other Shore, 1920–1933: A Portrait from Letters, Diaries, and Fiction*, trans. Thomas Gaiton Marullo (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1995), 59.

<sup>13</sup> Haber, *Teffi*, 125; Natalia Starostina, "On Nostalgia and Courage: Russian Émigré Experience in Interwar Paris through the Eyes of Nadezhda Teffi," *Diasporas* 22 (2013): 38–53, here 38.

<sup>14</sup> Alexei Remizov, *Selected Prose*, ed. Sona Aronian (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1985), 3.

<sup>15</sup> Nina Berberova, *The Italics Are Mine*, trans. Philippe Radley (New York: Knopf, 1992; first published 1969), 268; Hoffman, "Without Nostalgia," 164.

<sup>16</sup> Ekaterina Shvagruckova and Elena Novikova, "The Russian Language as a Mode of Self-Identity Cultivation in the Russian Émigré Community," *SHS Web of Conferences* 28, no. 01095 (2016): 1–5, here 3.

the émigrés.<sup>17</sup> It provided comfort and purpose to those who thought they had lost everything: they had their cultural history to preserve. It is important to note that Berberova fiercely rejected nostalgia as contradictory to the integrity of the mission, however, returned with new attitudes for the future. In short, the mission started as an anti-assimilation effort that sought to preserve Imperial Russian culture and evolved into a partial acceptance of the surrounding culture while still holding true to the integrity of a collective past.<sup>18</sup>

Ivan Bunin proclaimed that they were "not exiles but precisely emigrés," and he introduced the question of what it meant to be an émigré.<sup>19</sup> While this was fluid for each person who claimed the moniker, it represented, generally speaking, a collective Russian people – not immigrants, not Soviets, but Russians. There was a sense of righteousness that came with being an exile since they were resurrecting an image that was being eviscerated by the communists back home. To be an émigré meant, first and foremost, to reflect royal or aristocratic splendor abroad.<sup>20</sup> Many of the ex-royals continued this idea even in deep poverty, as they expected the Soviet government to be a "temporary phenomenon" and expecting their return home in, at most, a year.<sup>21</sup> Others did not care for the monarchy, but wished for safety and comfort within their own cultural heritage.<sup>22</sup> The émigré identity ebbed and flowed from each individual's memory of Russia with a consistent embrace of traditional Russian art, music, dance, fashion, literature, and religion.<sup>23</sup>

Most scholarly explorations on these second-wave émigrés are author-specific case studies, including works by Thomas Gaiton Marullo (on Bunin), Temira Pachmuss (on Gippius), Edyth Haber and Natalia Starostina (on Teffi), Sona Aonian (on Remizov), Dominique Hoffman (on Berberova), and László Dienes (on Gazdanov). Beyond this, there are some studies that are more broadly conceived, such as Orlando Figes's monograph, *Natasha's Dance* (2002), which looks at each element of the mission movement through a comparative political lens of émigré messaging in their work versus Soviet messaging after a general description of Russian political and cultural history.<sup>24</sup> Both *Russian Montparnasse* (2015) by Maria Rubins and *Russians Abroad* (2013) by Greta Slobin offer more specific

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<sup>17</sup> Hoffman, "Without Nostalgia," 5.

<sup>18</sup> Assimilation is the "process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society." Shvagrükova and Novikova, "Russian Language as a Mode of Self-Identity Cultivation," 2. Imperial Russia is in reference to the Tsarist era.

<sup>19</sup> Ivan Bunin, "The Mission of the Russian Emigration Lecture from February 16, 1924," in Bunin, *From the Other Shore*, 125.

<sup>20</sup> Bunin, *From the Other Shore*, 59.

<sup>21</sup> Helen Rappaport, *After the Romanovs: Russian Exiles in Paris from the Belle Époque through Revolution and War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2022), 98.

<sup>22</sup> Rappaport, *After the Romanovs*, 89.

<sup>23</sup> Rappaport, *After the Romanovs*, 22 (art), 32 (music and dance), 127 (fashion), 157 (literature), and 190 (religion).

<sup>24</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*.

understandings of the émigré movement: Rubins presents a case study on the modernist aesthetic and its interaction with realism,<sup>25</sup> while Slobin shares a diverse overview of the topic, with specific chapters covering themes similar to the ones addressed in this article, but fails to look beyond the community in question.<sup>26</sup> The most holistic explanation of émigré culture in Paris is *After the Romanovs* (2022) by Helen Rappaport. Rappaport looks at both the first and second wave of émigrés and has a particular fascination with royalty, fashion, dance, and literature.<sup>27</sup> All of these scholars are successful in their detailed descriptions of émigré cultural and social history. However, they are limited when it comes to the concept of the mission movement. This is what I intend to address.<sup>28</sup>

By analyzing the émigré authors' projected and perceived identities both within and beyond their community, this article assesses how these varied identities played out in literary works.<sup>29</sup> The external opinion on their identities is garnered from English and French mainstream press as England and France were the two leading western European nations during the Interwar period, thus making them the most influential. In this social and cultural analysis of the Russian émigrés' mission, I argue that the reception of the émigré's mission mentality to preserve their Russian national identity was in line with their goals and proved successful. However, these reactions exceeded their goals in both England and France as the émigrés' uncontrolled reactions fell through the cracks.

### *I. The Mission: Providing Purpose to Exile*

The émigré authors faced the idea of exile by giving themselves a purpose through their mission mentality. This mentality bonded the émigrés who otherwise had nothing in common except "for one reason or another did not accept what was being done in [their] homeland."<sup>30</sup> The introduction to Teffi's short story "Que Faire?" (1923) describes the experience most émigrés had when they arrived in Paris. An old White Army officer looked around the Place de Concorde and asked, "All of this is well and good...but what is to be done?"<sup>31</sup> The mission mentality

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<sup>25</sup> Maria Rubins, *Russian Montparnasse: Transnational Writing in Interwar Paris* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Greta N. Slobin, *Russians Abroad: Literary and Cultural Politics of Diaspora (1919-1939)* (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Rappaport, *After the Romanovs*.

<sup>28</sup> Jeffrey Jackson, *Making Jazz French*, inspired me to explore a different facet of the cultural explosion in 1920s Paris. His analysis of how jazz influenced the interaction between black and white individuals in Paris served as a blueprint for me as I analyzed the interaction between French and Russian individuals.

<sup>29</sup> For this concept of identity, see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1-47, here 15.

<sup>30</sup> Berberova, *Italics Are Mine*, 278.

<sup>31</sup> The Place de Concorde is a major public square in Paris. Teffi, "Que Faire?" in Teffi, *Subtly Worded and Other Stories*, trans. Robert Chandler et al. (London: Pushkin Press, 2021), 139-143.

sought to correct this through a series of preservation efforts ranging in categories from language and anti-Bolshevism to nostalgia and anti-assimilation.

The primary use of cultural preservation was through the Russian language itself. However, there was a conflict between maintaining the purity of the Russian language and incorporating the surrounding European languages into their dialect, forming a specific émigré variation. This issue arose due to the loss of the émigré authors' Russian audience, due to Soviet censorship: their remaining Russian audience were other émigrés worldwide (up to three million individuals).<sup>32</sup> This caused émigré authors to rely heavily on translated releases of their works, and they anxiously awaited these releases, as seen in a letter from Teffi to her publisher: "Do you remember you said that my stories would be translated into Czech? Yes? Will they? Truly?"<sup>33</sup> The purist émigré authors argued that speaking Russian was the chief symbol of their lost nation, and it was therefore the most important aspect of cultivating their self-identity.<sup>34</sup> They even went so far as to try to preserve variations of the specific imperial dialect. The result of only speaking Russian in France was cultural isolation. However, some authors could not help but isolate themselves and masked their monolingualism with this effort. For the older generation, the French they had learned in primary school was no longer current, whereas younger authors like Gazdanov boasted of his French fluency; yet he refused to write any of his stories in French.<sup>35</sup> Gazdanov did not endorse the idea that the Russian language needed to be preserved as an artifact but, rather, posited that it should merge with the surrounding language. A wonderful example of this can be found in his novel, *An Evening with Claire* (1930), where his characters, in their dialogues, switch between French and Russian since the main character, Claire, is French.<sup>36</sup> Gazdanov proved the other side of the coin, namely, that one could retain one's Russian identity while also enriching one's language through bilingualism.<sup>37</sup>

Another topic that Gazdanov and older authors, like Bunin, disagreed on was politics. Anti-Bolshevism was a major component of émigré compositions as a means of exercising their freedom and separating their writings from censored Soviet literature. Among the authors, there was a shared contempt of the Bolsheviks who were viewed as having stolen everything from the émigrés.<sup>38</sup> Gippius summarizes it best in her poem "So It Is" (1918) by using the repetitive

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<sup>32</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 546.

<sup>33</sup> Haber, *Teffi*, 113.

<sup>34</sup> Shvagruckova and Novikova, "Russian Language as a Mode of Self-Identity Cultivation," 2.

<sup>35</sup> Shvagruckova and Novikova, "Russian Language as a Mode of Self-Identity Cultivation," 3; László Dienes, *Russian Literature in Exile: The Life and Work of Gajto Gazdanov* (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1982), 79.

<sup>36</sup> Gaito Gazdanov, *An Evening with Claire*, trans. Jodi Daynard (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1988).

<sup>37</sup> Slobin, *Russians Abroad*, 183.

<sup>38</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 549.



phrasing of "if, then" to show the progression of her thoughts as the events of the Revolution unfold. She states, "If a man is a beast—I hate him and scorn/If he's worse than beasts—I kill him laughing."<sup>39</sup> She concludes that, despite all this, "If my Russia is over—I die and mourn."<sup>40</sup> Gippius's poem expresses helplessness as she can both hate and kill, yet not prevent Russia's death. The last line also signifies that her identity is with Russia, and when Russia dies, she dies along with it. While the Bolsheviks are beasts whom she hates and would "kill...laughing," there is a juxtaposition with her depressing reality, which reflects the theme of lacking control that Gippius uses frequently in her poetry.

Another example is Bunin, of whom it was said in 1925 that there was "no more uncompromising opponent" to Bolshevik Russia.<sup>41</sup> In his short story "Sempiternal Spring" (1923), Bunin depicts Russia's return to its barbaric ways and touches on the nostalgic memories of large houses that have since been pillaged and emptied. One of Bunin's favored literary techniques is word play. To him, word plays are like strokes of paint that build up his masterpiece: each word is intentional. Quotes such as "every variety of unbridled lawlessness," "unsufferable," and "repulsive" are ammunition Bunin uses to describe the Bolsheviks.<sup>42</sup> Bunin's attacks communicated to his audience that the Russia of old had entered the barbaric state of "every man for himself." This justified the émigré authors' exodus, but it also called for a return to the better ways of Russian life.

Teffi's anti-Bolshevik prose emerges in her tragically satirical piece "Subtly Worded" (1920), in which she and a friend receive a letter from a family member in the U.S.S.R. with confusing messages that celebrate death and claims that many individuals are leading "secluded lives."<sup>43</sup> After having their letter in response corrected, it is revealed that the two have to read and write between the lines to assist in the relative's survival in the highly oppressive Bolshevik society. Teffi used this piece to shed light on the insanity of the Bolshevik government and poke fun at its repressive ways.

Berberova recalls the careless attitudes in Bolshevik society in her novella "The Ladies from St. Petersburg" (1927). She uses the main character's mother dying and a revolt burning down her funeral to comment on the harsh realities of the peasantry and their selfish needs, even during suffering and loss. One notable quote is "'How crude people have become'...'Not for long. Everything will fall

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<sup>39</sup> Zinaida Gippius, "So It Is" (February 1918), trans. Yevgeny Bonver, lines 2-3, *RuVerses*, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Gippius, "So It Is," line 4.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen Graham, "Russian Writers In Exile: Ivan Bunin," *Times*, April 3, 1925, 17.

<sup>42</sup> Ivan Bunin, "Sempiternal Spring," in Ivan Bunin, *Night of Denial: Stories and Novellas*, trans. Robert Lee Bowie (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2006), 295.

<sup>43</sup> Teffi, "Subtly Worded," in Teffi, *Subtly Worded and Other Stories*, 144-148.

back into place again."<sup>44</sup> Berberova suggests that it is not the people themselves who make these decisions, but the collective group mentality. Her hope does not stem from bringing down the government, but from changing people's minds.

In the midst of all this literary output, Gazdanov remained politically neutral. This stance resulted from his war years when he had only joined the White Army to experience what war was like, and he alludes to this in his autobiographically inspired novel, *An Evening with Claire*.<sup>45</sup> Gazdanov utilizes irony as he spends the entire novel reminiscing about his former life in Russia. Yet at this moment in time, he had yet to care about leaving his home because he was so focused on seeing the woman he loved in Paris.<sup>46</sup> After the release of his novel, he even went so far as to openly converse with Maxim Gorky, asking for feedback as well as requesting assistance to get back to Russia to see his mother.<sup>47</sup> Gorky, in return for Gazdanov's admiration, offered to send *An Evening with Claire* to the Russian press.<sup>48</sup> This isolated Gazdanov even more from the other émigré authors, as he continually refused to cooperate with the mission mentality.

The only area in which Gazdanov did somewhat cooperate was the preservation of Russian memories through nostalgic writing. Nostalgia was used as a means of preserving social status and traditions. Through the use of nostalgia, authors were able to alter memories by removing anything that might cause tension within the émigré community, such as the nobility's oppression of the poor.<sup>49</sup> They ignored the latter and focused on the glories of the aristocracy to convince themselves that their status was available despite living abroad. Ivan Bunin practiced this to deliberately put people in their place. He constantly mocked the peasantry through his use of nostalgia and described them with lofty language to emphasize who his intended audience was and, as a result, continued the tradition of social hierarchy. In his story "Indulgent Participation" (1929), Bunin uses high-minded vocabulary like "impecunious matriculants" or "indulgent participation" (in the title itself), making it almost impossible for a barely literate citizen to consume it.<sup>50</sup> Bunin's use of vocabulary shows him as controlling a message. Bunin had once claimed in an interview, "[Y]ou will never see people reading my books in railway carriages," whereupon the interviewer

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<sup>44</sup> Nina Berberova, "The Ladies from St. Petersburg," in Nina Berberova, *The Ladies from St. Petersburg: Three Novellas*, trans. Marian Schwartz (New York: New Directions, 1998), 31.

<sup>45</sup> Gazdanov fled Russia because of his decision to fight for the White Army.

<sup>46</sup> Gazdanov, *Evening with Claire*, 92.

<sup>47</sup> Maxim Gorky was the most popular Soviet author who was in constant competition with émigré literature, specifically Ivan Bunin.

<sup>48</sup> Dienes, *Russian Literature in Exile*, 79.

<sup>49</sup> Natalia Starostina, "The Construction of a New Émigré Self in 20th-Century Russian Paris in Short Stories by Nadezhda Teffi," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 42, no. 1 (2015): 81-93, here 82.

<sup>50</sup> Ivan Bunin, "Indulgent Participation," in Bunin, *Night of Denial*, 333.

had called him a "writer's writer."<sup>51</sup> While Bunin helped lead the mission, he also wanted to retain the status, both socially and occupationally, that he had enjoyed back home in Russia.

There was an issue with nostalgia, since not everyone could participate. Younger authors like Berberova and Gazdanov had arrived in Paris when they were twenty-one and seventeen. Neither of them had witnessed the life or shared the memories of the older generation, so how could they possibly devote all their literature to this component of the mission? Similar to the idea of bilingualism, these authors wanted to merge their memory of Russia with the cosmopolitan culture in which they now resided. Berberova viewed this issue not as a setback but, rather, as a gift. She claimed that nostalgia was limiting their literary growth, questioning their ability to evolve stylistically without moving out of times past.<sup>52</sup>

The main idea in each of these categories is a conflict with assimilation. While none of the émigré authors ever considered fully assimilating into French culture, some did value the importance of at least accepting aspects of the culture to reflect the new lives they were leading. Others were held back by the fear of a split identity since they felt they did not belong in the French culture, nor did they have the option to fit into the Soviet mold. The only identity they could fathom to connect with was the Russian identity that had died with the Revolution.<sup>53</sup>

## II. Generational Divides: Issues with the Mission

The generational divides within the émigré community centered around a combined skepticism and physical incapability toward the mission movement. This was caused by logistical errors in executing the mission mentality, which led to problems since their Russian nationality was their main commonality. The older generation expected the younger generation to help preserve the characteristics of classical Russian literature, as opposed to incorporating the contemporary French styles into their prose.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the older generation was generally better off economically, socially, and intellectually compared to the younger generation. Berberova once described the "second generation" as a "unique generation of deprived, broken, silenced, stripped, homeless, destitute, disenfranchised and therefore half-educated poets."<sup>55</sup> Many of the authors in the second generation were displaced at a young age, thus struggled to establish their careers and popularity, and were unable to complete their education in Russia. This disadvantage caused underlying hostility within the émigré community that contributed to a subtle undermining of the mission effort. In short, the younger generation felt excluded, and they wanted to do things their own way.

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<sup>51</sup> Graham, "Russian Writers in Exile: Ivan Bunin," 17.

<sup>52</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 545–546.

<sup>53</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 551.

<sup>54</sup> Slobin, *Russians Abroad*, 181.

<sup>55</sup> Berberova, *Italics Are Mine*, 268.

For the younger generation, the first sign of exclusion was their socioeconomic status. The older authors had a better chance of being well off in Paris, with many of them already enjoying established connections, status, or prearranged housing. Gippius, one of the most notable privileged types, loved to flaunt it. When she came to Paris, she arrived in their "old apartment which ha[d] been miraculously preserved."<sup>56</sup> Not many others were quite so lucky. Gippius's housing security provided her with more energy to focus on the mission effort because she did not have to worry as much about surviving. Bunin, on the other hand, may have been homeless at first, but due to his fame and connections with author Mikhail Tsetlin, he was able to stay in Tsetlin's flat and have security until he could find an apartment of his own. Gazdanov, of the younger generation, was one who did not experience the same ease of life. As Berberova recalled, "Those who left at sixteen...took almost nothing with them."<sup>57</sup> Gazdanov lived in poverty in Paris but refused to ask for help.<sup>58</sup> This caused him to have a harder time to publish his literary works on a regular basis because he was so mentally exhausted from trying to get by in general. However, due to his homelessness and lack of wealth, he frequently interacted with the Bohemian crowd in Paris which, in turn, influenced his writing. He cited his interaction with this crowd as credibility to comment on them in his work without feeling guilty.<sup>59</sup>

Another source of tension within the émigré community were the respective aesthetics each authors chose to use. Understanding their main aesthetics helps us to realize how their audience was intended to interpret their work. Symbolism and realism were used to preserve the past. Symbolist writers, like Gippius, were known for using symbols to represent actual events, yet symbols can also convolute the meaning behind a work. An example of this can be seen in her poem "The Hour of Victory" (1918), where she meets an unidentifiable figure that sees her dreams in the midst of an ongoing battle. He threatens to "forge [her] rings of iron and of steel/ And permanently solder [her] inside them," but fails when she slaps him with his own glove, and he is revealed to just be a corpse.<sup>60</sup> The key symbol in this poem are the rings made of strong metals that represent permanence in captivity, while the unidentifiable figure represents the fears that threaten to trap her. The poem's turning point is the slap when power returns to her. This piece reflects her slow acceptance of her fate and revisits the idea that she feels best when she is in control. While this poem is not impossible to understand, it does take more critical thinking than a straightforward realist piece.

Alternatively, realism was another aesthetic used by the older generation of émigrés. Since realism originated in the nineteenth century, its use further

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<sup>56</sup> Gippius, *Between Paris and St. Petersburg*, 191.

<sup>57</sup> Berberova, *Italics Are Mine*, 270.

<sup>58</sup> Dienes, *Russian Literature in Exile*, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Dienes, *Russian Literature in Exile*, 38.

<sup>60</sup> Zinaida Gippius, "The Hour of Victory" (1918), trans. Simon Karlinsky, *RuVerses*, [online](#).

emphasized the desire to remain in and preserve the past. It is then fitting that Ivan Bunin was a major exponent of realist literature as he used it to stress honesty through the depiction of mundane events. For example, in his short story "The Calf's Head" (1930), Bunin sketches the perspective of a young boy going with his mother into a butcher's shop to buy half a calf's head for dinner.<sup>61</sup> Bunin uses disturbingly realistic descriptions of the calf's head being cut in two, as juxtaposed with the innocence of the boy's grand imagery of a dinner table, to depict the reality of the situation from two different perspectives. One complaint that the younger authors had against émigré realism was how a realist writer, such as Bunin, could write using themes of nostalgia when referring to a country that no longer existed.<sup>62</sup> It is then ironic that Bunin, who prided himself for his honesty, would deny so much of reality and remain stuck in the past.

In response to this, modernism was climbing in popularity during the Interwar period, supposedly leaving realism behind in the nineteenth century. Modernism's main goal was to break away from traditional aesthetics, like realism. This could range from an extreme of more abstract pieces altogether to first-person narratives that were still honest but did not focus on an entire landscape. They were, rather, a single-perspective portrayal. Within the émigré community, the main figures representing modernism were Remizov and Gazdanov. It is fitting that they were the ones involved, since the modernist movement emphasized individual freedom, and Gazdanov especially strove to be unique in every way; when *An Evening with Claire* was published, Gazdanov was even compared to Proust. The novel was praised because Gazdanov did not emphasize the stories he told but, rather, focused on how they affected the narrator and the narrator's reactions to them.<sup>63</sup> This was a nuanced concept that, once again, set Gazdanov apart within the émigré community.

Remizov practiced his modernist individuality by writing for himself.<sup>64</sup> Remizov may have been criticized for this idea, but that was a common effect of the modernist style. In his story "Russia in the Whirlwind" (1927), Remizov manifests his off-center writing through an ape constitution and manifesto of the *Obezvelvolpal*, or the "simian-grand-and-free-order." Closely resembling the communist documents back in Russia, this abstract piece utilizes Remizov's political freedom from censorship through lines like "poisoners who claim to be answering an altruistic call" cannot tolerate those who struggle with the new order in the "frank and bold simian kingdom."<sup>65</sup> He uses apes to show the primal ideologies prevalent in Soviet society, one example being their ironic lack of tolerance for those who oppose change, considering the ape's selfless motives.

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<sup>61</sup> Ivan Bunin, "The Calf's Head," in Bunin, *Night of Denial*, 328–239.

<sup>62</sup> Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, 542.

<sup>63</sup> Dienes, *Russian Literature in Exile*, 74.

<sup>64</sup> Slobin, *Russians Abroad*, 185.

<sup>65</sup> Alexei Remizov, "Russia in the Whirlwind," in Remizov, *Selected Prose*, 136.

The generational divide seemed to form a deep chasm, with different writing styles appealing to different audiences, and money issues that appeared to be never ending, but this was just what the movement needed. For members of the older generation not to undermine themselves, they needed their younger colleagues' ideas and flavors. Modernism brought new attention to the émigrés, and poverty bonded them with other émigrés who were forced to be seamstresses and taxi drivers. Other exiles looked to the authors as examples of how to deal with the hardships they were facing while blending these feelings with the mission.

### *III. Coping with Loss through Literature*

Through analyzing their literature, one can detect underlying and variable aspects of the émigrés' comportment that they were unable to control, such as insecurity and fear. This is best seen through an analysis of their grieving process, as displayed in their writing. It has been noted in mental health research on diaspora that migration tends to aggravate pre-existing identity problems, meaning that whatever had caused the émigrés insecurity before was heightened now.<sup>66</sup> This called for different coping mechanisms to come into play to help the authors deal with the immense grieving they were experiencing, such as religion, philosophy of death, remembrance, and humor. These characteristics of the émigrés' literature were not part of the mission, but they deeply influenced the perceptions of émigrés that will be discussed later in this article.

Religion, specifically Russian Orthodoxy, was used by many émigrés as a mediator to help them understand their unbelievable circumstances, but also as a means of skepticism toward a faith that could not protect them from loss. Gippius was the most prominent believer among the émigré authors, and this shows frequently throughout her writing. God was the arbiter between her and the Bolsheviks, as seen in her poem "I'll not go from the door..." (1926), where she pleads with God to bring Russia back to her. This refers to a verse from the Gospel of St. Matthew where Jesus tells the people "keep on knocking and the door will be opened to you...And to everyone who knocks, the door will be opened."<sup>67</sup> In response, Gippius begs for Russia to be resurrected with such a passion that when she knocks "the hinges shake." She is determined to "knock until Thou [i.e., God] givest answer."<sup>68</sup> Gippius uses scripture to console herself; her passion and desperation honor the respect she has for God and her hope in the restoration of her Russian life. Even though God does not seem to answer, she has full faith that he will provide what she asks.

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<sup>66</sup> Moritz E. Wigand, Hauke F. Wiegand, Ertan Altintas, Markus Jäger, and Thomas Becker, "Migration, Identity, and Threatened Mental Health: Examples from Contemporary Fiction," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 56, no. 5 (2019): 1076–1093, here 1080.

<sup>67</sup> Matthew 7:7-8 (New International Version).

<sup>68</sup> Zinaida Gippius, "I'll Not Go from the Door" (1926), trans. Simon Karlinsky, lines 4–8, *RuVerses*, [online](#).

Other authors use religious themes in the opposite way and show how they resent the authority of God; in fact, after the Revolution they trust no one. Remizov's "Zga-Divine Judgement" (1925) follows a monk, Father Ilarion, who meets a young man with a predicament: whether to marry the woman to whom he is betrothed or to stay with the woman he has a child with.<sup>69</sup> Father Ilarion instinctively tells him to stay with his child but is soon compelled to tell the man to consult with God above all else. They follow the supposed sign that God gives them, and the man leaves to go marry his fiancée instead. Father Ilarion is then racked with guilt, feeling like the man should have gone with his original advice. The monk finally goes insane and abandons his faith to wander in the wilderness. This story suggests that Remizov viewed God's guidance as untrustworthy and struggled with his faith after the Revolution.<sup>70</sup>

As the authors were beginning to accept their relocation, they had to understand the reality and meaning of the death of their home. Many of them processed this through their literature, for example by directly mourning the death of Russia itself. Teffi poetically announced her mourning in her piece "Before a Map of Russia" (1920). This poem depicts a portrait of Russia as a "strange house, in a far-away land."<sup>71</sup> Teffi further confronts her sorrow for Russia and compares its death to that of a close relative. Russia has been a part of her, and now, in her grieving, she fears forgetting it, yet she cannot help but continue the process.

Personifying the death of Russia was also common, as authors would make sense of its demise through the passing of individuals in their stories and novels. Berberova's *The Book of Happiness* (1936) and Gazdanov's short story "Black Swans" (1930), for example, each present different philosophies on how to approach death. *The Book of Happiness* depicts how happiness evolves through the death of past happiness. Berberova shows this through the main character, Vera, who experiences three different kinds of romantic pursuits in life. The first is a childhood love that passes away, representing the naïve expectation of life dying as one enters adulthood. The second is a disabled husband who dies and sets her free from never-ending responsibility, showing the flow of hardships in life soon coming to an end. The final love is real and brings her true happiness, unlike the first, superficial one and the second that had trapped her. In this final love, one can see Berberova's faith in and acceptance of her fate based on hope for something better to come.<sup>72</sup> Pavlov, the main character in Gazdanov's "Black Swans," holds

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<sup>69</sup> Alexei Remizov, "Zga-Divine Judgement," in Remizov, *Selected Prose*, 121–133.

<sup>70</sup> See also Ivan Bunin, "Mad Artist," in Bunin, *Night of Denial: Stories and Novellas*, 283–294. This apocalyptic piece shows that Bunin was in constant anticipation for something worse to come.

<sup>71</sup> Teffi, "Before a Map of Russia," trans. Robert Chandler, *RuVerses*, [online](#).

<sup>72</sup> Nina Berberova, *The Book of Happiness*, trans. Marian Schwartz (New York: New Directions, 1999).

a pessimist view of life in an optimist format.<sup>73</sup> Everything in his life has led him to the point of suicide, even though he is an objectively good and fulfilled person. This is different from *The Book of Happiness*, where each moment leads Vera to true happiness. Pavlov simply claims that he has thought a lot about how this is his fate, and that he must fulfill it. What "Black Swans" shows is the control associated with suicide. Similar to Gippius, other émigrés struggled with their apparent lack of control, and the character of Pavlov is no different. Where the *Book of Happiness* embraces the spontaneity of death and its ushering in of new beginnings, "Black Swans" takes death into its own hands and controls the end of the narrative.

Ivan Bunin shares his understanding of death in his story "On the Night Sea" (1923), which looks at a conversation between two individuals who discuss the death of a common lover they each knew at different times.<sup>74</sup> They conclude that they only mourn the idea of who the woman was when they knew her, not who she was when she died. This suggests how fervent Bunin was in remembering Russia strictly for what it had been, and how he would always mourn Russia's death accordingly.

Opposed to mourning the death of their national identity, some authors denied Russia's death by revitalizing it through nostalgia.<sup>75</sup> Teffi comments on this form of denial in her aforementioned piece "Que Faire?" (1923). She discusses the compulsive efforts of the "sellers" and "saviors" of Russia. The "sellers" are those attempting to keep the memory alive through Russian dinners and pursuing elitist lives abroad. The "saviors" are those who are adamant about solving the problem and going back to Russia. Both are in denial, but in different ways, and the imperative need for nostalgia is the only thing that keeps them going.

Teffi infuses her nostalgic literature with humor and irony. As mental health experts have claimed, the ability to invoke humor in light of one's circumstances indicates an effective coping mechanism.<sup>76</sup> For Teffi to be able to not just indicate and voice her emotional trauma, but to also humorize the situation, shows that she is progressing in a healthy manner.<sup>77</sup> This is best seen in her short story "My First Tolstoy" (1920), in which she recalls a time in her childhood when she visited the famous Leo Tolstoy to convince him to change the ending of her favorite book, *War and Peace*. She unfortunately fumbles over her words before she even makes her request and asks him to "pwease sign [his] photogwaph" first.<sup>78</sup> Because of this mortifying moment, she decides to accept the novel's ending and to no longer

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<sup>73</sup> Gaito Gazdanov, "Black Swans," trans. Bryan Karetnyk, *Cardinal Points Literary Journal* 6 (2016): 30-46.

<sup>74</sup> Ivan Bunin, "On the Night Sea," in Bunin, *Night of Denial*, 29-38.

<sup>75</sup> Teffi, "Que Faire?" 141.

<sup>76</sup> Wigand et al., "Migration, Identity, and Threatened Mental Health," 1081.

<sup>77</sup> This is ironic because Teffi's grieving for Russia was so great that she struggled with chronic respiratory health issues for the majority of the 1920s. Haber, *Teffi*, 114.

<sup>78</sup> Teffi, "My First Tolstoy," in Teffi, *Subtly Worded and Other Stories*, 163.



protest its conclusion. The irony rests in her initial passion for the novel—she would read it once a week with zealous desperation for the plot to change—followed by a juvenile indiscretion stealing all of her youthful joy and maturing her opinion on the ending of the book. At the same time, the story highlights the epitome of modern Russian literary culture, Leo Tolstoy, and shows how Teffi combines the controlled perception of nostalgia with the emotional side of grieving to create a style that is distinctly her own.

These coping mechanisms brought humanity to the émigrés' writing. They were not alone in their focus on suffering, as a post-World War I society ushered in conversation topics like death and nostalgia to both French and English culture. This dichotomy of humanity displayed in the émigrés pieces is just what connected them with their international readers and brought them popularity.

#### IV. Attitudes toward the Literature

To assess the success of the émigré mission, it is helpful to consider public attitudes toward their literature from both the émigrés themselves, as well as from the French and the English. The émigrés' freedom and honesty was not confined to their published literature. In their memoirs, diaries, literary criticisms, and interviews, they openly shared their opinions of their fellow authors' works. Gippius was a major émigré critic during this time, and as she was close with Bunin, she also "critiqued" his work. Both Bunin and Gippius were seriously invested in the mission mentality, so Gippius praised Bunin's work to draw the focus away from more contemporary writers. She claimed that Bunin's obsession with nostalgia was merely him "transforming it into graphic representations of contemporary life," merging it with the present times.<sup>79</sup> In other reviews, Gippius came off as harsh and domineering, putting everyone in their place—except when it came to Bunin. This reflects the social hierarchy within the émigré community that was based on popularity, aesthetic favoritism, and devotion to the mission.

Internationally, there were still assumptions from the first wave of emigration that Russians were barbaric and unable to govern themselves, however second-wave émigré literature came to change that.<sup>80</sup> Due to the language barrier in émigré writing, individuals who were not Russian-literate were only exposed to émigré literature once it had been translated to their own languages. The most popular and beloved pieces from the émigré community were usually the ones selected for translation. As a result of these translated works, the French were able to catch on, and a reviewer in the *Gazette de Lausanne* respected Remizov for assisting in the French understanding of the Russian spirit; in fact, the reviewer claimed that "one cannot deny, of course, the influence of the Russian novel on the

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<sup>79</sup> Pachmuss, "Ivan Bunin," 349.

<sup>80</sup> Carol Peaker, "We are not Barbarians: Literature and the Russian Émigré Press in England, 1890-1905," *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 19, no. 3 (2006): 1-18, here 1.

contemporary French novel."<sup>81</sup> As Remizov was a modernist in the cultural capital of the world, where modernism was thriving, this was high praise for his work, showing that combining Russian and contemporary culture was received well.

An English journal, *The Nineteenth Century Review and After*, also discussed this Russian spirit: C. Hagberg Wright's 1921 essay, "The Spirit of Russia," reflects on what it meant to be Russian after the Revolution—specifically for those abroad, looks into the communities that the émigrés formed, and notes their social structures as they were headed by elites. Hagberg Wright states that "Russian literature" is the "voice of Russian suffering," that "their faith in [a better] future is unshaken," and that "they show themselves convinced that the present miseries are but trials which should prepare the Russian people for it."<sup>82</sup> This essay shows that other nations also recognized the mission's basic assumption that exile was not permanent. The essay's title references the spirit that is discussed throughout, specifically, the Russian identity. While the essay merely acknowledges the émigrés' suffering, the empathy provided throughout is helpful, considering that, according to Gippius, England had been "giving aid to the Bolsheviks" around the same time this essay was published.<sup>83</sup>

In the London *Times*, journalist Stephen Graham highlighted the émigré literature by publishing a short series on "Russian Writers in Exile," including interviews with Alexei Remizov and Ivan Bunin. In Remizov's interview, Graham comments on the author's use of language, arguing that his works are "almost impossible to translate" because he uses the peasantry's language in his folkloric depictions of Russia. Graham's piece notes Remizov's artistic individuality when it describes the decorations in his house as resembling the depths of the sea. Remizov's response that "he liked to feel at the bottom of the ocean when he wrote,"<sup>84</sup> exhibits the abstract nature that can be detected in his writing, as well as his dedication to the Russian peasantry. Through his interests Remizov showed that, despite his generational identity, he chose to combine his interests in modernist literature with his devotion to preserving Russian language, as he was one of the few members of the older generation who accepted partial assimilation.

In Bunin's interview, Graham discussed the concept of an émigré's ability to write Russian literature abroad. Bunin argued that "one can write as well in exile as at home."<sup>85</sup> Similar to Gippius's comment earlier, Bunin addressed the contradictory English bias toward the new Soviet government, showing that while

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<sup>81</sup> Emmanuel Buenzod, "Alexi Remizov," *Gazette de Lausanne*, December 29, 1929: "On ne peut pas nier, certes, l'influence du roman russe sur le roman français contemporain." Unless otherwise noted, all French-to-English translations are provided by myself.

<sup>82</sup> C. Hagberg Wright, "The Spirit of Russia," *The Nineteenth Century and After* 90, no. 538 (1921): 1052–1062, here 1060.

<sup>83</sup> Gippius, *Between Paris and St. Petersburg*, 203.

<sup>84</sup> Stephen Graham, "Russian Writers in Exile: Alexey Remizof," *Times*, April 28, 1925, 17.

<sup>85</sup> Graham, "Russian Writers in Exile: Ivan Bunin," 17.

they sympathized with the émigrés and praised their works, the English refused to fully support the émigré cause. Fortunately, Bunin's snarky remarks went unnoticed compared to the popularity of his translated works, particularly "The Gentleman from San Francisco," which was originally published in Russian in 1915. The *Times* raved over the translated work for its comic wit and honest portrayal of human behavior, which was true to Bunin's realist style.<sup>86</sup>

Other ways in which the international community shared their views on émigrés was through characterizations in mainstream literary press outlets. In 1922, a review on a French pamphlet for the Russian Revolution was published in *La Revue de Paris* under the title "La Révolution Russe, Essais d'Analyse." Its main point was, "whether or not they take sides in the quarrels between Russians who were also exiled, the French public cannot fail to read with interest the account of these events whose influence was so significant."<sup>87</sup> Despite French indifference—due to fatigue from an overload of news on world events, the review's author requests compassion for their common suffering, comments on the interest the French have for the exiled Russians, and calls for the exposure of the truths of their deracination through this pamphlet.

In the early 1920s, *The London Magazine* published its own interpretations of the Russians in exile in John Buchan's series "Huntingtower." An excerpt that best reflects the English interpretation of these Russians features the interaction between an exiled Russian princess, Saskia, and a nobleman, Sir Archie. Sir Archie asks Saskia for her opinions on Bolshevism so he can better understand it, but she replies that she "cannot make anyone understand—except a Russian."<sup>88</sup> Throughout the series, Saskia is described in terms of a mystery that needs to be explored, which Buchan chooses to do romantically. Prior to this encounter, the main characters, Dickinson and McCunn, have heard "someone in Huntingtower" singing, and McCunn declares that he is going to search for the singer as it is the "voice of the girl I saw in Rome, and it is singing her song."<sup>89</sup> This scene's language is important: it objectifies Saskia to a voice since they never say her name; they just describe aspects of her. The argument that one cannot understand without being Russian acknowledges the émigrés' practiced exclusivity, yet romanticizing the princess removes any potential empathy since it takes advantage of her exoticism instead, making this, once again, only a partial win.

In addition to such casual acknowledgements of the émigrés' mission efforts, formal international recognition played a significant role in determining the success of the émigrés' endeavors, as evidenced by Ivan Bunin receiving the Nobel

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<sup>86</sup> "Ivan Bunin" *Times*, May 17, 1922, 16.

<sup>87</sup> "La Révolution Russe, Essais d'Analyse," *La Revue de Paris* 173, no. 21 (1922): 1: "Qu'il prenne ou non parti dans les querelles entre Russes également exilés, le public français ne peut manquer de lire avec intérêt le récit de ces événements dont l'influence a été si considérable."

<sup>88</sup> John Buchan, "Huntingtower," *The London Magazine* 48 (1922): 195.

<sup>89</sup> John Buchan, "Huntingtower," *The London Magazine* 47 (1921-1922): 503.

Prize in Literature in 1933. This event was publicized everywhere and brought the émigré community much attention. In the French press, the *Journal de Genève* stated that "Ivan Bunin is certainly the best of the contemporary Russian writers."<sup>90</sup> The *Times* also announced it, showing that this was popular and exciting news.<sup>91</sup> The importance of this win harkens back to the Interwar period's divide in Russian publications between émigré and Soviet authors. Bunin's win was crucial because it affirmed that the projected émigré identity, best exemplified through his work, was endorsed internationally as opposed to the Soviet one. Bunin received praise in émigré newspaper reviews that celebrated their pride in being Russian, specifically, "exiled" Russian.<sup>92</sup> Bunin's win gave the émigré community hope in the preservation of Russian culture for when they would return because of the affirmation abroad of their mission efforts. The examination of international and communal attitudes shows that external communities were able to acknowledge the difference between controlled and uncontrolled projections of Russian literature, and the latter were, undoubtedly, a success.

### Conclusion

When they had first arrived in Paris, the exiles had asked themselves what it meant to be an émigré. On the eve of World War II, they realized that it was exactly what the younger generation had projected it to be. Their split identity of not belonging to any one place geographically but, rather, as a conglomerate of different cultures and memories established their identity as a *mélange*. However, as has been discussed, some authors accepted this reality sooner than others.

It is this merged identity – between the projected mission and the understood exile – that was conveyed to the public. Thus, while the émigrés' mission was successful, there were elements of their perception that were beyond their control and came naturally with grieving and other aspects of humanity. Whether it was their obsessive nostalgia or their dark themes of death and mourning, the émigrés wore their hearts on their sleeves. Even Gazdanov, who was known for his stoicism and aloofness in the émigré community, showed his grieving – whether intentionally or unintentionally – in his writings.

Learning about the partial assimilation of a culture that has sought shelter continues to be relevant today. Over the past two decades, the world has witnessed numerous incidents of migration and immigration, such as Latin Americans fleeing to the United States and the Ukrainian refugee crisis, and the receiving countries need to understand what is at stake for these individuals.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> "Echos: Ivan Bounine, prix Nobel de littérature," *Journal de Genève*, November 14, 1933: "Ivan Bounine est certainement le plus grand de écrivans russes contemporains."

<sup>91</sup> From Our Stockholm Correspondent, "Nobel Prize in Physics," *Times*, November 10, 1933, 13.

<sup>92</sup> Bunin, *From the Other Shore*, 283.

<sup>93</sup> The Ukrainian refugee crisis started when Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 and peaked again in 2022 when Russia invaded Ukraine. It has led many Ukrainians to flee to nearby countries, some

These immigrants may not be trying to preserve their national identity quite as strictly as the Russians were, but their culture is still a large part of who they are, and the receiving countries need to understand the consequences of forced assimilation.

As the older generation of Russian émigré authors in Paris passed on, there was sorrow within the community as it made their relocation feel more permanent. Bunin's wife, Vera, recalled a feeling that they were "burying old Russia" with each passing.<sup>94</sup> Fortunately, the end of the Soviet era allowed historians to revisit Russian history more comfortably, literature and all, and preserve it through archives and museums. While most émigrés were never able to return to their homeland, they did manage to keep their culture alive through memory and publications. One may not be able to visit now and see the traditional Russia they knew and fought so fiercely to remember, but that is true of any society. Generations die off while their stories live on. What makes each story unique is the means by which humans preserve even the tiniest facets of their culture and how they maintain these facets even while living abroad. It really verifies the cliché that home is not a place, it is a people.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Sarabeth Johnson of Fullerton, California, earned a B.A. in History with a minor in Political Science (2021) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). Starting in the fall of 2023, she will be pursuing an M.A. in History at the University of Oregon. The article published here originated in a senior research seminar on European Identities offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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as far as the United States. The migration from Latin America to the United States started in the 1980s when local governments grew increasingly corrupt. Some of these governments still have corrupt police forces with a history of murder, exploitation, and civilian disappearances. Other causes of this migration are unemployment and immense poverty.

<sup>94</sup> Rappaport, *After the Romanovs*, 208.

Rachel Jensen

*Women of the World (Dis)Unite!  
The Stratification of Women's Liberation  
and the Impact on the Equal Rights Amendment*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article examines the schisms within the women's rights movement and the impact these divisions had on the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Based on the writings and interviews of both feminists (like Betty Friedan) and those who opposed the amendment (like Phyllis Schlafly), it first discusses the adoption of the ERA by the National Organization of Women (NOW), then the stratification of the women's movement due to the racial and sexual diversity of feminists, and finally the defeat of the ERA. The author argues that, given the diversity and stratification of American society, the women's movement did not present the united front necessary for the passage of the ERA.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; United States (U.S.); Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Second Wave Feminism; Women's Liberation Movement; National Organization of Women (NOW); radical feminism; lesbian feminism; black feminism; anti-ERA movement*

*Introduction*

Riding the ferry over to Liberty Island, the cluster of women appeared to fellow passengers as a large group of pregnant tourists. Beneath their clothes, however, were not growing infants but, rather, strips of fabric carefully folded and hidden away beneath maternity blouses. Upon docking, the women disembarked and joined with others who had arrived via a second boat. The Statue of Liberty loomed before them. Two groups formed: one walked toward the pedestal while the other brought out guitars and rolled up poster boards on which they had written words of support for women's rights.<sup>1</sup> They marched and sang as their counterparts worked to quickly connect their pieces of fabric into a forty-foot banner. As police and fire boats approached the island, the final segment was attached. The banner unfurled in the breeze as it was thrown over the railing. Bold black capital letters emblazoned across an oilcloth proclaimed: "Women of the World Unite!" The message was clear, the women of the world sought liberation. And that included Lady Liberty.

As the fiftieth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment approached, Ivy Bottini led nearly one hundred women from the New York Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) to occupy the Statue of Liberty on August 10, 1970. A symbol of freedom and hope, the statue represented what many women in America longed for—liberation. Bottini recalls the moment as thrilling: to see the Statue of Liberty draped in the banner was a victory. When the fire hoses were turned toward the women to encourage them to disperse, Bottini remembers "it was like a party: they're celebrating, we're celebrating."<sup>2</sup> It was a moment to stand together in pursuit of liberation. A moment to raise awareness for the goals of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ivy Bottini, interview by Martha Wheelock, *Veteran Feminists of America*, August 2017, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> Bottini, interview by Wheelock, August 2017.

movement. A moment to celebrate all that had been achieved and all that was to be achieved. But this moment at the Statue of Liberty failed to unite what was in reality a disjointed movement. It would take more than fabric to hold the Women's Liberation Movement together, and, like the makeshift banner of 1970, the movement would not be able to withstand the pressures of counter defense.

The broad spectrum of topics the movement attempted to address, combined with a vast range of different women from all walks of life, proved to be an almost impossible combination. With the varied backgrounds, ethnicities, and politics of the feminists within the women's movement, tensions quickly arose, fracturing the movement as individual coalitions were established to address specific issues. Various organizations quickly splintered off the mainstream movement in response to conflicting platforms and ideologies, with radical groups arising when they felt their specific issues were not being adequately, if at all, addressed. Radical groups such as the Lavender Menace, Society for Cutting Up Men (S.C.U.M.), and Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (W.I.T.C.H.) arose, deeming NOW too moderate, too middle-class, and too matronly. Smaller movements like the lesbian separatists began to establish themselves to discuss these niche issues, though even they were divided along class and racial lines. The concept of a united movement was a dream unrealized.

Though scholarship on the intersection of feminist movements is prevalent, it does not specifically address how the incredibly stratified nature of the women's rights movement affected ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); or, rather, how did the lack of a unified movement impact the passage of the amendment? By focusing on the turbulent relationship of feminists, a larger picture emerges: the Women's Liberation Movement reflects the character of American society, diverse but divided.

Ultimately, the fractured nature of the Women's Liberation Movement prevented the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Equal Rights Amendment represented complete equality among the sexes. Whereas the Nineteenth Amendment singularly addressed suffrage, the ERA was meant to encompass all other aspects of life. Seemingly simple, given its few short lines, the amendment appeared broad in nature when in actuality its application was very specific. It was intended to address the concerns of all women, but for some, the amendment became a concern in and of itself. Given the diversity and stratification of American society, the women's movement did not present the united front necessary for the passage of the ERA.

### *I. Waves of Feminism: The Campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment*

First introduced in 1921 by Alice Paul of the National Women's Party (NWP), the Equal Rights Amendment has been a contentious aspect of the women's movement since First Wave Feminism. Paul strongly believed that the Nineteenth Amendment, which guaranteed women's suffrage, would not be enough to ensure the equality of the sexes. At the 1923 Seneca Falls Convention, Paul presented a

revised version of the amendment, proposing that “Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.”<sup>3</sup> Immediately divisive, it caused a split between those who supported legislation intended to protect women workers and those who asserted that men and women be treated equally before the law. Debates immediately arose over the potential consequences of the passage of the ERA, fearing that a “blanket” amendment would “decimate the protective labor laws they had worked so hard to obtain, thus leaving working women defenseless.”<sup>4</sup> Groups such as the Women’s Trade Union League, the National Consumers’ League, and the League of Women Voters saw such an initiative as detrimental to the cause of women workers and the legislative reforms that had already been achieved. Detractors of the amendment such as Dr. Alice Hamilton, a pioneer in the field of industrial medicine and the first woman faculty member at Harvard, claimed that the right method was “to repeal or alter one by one the laws that now hamper women or work injustice to them, and which oppose the constitutional amendment sponsored by the Woman’s Party on the ground that it is too dangerously sweeping and all-inclusive.”<sup>5</sup> Over the decades, such arguments would continue to persist throughout the various attempts to ratify the amendment. Though their ideologies and methodologies differed, the end goal was ultimately the same—equality of all regardless of sex.

Support for the Equal Rights Amendment gained momentum during Second Wave Feminism as Women’s Liberation emerged as a concerted movement. This new wave of activity, beginning in the mid-1960s and extending through the early 1980s, broadened the range and topic of issues addressed and debated by women’s rights advocates. It moved beyond merely focusing on legal limitations and disabilities, the emphasis of First Wave Feminism, instead touching on every area of the women’s experience—family, sexuality, and work. According to John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, the energy that fueled the second wave

came from another group of younger, radical women. Women’s liberationists, as they labeled themselves, emerged from the ranks of the Civil Rights movements and the New Left. Motivated by lofty ideals of social equality, genuine democracy, and the dignity of the individual, they threw themselves into the struggle for social justice.<sup>6</sup>

The idea of the personal as political arose and fueled a new perception of how Americans should view women’s issues, seeing that many dilemmas were due to

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<sup>3</sup> “July 21, 1923: National Women’s Party Kicks Off Era Campaign,” *Feminist Majority Foundation*, [online](#).

<sup>4</sup> Cynthia Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women’s Issues, 1945–1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 9.

<sup>5</sup> “‘The Blanket’ Amendment: A Debate,” *The Forum* 72 (August 1924): 145–152, here 152.

<sup>6</sup> John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 310.



socially constructed gender roles that were continuously enforced by various institutions of the patriarchy in order to consign women to an inferior position.

The founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) by Betty Friedan and twenty-eight other women in 1966 signaled what many historians consider the commencement of the second wave. NOW emerged as the government failed to seriously enforce recent legislation banning discrimination on the basis of sex. In its statement of purpose, the organization committed

to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men [...] to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women.<sup>7</sup>

It declared that since there was “no Civil Rights organization to speak for women, as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination. The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak.”<sup>8</sup> The organization remained at the forefront, a mainstream, liberal group that attracted the young liberationists coming from the Civil Rights movement, the politically uninitiated, and the long-standing supporters alike. It staged protests and consciousness-raising events to bring awareness to the plight of women and the social, political, and economic inequalities they experienced. By 1967, it had adopted passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, publicly-funded child care, and the repeal of all abortion laws (the first national organization to do so) among its goals in a Bill of Rights for Women.<sup>9</sup>

NOW worked to place itself in the public eye, to make it impossible to ignore women’s issues. They did this through the aforementioned occupation of the Statue of Liberty in 1970; the boycotts of companies such as Colgate-Palmolive in response to policies that prevented women from attaining top-paying jobs; and demonstrations at “men only” restaurants, bars, and other areas that physically illustrated sexism. The Women’s Strike for Equality was the culmination of Friedan’s leadership of NOW, a moment she proclaimed to be “one of the happiest days of [her] life...if not *the* happiest.”<sup>10</sup> On the fiftieth anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Friedan called for a national strike, for women across America to lay down their burdens and take to the streets in protest. Fifty thousand women marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City, from curb to curb, arm in arm; “and so we marched, in a great swinging long line, from sidewalk to sidewalk, and the police on their horses got out of the way. And people

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<sup>7</sup> “Founding the National Organization for Women, 1966,” in *Modern American Women: A Documentary History*, ed. Susan Ware, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 238.

<sup>8</sup> “Founding the National Organization for Women, 1966,” in *Modern American Women*, ed. Ware, 238.

<sup>9</sup> “Highlights,” *National Organization for Women*, [online](#).

<sup>10</sup> Lyn Tornabene, “The Liberation of Betty Friedan,” in *Interviews with Betty Friedan*, ed. Janann Sherman (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 25–34, here 32.

leaned out of office windows and waved.”<sup>11</sup> Though the scale Friedan had hoped for was not achieved (secretaries were not abandoning their typewriters, and mothers were not rushing away from their stoves), the demonstration illustrated that the Women’s Liberation Movement was not to be taken lightly, that anyone who believed this a frivolous, passing fancy of but a few women was sorely mistaken.

For the National Organization for Women, the ERA became the ultimate legislative goal as it represented a means of guaranteeing the equality of women and men in the United States. In November 1967, during their second national conference, NOW officially codified their support for the amendment in the Bill of Rights for Women. In backing the ERA, Friedan believed NOW would “forge the crucial generational links between the century-long battle for women’s rights that was our past and the young women who were the future.”<sup>12</sup> The ERA offered a close parallel to the plight for suffrage from First Wave Feminism; “both combined symbolic and practical goals, [...] addressed the status of all women in abstract terms, [...] resonated most strongly with the views of middle-class activists, [...] required constitutional amendments, [and] enjoyed the support of mass feminist organizations.”<sup>13</sup> The campaign for women’s suffrage had ultimately proved successful, so it stood to reason that ratification of the ERA could come to fruition as well. However, adopting the amendment as a central focus of the organization prompted dissension and division. Unlike with suffrage, the topic of an amendment that guaranteed universal equality was far more controversial among women. Just as in the 1920s, labor feminists rejected the amendment, once more concerned that it would undo the reforms that had already been attained. Along the same vein, some religious feminists believed that passage of the amendment would invalidate legal protections for women and result in discrimination.<sup>14</sup> Whereas the suffrage movement had experienced greater support from women as it pushed against the views of male legislators, the ERA had to contend with the deeply divergent views of women.

## *II. Too Moderate, Matronly, and Middle-Class: Schisms in NOW*

While the National Organization for Women represented largely white mainstream interests, its seemingly moderate stances alienated other feminists.

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<sup>11</sup> Marilyn French, “The Emancipation of Betty Friedan,” in *Interviews with Betty Friedan*, ed. Janann Sherman (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 64–73, here 72.

<sup>12</sup> Betty Friedan, *It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women’s Movement* (New York: Norton, 1976), 104–105.

<sup>13</sup> Steven M. Buechler, *Women’s Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights, and Beyond* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 108.

<sup>14</sup> Caryn E. Neumann, “Enabled by the Holy Spirit: Church Women United and the Development of Ecumenical Christian Feminism,” in *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States*, ed. Stephanie Gilmore (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 113–134, here 123.

The schism that arose between the liberal and radical feminists and the difference in their beliefs is clearly manifested in the complete severing of ties by nine prominent members with the New York chapter of NOW. Deeming themselves the October 17<sup>th</sup> Movement, the women, led by Ti-Grace Atkinson, a Friedan protégé and the president of the chapter, departed after conflicts about the hierarchical structure and tactics of the organization went unresolved. As Susan Brownmiller, a member of the New York Radical Feminists, wrote in a 1970 article for *The New York Times*, "Sisterhood is Powerful," Ti-Grace and her radical peers "had come to view the power relationship between NOW's executive board and the general membership as a copycat extension of the standard forms of male domination over women in the society at large."<sup>15</sup> Rather than creating an organization that was accessible to all women, regardless of race, education, sexuality, or socio-economic status, NOW was replicating the hierarchies of the patriarchy. A select few held power, controlling the direction of the group and dictating which issues would be prioritized; thus, the common member's voice went unheard just as the patriarchy was silencing women. Radical feminists like Atkinson and Brownmiller wanted to break down these structures and create a new order, which NOW's system did not facilitate. They were determined to pursue issues that they felt needed to be addressed and in ways that matched.

Whereas moderate liberal groups like NOW were concerned with more traditional democratic means of campaigning for equality of the sexes, radical feminists were bolder in their actions, unafraid of how they would be perceived. In response to a question about Ti-Grace Atkinson and her ideological split from NOW, Friedan stated, "Don't be frivolous. Don't get into the bra-burning, anti-man, politics-of-orgasm school like Ti-Grace did. Confront the Administration, demand the same rights as the boys, go door to door when Sam Ervin [the North Carolina Senator who opposed the Equal Rights Amendment] comes up for election, and get him out."<sup>16</sup> Radical feminists were viewed as extremists, their actions and tactics characterized as aggressive and confrontational. Groups like the New York Radical Women,<sup>17</sup> an early radical organization lasting from 1967 to 1969, staged and participated in vocal demonstrations such as the 1968 protest of the Miss America Pageant, which would become ingrained in history with the popular myth of the bra-burning. Radical feminists from a number of associations distributed pamphlets that decried the contest, calling it a reinforcement of sexism and perpetuation of specific standards and representations of women:

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<sup>15</sup> Susan Brownmiller, "Sisterhood is Powerful," *The New York Times*, March 15, 1970.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Wilkes, "Mother Superior to Women's Lib," *New York Times*, November 29, 1970.

<sup>17</sup> Not to be confused with the New York Radical Feminists which was a separate radical organization formed in late 1969 by Anne Koedt and Shulamith Firestone after they had left their previous groups, The Feminists and the Redstockings. It is of interest to note that Shulamith was a member of the original New York Radical Women, which eventually dissolved and was absorbed by the Redstockings (established in January/February 1969).

The Degrading Mindless-Boob-Girlie Symbol. The Pageant contestants epitomize the roles we are all forced to play as women. The parade down the runway blares the metaphor of the 4-H Club county fair, where the nervous animals are judged for teeth, fleece, etc., and where the best 'Specimen' gets the blue ribbon. So are women in our society forced daily to compete for male approval, enslaved by ludicrous 'beauty' standards we ourselves are conditioned to take seriously.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike their liberal counterparts, radical feminists were far less concerned with putting on a façade that was palatable to the masses, flouting conventions of conduct and respectability with their often flamboyant actions. But even these groups had their tensions, organizations appearing and then dissolving as arguments over topics pushed members away, politics being a particularly heated debate. Disagreements also arose over sexual matters, which the debates over lesbianism illustrate.

### *III. Silenced, Exiled, and Pushed Aside: Lesbians in the Mainstream Feminist Movement*

In the United States, homosexuality was condemned and deemed a psychological disease, a perversion or deviancy of gender and sex. Feminists, products of this culture, "were no less likely than other Americans to view lesbians with disdain, to see their sexuality as a pathological aberration at worst, or a private matter of no political consequence at best."<sup>19</sup> In the words of Gene Damon, a member of an early homophile group (The Daughters of Bilitis), to be a lesbian was to be isolated and removed; "For the crime (psychological, religious, social, or whatever) of preferring women in bed to men, a woman is automatically out of the human race."<sup>20</sup> Homosexuals were feared because they did not exist within the boxes the heterosexual patriarchy had established. There was something "wrong" with them, they were psychologically sick. Rita Mae Brown, a radical lesbian and author of *Rubyfruit Jungle*, published an article in the July/August 1995 issue of *Ms. Magazine*, titled "Reflections of a Lavender Menace: Remember When the Movement Tried to Keep Lesbians in the Closet?" that discussed her experience revealing her sexuality:

The second wave of the women's movement...shivered in mortal terror of lesbians. I told the truth about myself at one of the early National Organization for Women (NOW) meetings in 1967, which meant that women in Pucci dresses tore their hemlines squeezing one another out the door. A short time thereafter Betty Friedan helped coin the term 'Lavender Menace,' although I don't know if she wants to take credit for it. And a short time after that, I was unceremoniously shown the door.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "No More Miss America! (1968)," *The Chicago Women's Liberation Union Herstory Project*, [online](#).

<sup>19</sup> D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 316.

<sup>20</sup> Gene Damon, "The Least of These: The Minority Whose Screams Haven't Yet Been Heard," in *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*, ed. Robin Morgan (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 333-342, here 335.

<sup>21</sup> Jennifer Chapin Harris, "After the Mystique is Gone," in *Interviews with Betty Friedan*, ed. Janann Sherman (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 166-170, here 166.

It would ultimately be lesbian feminists who argued that homosexuality was not a choice, that it was a part of their essence, their very being. Meanwhile, homosexuality would continue to be considered a mental disorder until 1973.<sup>22</sup> Even beyond the early 1970s, though, many individuals would (and still) deem it to be an unnatural choice, a condition. Though lesbian feminists were fighting to dispel this condemnation, this discrimination, other feminists were not so inclined to agree that homosexuality was a pressing matter to discuss. The rallying cry of the “personal as political” only went as far as what predominately white, heterosexual women believed it should cover, what ultimately benefited them.

As the leader of the National Organization of Women and author of *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan had a large amount of influence and power over the mainstream feminist movement. On multiple occasions, she publicly rejected the idea of lesbianism as being a feminist issue, which stemmed largely from her own discomfort with homosexuality and the view that it was a private matter best kept to the bedroom. The idea that women desired to publicly exhibit their sexuality horrified her: “she was shocked by the idea of a public declaration of lesbianism.”<sup>23</sup> Lesbian feminists believed that Gay Liberation and Women’s Liberation were struggling to attain the same goal: freedom to define themselves, to not be judged by sex or sexual orientation. However, for the “liberal feminists of NOW, an alliance with lesbians was still not on the agenda; indeed, Friedan led a purge of the New York NOW chapter, ridding it of lesbians and lesbian sympathizers.”<sup>24</sup> Ivy Bottini, the president of that particular chapter, was forced to resign and veritably run out of town. In a letter to Friedan, Rita Mae Brown criticized her actions, questioning how she could exclude dedicated activists from the cause:

[At a time] when women are being discriminated against and treated unfairly, I would expect you and your fellow members of NOW to unite with all members of our gender, regardless of sexual orientation, against a male dominated society. Instead of welcoming our support as fellow women’s rights activists you have expelled Ivy Bottini and myself simply because of our sexual orientation. Yes, we are lesbians, Ms. Friedan, but is it fair to deny us membership on this premise?<sup>25</sup>

The fear of a non-normative sexuality—and the negatives associated with it—drove Friedan and other leaders to push even the staunchest feminists away from the mainstream. A prominent figure within gay and women’s activist groups, Ivy Bottini had contributed to the foundation of the first chapter of NOW in 1966, orchestrated the 1970 takeover of the Statue of Liberty, and helped organize the

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<sup>22</sup> Jack Drescher, “Out of DSM: Depathologizing Homosexuality,” *Behavioral Sciences* 5, no. 4 (2015): 565–575, here 565.

<sup>23</sup> French, “Emancipation of Betty Friedan,” 71.

<sup>24</sup> Rory Dicker, *A History of U.S. Feminisms* (Berkeley: Seal Press, 2008), 94.

<sup>25</sup> Rita Mae Brown, “1974: October 24, Rita Mae Brown to Betty Friedan,” in *Women’s Letters: America from the Revolutionary War to the Present*, ed. Lisa Grunwald and Stephen J. Adler (New York: The Dial Press, 2005), 666.

Women's Strike for Equality. Yet she was simply expelled due to her sexuality. When she had been perceived as heterosexual (she was married with children when she helped found the first chapter), she had been considered reliable and was highly respected, but once she came out she was a liability. The potential to be associated with the undesirable image of the lesbian was a powerful motivation for straight feminist leaders to cast aside their homosexual sister-in-arms.

According to Marilyn French, Friedan and other leaders within NOW believed that supporting lesbians

would be a tactical error: she [i.e., Friedan] felt lesbianism as a political stance to be anti-male, and her own position, from the beginning, had been to gain rights for women without alienating men, but rather seeing them as fellow victims of divisive, repressive, dehumanized society.<sup>26</sup>

Friedan maintained that feminism was ultimately a movement of both men and women. It was necessary to work with men in order to fix the system. In a 1981 interview, Friedan discussed the issue of including lesbianism in the debate of feminist priorities:

It is all very well for wiser leaders of the women's movement today to insist, correctly, that the Equal Rights Amendment has nothing to do with either abortion or homosexuality – that, in fact, it has nothing to do with sexual behavior at all. The sexual politics that distorted the sense of priorities of the women's movement during the '70s made it easy for the so-called Moral Majority to lump ERA with homosexual rights and abortion into one explosive package of licentious, family-threatening sex.<sup>27</sup>

Friedan worried that any perceived support for same-sex relationships would damage the organization's credibility and provide opponents with ammunition against it. In her eyes, lesbianism was inherently anti-male and anti-family and would thus drive away supporters of the movement, which would be costly when trying to campaign for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. To include lesbianism was to distort the purpose of the movement, to invite condemnation from the Moral Majority, and thus be unable to achieve their goals.

Silenced, exiled, or pushed aside, many lesbian feminists came together to form their own communities and organizations to respond to their needs. Rita Mae Brown left NOW in 1970 and assisted in the establishment of the Radicalesbians, whose manifesto, "The Woman-Identified Woman," criticized the omission and neglect of lesbian voices by the movement:

It is the primacy of women relating to women, of women creating a new consciousness of and with each other which is at the heart of Women's Liberation, and the basis for the cultural revolution. Together we must find, reinforce, and validate our authentic selves.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> French, "Emancipation of Betty Friedan," 71.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Walton, "Once More to the Ramparts," in *Interviews with Betty Friedan*, ed. Janann Sherman (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 39–51, here 49.

<sup>28</sup> Radicalesbians, "The Woman Identified Woman," in *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*, ed. Sarah Lucia-Hoagland and Julia Penelope (London: Onlywomen Press, 1988), 21.

The short document established the presence of lesbians in politics, calling attention to their exclusion, and serving as a base for further literature by radical lesbians. As a subset of the feminist movement, radicals located the root cause of women's oppression in the patriarchy. For radical lesbian feminists, the patriarchy oppressed them not just through their gender, but their sexuality as well. However, it was not simply men who restricted them, but their straight sisters as well, who silenced them and reinforced the ideals they were fighting against.

Lesbian separatists adopted and exemplified to the extreme the ideal of the woman-identified woman. Separatism as a movement is the advocacy of a state, sometimes physically apart from the larger group in terms of culture, ethnicity, race, religion, or gender; and the strategy had existed for decades before some lesbians adopted the idea in conjunction with their ideals of feminism.<sup>29</sup> In a 1988 article, "Lesbian Separatism: A Historical and Comparative Perspective," Bette S. Tallen, a Jewish, lesbian feminist, places the movement within the context of other such narratives, especially that of black separatism, in order to better define it. By juxtaposing lesbian separatism with other movements, she is able to effectively compare how the white male patriarchy has oppressed minorities and sought to erase those who did not conform or resemble very specific ideals. This comparative perspective ultimately enables her to explain how it differs as a movement of its own. According to Tallen, separatism is

based on both a resistance to and a rejection of the dominant oppressive culture and the imperative for self-definition. Lesbian separatism, unlike some other separatist movements, is not about the establishment of an independent, physical state; it is about the development of an autonomous self-identity and the creation of a strong solid lesbian community.<sup>30</sup>

The lesbian separatists believed that in order to end their oppression they needed to isolate themselves from the society that subjugated them; to eliminate male supremacy by eliminating that which caused it – men. Consequently, this meant that participation in government was not an option. In general, legislative campaigning was not a priority. It was far more about living in a separate reality, free from the constraints of American society as it was constructed at the time.

When compared to lesbian separatist organizations, radical feminist groups appeared far more moderate in their ideals. Lesbian separatists represented an extreme form of feminism that manifested itself in very physical ways. The Furies, a Washington D.C. based separatist community that was founded in part by Rita Mae Brown during the summer of 1971, created a commune consisting of twelve women, aged eighteen to twenty-eight, (and three children) who shared chores and held some money in common. They even opened a school to teach other women auto and home repair so that they would no longer be dependent on men.

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<sup>29</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), s.v. "Separatism."

<sup>30</sup> Bette S. Tallen, "Lesbian Separatism: A Historical and Comparative Perspective," in *For Lesbians Only: A Separatist Anthology*, ed. Sarah Lucia-Hoagland and Julia Penelope (London: Onlywomen Press, 1988), 132-144, here 141.

The commune also published a magazine of the same name that was distributed among separatists and other women who had created their own communities. In the January 1972 debut edition, Ginny Berson, a member of the collective, argued that “[l]esbians must get out of the straight women’s movement and form their own movement in order to be taken seriously, to stop straight women from oppressing [them], and to force straight women to deal with their own lesbianism.”<sup>31</sup> As lesbian separatists, the Furies advocated for the complete severing of ties with men and the rejection of heterosexuality along with all the privileges it afforded.<sup>32</sup> In fact, they actually introduced and defined the word heterosexism, or the concept that the subjugation of homosexuals was based on the assumption that heterosexuality was the norm, that any other sexuality was non-normative or unnatural. To them, a woman could not truly call herself a feminist unless she removed herself from the male-dominated society. In the words of Barbara Solomon, lesbianism

is key to liberation and only women who cut their ties to male privilege can be trusted to remain serious in the struggle against male dominance. Those who remain tied to men, individually or in political theory, cannot always put women first...any women relating to a man cannot be a feminist. Women who give love and energy to men rather than women obviously think men are better than women.<sup>33</sup>

The Furies and related groups were not afraid to explicitly challenge heterosexual feminists. This confrontation forced heterosexual feminists to reanalyze their assumptions of homosexuality, specifically lesbianism, and the centrality of institutionalized heterosexuality to the oppression of all women.

Quietly exiling lesbians to the recesses of the mainstream organizations, or outright purging them, was in part an attempt by NOW to cultivate a palatable and respectable image, to form a reputation that endeared them to the fickle crowds who could and would both support and condemn in the same breath what feminists were working to achieve. Friedan and other heterosexual, liberal feminists were highly cognizant of the view of the masses, especially the portrayal the media outlets attributed to their organizations. Because NOW was one of the largest and most organized of the feminist groups, attention tended to focus on them. For straight feminists, the condemnation that was attached to female homosexuality represented rejection from society. According to Anne Koedt, to be

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<sup>31</sup> Ginny Berson, “The Furies,” quoted in Alice Echols, *Daring to be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 232.

<sup>32</sup> The Furies (as well as other separatist groups) believed that lesbianism was a choice rather than an innate part of their being and therefore encouraged women to “become” lesbians. It was the ultimate way of removing men from one’s life. Thus, a small percentage of the lesbians present within the movement were not lesbians in the sense that they were sexually attracted to women but more along the lines of loving women for being women and putting them before any men.

<sup>33</sup> Barbara Solomon, “Taking the Bullshit by the Horns,” quoted in Jane Gerhard, *Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought 1920 to 1982* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 154.



“called lesbian touched real fears: to the extent that a woman was involved with man, she feared being considered Unfeminine and Unwomanly, and thus being rejected.”<sup>34</sup> If NOW hoped to achieve its legislative goals, it needed to avoid being conflated with feminists who were less accepted by society. As lesbian feminist Karla Jay states in her 1999 memoir, *Tales of the Lavender Menace*,

conservative elements of the women’s movement were openly hostile to lesbians...Betty Friedan had branded us a ‘lavender menace.’ Lesbians, she believed, would blight the reputation of the National Organization for Women if its members were labeled ‘man-haters’ and ‘a bunch of dykes.’ The very threat of such appellations led NOW to deny the number of lesbians in its ranks.<sup>35</sup>

Although lesbians had been involved since the inception of the movement and had played prominent roles, Betty Friedan, Susan Brownmiller, and other straight feminists were ready to discard those who endangered the goals of NOW and their respective collectives. Even after the organization had adopted a resolution in 1971 stating that lesbian rights were a legitimate concern of the feminist movement, their issues still went largely unaddressed in the mainstream arena for many years.

Though lesbians had been present and vocal in their support of Women’s Liberation, the mainstream movement as represented by NOW alienated them, pushing them to the wayside. Out of fear of association with homosexuality and the stereotypes it invoked, liberal feminists hastily denied their fellow women, “accepting the verdict that it was an issue of no significance. [However], lesbians were involved in building the feminist movement from the outset and they responded to the hostility of heterosexual feminists by constructing a sexual politics of their own.”<sup>36</sup> Lesbians formed and established their own organizations to delve into their distinct desires, to address the issues that were most pressing to them. They refused to be silent and became a vocal presence, constantly reminding those around them that they too had a voice, they too had rights to exercise, and they would not be left to the wayside because their sexuality made others uncomfortable.

#### *IV. Black Feminism and the Lack of Representation in the Mainstream Movement*

Due to the varied backgrounds, ethnicities, and politics of the feminists within the women’s movement, it was impossible to create a unified movement. Individual coalitions were established to address specific issues, particularly along racial lines. For many black feminists, the mainstream women’s rights movement was decidedly white in terms of its goals. In a 1996 interview, black feminist Barbara Emerson explained that early on she viewed Women’s Liberation as being “for white women who needed to be liberated, and [that she] agreed that they needed

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<sup>34</sup> Anne Koedt, “Lesbianism and Feminism,” *The Chicago Women’s Liberation Union Herstory Project*, [online](#).

<sup>35</sup> Karla Jay, *Tales of the Lavender Menace* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 137.

<sup>36</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 316.

to be liberated as women. But [she] did not see that as [her] primary oppression."<sup>37</sup> The goals of organizations like NOW were not the priorities of black women who saw their oppression as being firmly rooted in race more than sex. Emerson "thought it was a white women's movement, not necessarily because [she] thought it was exclusionary of women of color, but simply because [she] thought the agenda was a white women's agenda. It was what white women needed."<sup>38</sup> Differences in outlook divided white middle-class feminists and black women; the priorities of one group were not that of the other. For instance,

white feminists insisted that all restrictions on abortion should be lifted; black women feared the overuse of abortion (and sterilization) in the black community for 'population control.' Condemnation of men, a key motif of radical feminism, made black women uneasy because of their bond with black men as partners in the struggle against racism.<sup>39</sup>

Women's Liberation, and feminism as a whole, came to be seen by some black women as purely a white woman's issue. Women like Barbara Emerson initially hesitated to call themselves feminists because they saw the objectives of the women's movement as separate from their own.

Social issues that were crucial to black women were not addressed by existing feminist organizations, which resulted in the underrepresentation of black women in the mainstream movement. Consequently, black women had to form their own organizations so as to address their needs. Groups such as Black Women Organized for Action and the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) were formed in 1973 to tackle issues such as welfare, reproductive freedom, domestic workers, drug addiction, prisons, and violence against black women. In their statement of purpose, the NBFO declared that

[t]he distorted male-dominated media image of the Women's Liberation Movement has clouded the vital and revolutionary importance of this movement to Third World women, especially black women. The movement has been characterized as the exclusive property of so-called white middle-class women.<sup>40</sup>

The NBFO was established to take on the particular and specific needs of black women. The mainstream women's movement was dominated by white women, but it was not their "exclusive property." Black women carved out their own place within the broader movement, creating their own spaces. Their differing needs

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<sup>37</sup> "Interview with Barbara Emerson," quoted in *The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices from Women's Liberation*, ed. Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), 64.

<sup>38</sup> "Interview with Barbara Emerson," quoted in *Feminist Memoir Project*, ed. DuPlessis and Snitow, 69.

<sup>39</sup> Miriam Schneir, *Feminism in our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 171.

<sup>40</sup> "National Black Feminist Organization State of Purpose," quoted in Miriam Schneir, *Feminism in our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 173.

and perspectives kept numerous black and white feminist groups from joining together in support.

Some black women operated within the mainstream movement, but they had to contend with racial marginalization. In her essay “Sisterhood in Black and White,” Barbara Omolade, a member of the Women’s Action Alliance, explains that

Black women [...] were integral parts of Second Wave Feminism but [their] roles were always being contained, discouraged, and limited by white women who in spite of their so-called ‘feminist politics’ replicated existing power relationships, which minimized and subordinated [black women] because of [their] race.<sup>41</sup>

Just as lesbians had to face the homophobia of the time, black women had to withstand and combat the racism present within the women’s movement. Black women were excluded from conferences and workshops, and prevented from attending events by their fellow feminists. Despite the cry for unity in the campaign for equality, mainstream feminists were guilty of the same exclusionary practices they condemned. Through their own actions, white feminists fostered divisions within the women’s movement, pushing away much needed support, particularly when it came to campaigning for legislation like the ERA.

#### *V. A Singularly United Movement: The Campaign Against the ERA*

As the mainstream movement remained divided due to a combination of divergent perspectives and purposeful alienation, an opposition movement arose fueled by detractors of the ERA. In their attempts to unite women, the Women’s Liberation Movement had never considered that the largest opponent would become women themselves. Women like Phyllis Schlafly, organizer of the “STOP ERA” campaign, and Beverly LaHaye, founder of Concerned Women for America, created counter-movements in direct reaction to what they were seeing from the likes of NOW and Betty Friedan. The campaign for equal rights between the sexes became a war over gender roles within American society, pitting women against women.

In contrast to the Women’s Liberation Movement, the anti-ERA movement was far more united in the pursuit of its own goal. Ultimately, opponents of the ERA had a singular objective—prevent the ratification of the amendment. The reasons behind their objections need not be the same across the movement, only the eventual outcome. Consequently, opponents could attack the amendment for a variety of different, even contradictory reasons. When Phyllis Schlafly entered the fray in 1972, the Equal Rights Amendment had been ratified by twenty-eight states and appeared to be well on its way to ratification given the strong public support. A decade later, the amendment fell three states short of the necessary thirty-eight

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<sup>41</sup> Barbara Omolade, “Sisterhood in Black and White,” in *The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices from Women’s Liberation*, ed. Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), 377–408, here 388.

for ratification to the Constitution, due in large part to the grassroots conservative anti-ERA movement. In her “STOP ERA” campaign, Schlafly framed the amendment as a war on traditional gender roles that would erode the institutions of family and marriage. She argued that the ERA would take away gender-specific privileges that women currently benefited from including exemption from Selective Service (the military draft), “dependent wife” benefits under Social Security, and single-gender restrooms as well as lead to the legalization of same-sex marriage and abortion.<sup>42</sup> As she proclaimed in a 1973 speech, passage of the ERA would result in the loss of financial support from husbands:

Since the women are the ones who bear the babies and there’s nothing we can do about that, our laws and customs then make it the financial obligation of the husband to provide the support. It is his obligation and his sole obligation. And this is exactly and precisely what we will lose if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed.<sup>43</sup>

The language of the ERA did not hint at such possible applications, but the message that women had something to lose rather than gain seemed increasingly credible. In order to win support for her campaign, Schlafly sought out those who were seemingly underserved or neglected by the women’s rights movements. In the early 1970s, NOW briefly attempted a program to provide assistance to widowed and divorced women, since many widows were ineligible for Social Security benefits and few divorcees received alimony. In addition, after a career as a housewife, few had the ability to enter the workforce due to a lack of necessary work skills. The program encountered sharp criticism from young activists who placed priority on poor minority women rather than middle-class women. By 1980, NOW was downplaying the program as it exclusively focused on ratification of the ERA. Phyllis Schlafly stepped into the vacuum left by NOW, denouncing and condemning the feminists for abandoning older, middle-class widows and divorcees in need.<sup>44</sup> Her message that the ERA would result in a loss of privileges exploited the fears of many women, particularly those whose identities were closely tied to the domestic sphere.

Having a single goal proved to be a major advantage for the anti-ERA movement. Feminist organizations like NOW struggled to determine how the amendment would be applied and foster a united movement in support of it. The broad language provided room for interpretation, which divided feminists. Unable to adequately articulate a female definition of equality, the women’s movement had left itself open to attack. Opponents did not need to worry about having a unified argument against the amendment; rather, they simply had to

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<sup>42</sup> “Woman; 107; Equal Rights Amendment, Part 2,” 1973-12-06, WNED, American Archive of Public Broadcasting (GBH and the Library of Congress), Boston and Washington, DC, [online](#).

<sup>43</sup> Michael Martin, “Phyllis Schlafly Still Championing the Anti-Feminist Fight,” *NPR*, March 30, 2011, [online](#).

<sup>44</sup> Lisa Levenstein, “‘Don’t Agonize, Organize!’: The Displaced Homemakers Campaign and the Contest Goals of Postwar Feminism,” *The Journal of American History* 100, no. 4 (2014): 1114–1138.

pinpoint areas of contention, many of which were already used to condemn the women's movement. Opponents like Beverly LaHaye characterized the entirety of the women's movement as harmful and the ERA as being a vehicle of injury. As she stated in a 1988 interview, "I think the women's movement really hurt women because it taught them to put value on the career instead of the family...Feminism really blotted out motherhood...family must come first for a woman; it's just not natural any other way."<sup>45</sup> To pass the ERA was tantamount to declaring femininity and the traditional role of women as dead. The amendment seemingly confirmed the accusations that were levied against feminists, that they were man-hating extremists who threatened American values and the American way of life. As conflicts continued between pro-ERA feminists and opponents,

the ERA came to be seen as an issue that pitted women against women and, moreover, women of the Right against women of the Left. Once the ERA lost its aura of benefiting all women and became a partisan issue, it lost its chance of gaining the supermajority required for a constitutional amendment.<sup>46</sup>

In the end, the women's movement ran out of time. The deadline passed. A divided women's movement could not overcome a strong opposition force united by one objective.

### *Conclusion*

Women's Liberation was by no means a consolidated movement; rather, it was highly stratified with numerous coalitions and organizations all vying for their own priorities. In general "efforts to bring greater unity across the spectrum of burgeoning feminist activism was unsuccessful because there were simply too many points of contention on issues of organization, ideology, strategy, and tactics."<sup>47</sup> Reflective of American society, the Women's Liberation movement was incredibly diverse along social, political, economic, racial, religious, and sexual lines. No one group could adequately or accurately represent all aspects of the women active within the movement. Consequently, as historian Susan Ware has observed, "Women's Liberation was all mass and no organization; groups formed and disbanded spontaneously, often not knowing of each other's existence; there were no leaders."<sup>48</sup> Though NOW persisted in its goal of ratifying the ERA, the lack of unity (particularly at the state level) meant that, once the amendment stalled, it could not subdue its opposition. In the case of the ERA, it was nigh impossible to overcome the obstacles that lay before it:

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<sup>45</sup> Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1991), 253–254.

<sup>46</sup> Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 6.

<sup>47</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Susan Ware, "Feminist Guerrilla Theater, 1968: Robin Morgan," in *Modern American Women: A Documentary History*, ed. Susan Ware, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002) 240.

an old issue nonetheless had new and inexperienced proponents in the late 1960s and early 1970s, sophisticated leadership did not develop until it was too late, and the promotion of equality as an abstract goal could not withstand the damage done by a well-organized, conservative countermovement in a time of growing reaction.<sup>49</sup>

In order for the ERA to have been ratified, a unified movement of women would have been necessary; however, that was not a possibility. The women of America could never fully unite in support or condemnation of any one topic, their perspectives as divergent as their backgrounds. The banner flown across the Statue of Liberty on that bright, sunny day in 1970 had extolled women to unite; the call could not be answered.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in History and English (2015) at Rider University in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she was a member of the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu-Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned a Single Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2017) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History." The article published here originated in a graduate seminar on U.S. history offered by CSUF's Department of History.*

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<sup>49</sup> Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States*, 108.

Kathryn Judith Seu

*Making Reality Virtual:  
Improving Holocaust Education through Digitized Material Culture*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article proposes a qualitative approach to examining the archeological methods traditionally utilized at various concentration camp sites in conjunction with contemporary educational tools. Based on results from previous fieldwork and anthropological/educational theories concerning the Holocaust, its goal is to attain a better understanding of how material culture and memorialization through digitization influence collective memory. It argues that, by focusing on the contemporary collective memory of the Holocaust and its relationship to material culture and virtual reality, anthropologists and educators are better equipped to educate the public on the history of the Holocaust.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; United States (U.S.); Europe; Jewish Studies; Holocaust; archaeology; material culture; education; digital history; virtual reality*

*Introduction*

The influence of memory on history is a much-debated topic in contemporary scholarly analysis, but historians generally agree that memory has a considerable impact on how individuals think or feel about historical events. While most Americans would like to believe that the United States has the best education system in the world and that historical events like the Holocaust are, on the whole, approached with their due respect, this is not always the case. As of 2023, only twenty-three of fifty U.S. states require teaching about the Holocaust in their respective public-education curricula,<sup>1</sup> and according to a poll published by the Anti-Defamation League in 2020, nineteen percent of the adult population in the United States believe that “Jews still talk too much about what happened to them in the Holocaust.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, even though a number of states require Holocaust education, statistics and surveys like these suggest that educational mandates are no safeguard when it comes to curbing antisemitic thought or behavior.

However, this situation might change in the future, as there are many who encourage and advocate for educational and curricular reforms to include Holocaust education. But even if more states should require Holocaust education, there is no guarantee that teachers will have the time to fully cover these lessons. Individual teachers bear no blame for this, as standardized tests lead to a prioritization—in teaching—of those topics that appear on said tests.<sup>3</sup> Given the

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<sup>1</sup> “Where Holocaust Education is Required in the U.S.,” *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> “Anti-Semitic Stereotypes Persist in America, Survey Shows,” *Anti-Defamation League*, published January 28, 2020, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> Ana Maria Klein, Andrea A. Zevenbergen, and Nicole Brown, “Managing Standardized Testing in Today’s Schools,” *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET)/Revue de La Pensée Éducative* 40, no. 2 (2006): 145–157.

current state of the U.S. public-education system, there is, realistically, little room for meaningful Holocaust education in a traditional school setting.

While public schools largely neglect Holocaust education, there is an argument to be made that museums and parents or grandparents are indeed more or better qualified to teach children about historical events such as these. This brings us to the relationship between memory and history, and it directly relates to the material culture found at concentration camp sites and the field of Holocaust archaeology as a whole, because there is a demand to have tangible items in museums and accessible to the public. Museums provide a great service to society, but relying solely on collective memory to tell the story of the Holocaust creates issues of its own. Due to the Holocaust's relatively recent place in the grand trajectory of human history, there is a lot of emotion involved in learning about it, to say nothing of the immense degree of trauma faced by survivors and their families.<sup>4</sup> In addition, as the Holocaust predominantly targeted Jews, a population that has experienced persecution time and again throughout human history, their trauma has been compounded by recurrent cases of Holocaust denial.

Concentration camp sites could even be classified as tourist attractions, with over two million people visiting Auschwitz-Birkenau in 2019 alone.<sup>5</sup> The perception of such sites as tourist attractions influences the memory that people associate with them. While concentration camp sites are recognized as preserving the memory of one of the most violent crimes against humanity, Holocaust memorials are also viewed as tourist attractions, especially in places like Poland. While those visiting these sites may be doing so with no ill intention and may even desire to learn more about the Holocaust, the immense traffic at these sites adds even more complications to the issue of how memorializing the Holocaust ultimately impacts the collective memory on this atrocity.

There are two main schools of thought when it comes to the relationship between collective memory and the history of the Holocaust: one, that the general population should memorialize the material culture left behind to learn from it; and the other, that one should not interfere with these socio-historical sites due to their sacredness and the topic's inherent complexity. While scholars are debating these approaches, antisemitic hate crimes are on the rise, even in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

Based on the existing data, Holocaust archaeology and the material culture found at sites of conflict play a pivotal role in shifting collective memory, which in turn impacts the quality and effectiveness of Holocaust education. This article argues that—in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of Holocaust education through collective memory—educators and policymakers should

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<sup>4</sup> Caroline Sturdy Colls, "Holocaust Archaeology: Archaeological Approaches to Landscapes of Nazi Genocide and Persecution," *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 7, no. 2 (2012): 70–104, here 77.

<sup>5</sup> "2 million 320 thousand visitors at the Auschwitz Memorial in 2019," *Memorial and Museum: Auschwitz-Birkenau*, published January 7 2020, [online](#).

<sup>6</sup> "Monitoring Antisemitism," *European Commission*, [online](#).



prioritize digitization and immersive historical experiences (like virtual reality). This would provide students with a holistic approach to analyzing the historical record, including verbal testimonies and material culture, and lead to a more well-rounded understanding of the Holocaust.

### *I. Literature and Theory Review*

Caroline Sturdy Colls, one of the most influential scholars on the topic of Holocaust archaeology and material culture at concentration camps, has detailed the technical aspects of archaeology without neglecting the educational significance of culture and memory. In a 2012 article, "Holocaust Archaeology: Archaeological Approaches to Landscapes of Nazi Genocide and Persecution," she discusses the invasive archaeological methods that have already been utilized at concentration camps, but also the non-invasive techniques.<sup>7</sup> What separates Colls's article from others is that she proposes Holocaust archaeology as a subfield of conflict studies. Colls stresses the importance of moving away from the need for material remains to be collected to reinforce the value of Holocaust memory. The theme of providing primary analysis from archaeological projects in addition to considering the cultural and historical significance of these sites characterizes much of Colls's work.

A collection of essays that reflects research interests similar to the ones expressed in this article is Alexander Hinton's *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (2002),<sup>8</sup> which summarizes contemporary perspectives on genocide. Bridging the gap between anthropologists and human rights activists, Hinton's collection provides a blueprint that combines the thorough research methods of anthropology and the "power of exposing the truth."<sup>9</sup> An exceptionally useful essay in Hinton's collection is John Bowen's "Culture, Genocide, and a Public Anthropology,"<sup>10</sup> in which Bowen explains the links between hate crimes, hate speech, and so forth, with regard to an understanding of human variation and conflict.<sup>11</sup>

A recent monograph that provides a theoretical basis, or at least inspiration, for the research outlined in this article, is Dara Horn's *People Love Dead Jews: Reports from a Haunted Present* (2022).<sup>12</sup> Horn provides an extensive analysis of how collective memory is shaped by education relating to a given event. Her analysis

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<sup>7</sup> Colls, "Holocaust Archaeology," 70-104.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander L. Hinton, ed., *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Hinton, ed., *Annihilating Difference*, xi (foreword by Kenneth Roth).

<sup>10</sup> John R. Bowen, "Culture, Genocide, and a Public Anthropology," in *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*, ed. Alexander L. Hinton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 382-396, here 382.

<sup>11</sup> Bowen, "Culture, Genocide, and a Public Anthropology," 382.

<sup>12</sup> Dara Horn, *People Love Dead Jews: Reports from a Haunted Present* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2021).

indirectly converses with Colls's work, as both Horn and Colls address the cultural relevance of collective memory. Horn's analysis asserts that Jewish history and memory have been exploited when most convenient for those in power.

At the intersection between applied anthropology, archaeology, and memory is an essay in Ruth M. Van Dyke's and Reinhard Bernbeck's seminal collection, *Subjects and Narratives in Archaeology* (2015):<sup>13</sup> analyzing the limits and exploitations of excavations at concentration camps, Isaac Gilead's essay, "Limits of Archaeological Emplotments from the Perspective of Excavating Nazi Extermination Centers," argues that the primary limitations to these projects are Holocaust denial and general sensitivity pertaining to Holocaust history.<sup>14</sup> This intersects with the previously mentioned literature as it addresses how the issue's sensitivity is an integral part of its memory culture.

## II. Memory as History

In the context of Holocaust archaeology, specifically the archaeology at concentration camp sites, the theoretical analysis of the significance of landscape and places is extremely important. In his 1994 monograph, *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments*, Christopher Tilley proposes that

[n]ew geography and new archaeology considered space as an abstract dimension or container in which human activities and events took place. [...] The attraction of this perspective was, no doubt, its purity and simplicity and the potential it offered for comparative studies of the organization of artefacts, sites, populations, and flows of information and exchange across regions and landscapes.<sup>15</sup>

Tilley examines the meaning of space in culture and what makes space meaningful. He argues that the

alternative view starts from regarding space as a medium rather than a container for action, something that is involved in action and cannot be divorced from it. As such, space does not and cannot exist apart from events and activities within which it is implicated.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of concentration camps and Holocaust archaeology, this perspective is especially true. Holocaust scholars and archaeologists cannot examine locations like concentration camps without considering the historical circumstances.

In a 1989 article, "Excavation as Theatre," Tilley compares the archaeological process to baking a cake.<sup>17</sup> He asserts that "much of the work appears to be a frantic attempt to accumulate more and more information 'because it is there, in

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<sup>13</sup> Ruth M. Van Dyke and Reinhard Bernbeck, eds., *Subjects and Narratives in Archaeology* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015).

<sup>14</sup> Isaac Gilead, "Limits of Archaeological Emplotments from the Perspective of Excavating Nazi Extermination Centers," in *Subjects and Narratives in Archaeology*, ed. Ruth M. Van Dyke and Reinhard Bernbeck (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015), 235–256, here 252.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths, and Monuments* (Providence: Berg Publishers, 1994), 9.

<sup>16</sup> Tilley, *Phenomenology of Landscape*, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Tilley, "Excavation as Theatre," *Antiquity* 63, no. 239 (June 1989): 275–280.

the erroneous belief that some day the cake will bake itself.”<sup>18</sup> The trend of excavating for the sake of being able to, then hardly publishing or making that information accessible, appears to be a common theme in archaeological studies. The number of unpublished excavations is greater than the number of those published, which is a disservice to the field of study as well as to public history.<sup>19</sup> Anthropology is a field that depends heavily on theory, and Tilley’s theory should be seriously considered when deciding whether to excavate a site or not.

When it comes to the archaeology at concentration camp sites, the theory of excavation as theater, or performance, could easily be applied. Tilley asks,

What is the relationship of excavation to ‘real’ history and contemporary society? All excavation, and indeed the very practice of excavation, is value-based. Value systems and ideologies do not neatly circumvent the practice of excavation and its relation to the present.<sup>20</sup>

This, combined with the notion that excavations have a reputation of finding their way into publications less than expected, questions the ethics of excavating or doing archaeological projects at concentration camp sites.

Analyzing material culture, like artifacts and forensic remains, is not the only way to supply the public’s perception of concentration camps. Colls assesses that

[t]he presence of marked mass graves seemed to convince some visitors it was worthwhile making the trip and highlighted the disappointment of some visitors that they were unable to see marked graves at the extermination camp. Almost certainly, some visitors do not visit the labour camp on the basis that fewer people were killed there, suggesting a somewhat worrying belief that the importance of a site is measured by the number of people killed.<sup>21</sup>

Here, researchers can see that the number of people visiting can be quantified through an understanding of how they view the given site. This goes hand in hand with how the public memorializes and understands the history at these sites. According to Colls,

[r]esearch suggests that there are many people who would like to visit Treblinka, but they are unable to for a variety of reasons. The site is very remote and, although it is around two hours’ drive from Warsaw, it is not on a major route. Many people from abroad may be unable to visit, including those whose relatives died in the camp. For some Orthodox Jews, visiting Treblinka is also difficult. They believe in not disturbing the remains of the deceased and, on the basis that human remains are scattered across much of the former extermination camp area, some feel that it is not appropriate for them to walk there. Currently, for those unable to visit Treblinka who want to find out more information about it, there is no central resource where they can find detailed information about the camp’s history.<sup>22</sup>

One can observe that the collective memory at these sites varies from group to group. However, this also points to the reasons why there is a demand for material

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<sup>18</sup> Tilley, “Excavation as Theatre,” 276.

<sup>19</sup> Tilley, “Excavation as Theatre,” 276.

<sup>20</sup> Tilley, “Excavation as Theatre,” 279.

<sup>21</sup> Caroline Sturdy Colls, “Uncovering a Painful Past: Archaeology and the Holocaust,” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 17, no. 1 (February 2015): 38–55, here 42.

<sup>22</sup> Colls, “Uncovering a Painful Past,” 42.

cultural remains to be utilized in educational settings. There are many who are physically or morally unable to visit these sites but would like to for educational purposes. This is why there has been a growing demand for pieces from these sites to be utilized in educational institutions.

### III. Personalization and Memory

Memory has its own unique history. One would expect that memory and history go together, but this is not always the case. In the instance of Holocaust memory and material culture, there is a wide variety of ways in which memory manifests itself in real-world applications. As James Young, a scholar on memory, argues,

the best memorial to the fascist era and its victims in Germany today may not be a single memorial at all—but only the never-to-be-resolved debate over which kind of memory to preserve, how to do it, in whose name, and to what end.<sup>23</sup>

While this analysis is specifically tailored to German memory, the same principle can be applied to American memory of the Holocaust.

One of the most well-known museums and memorials dedicated to the Holocaust in the United States is the *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM)*. There is much to analyze with regard to this specific site: its location in Washington, D.C., its relationship to other buildings and establishments in the area, and its actual exhibitions. One experience that *USHMM* offers is giving visitors identification cards at the beginning of their visit. As described by the museum,

[t]hese identification cards describe the experiences of people caught up in the Holocaust in Europe. Designed as small booklets to be carried through the exhibition, the cards help visitors to personalize the historical events of the time. [...] The final section describes the fate of the individual and explains the circumstances—to the extent that they are known—in which the individual either died or survived.<sup>24</sup>

Since its conception, *USHMM* has been innovating ways of teaching and learning about the Holocaust. Its commitment to making its archives and resources publicly and digitally available is a feat that should not go without recognition.

The main idea behind this didactic approach is likely to promote empathy in younger visitors, as most of the identification cards are of school-aged children. However, such a perspective centers on the World-War-II era and not that of modern American visitors. While it is well intended, it arguably does not encourage visitors to learn about the Holocaust from a modern perspective. At its core, the identification cards are intended to engage visitors. As interactive and tangible items, they are a memorable part of the museum experience. Their downside is that their microhistories offer only a small portion of the larger history

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<sup>23</sup> James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 81.

<sup>24</sup> "Identification Cards," *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, published October, 24 2012, [online](#).

of the Holocaust. Digitized material culture would bridge the gap between tangibility and engagement by providing an actual item rather than an abstract idea.

The importance of individual stories of the Holocaust should not be neglected: they offer incredibly important lessons in history, especially to school-aged children. Finding the perfect medium for Holocaust education is incredibly difficult. Utilizing individual stories of the Holocaust can be a useful tool for case study-like lessons during classroom teaching. On the other hand, this brings us to the issue of “Holocaust icons” and what they mean for collective memory.<sup>25</sup>

A perfect example of this phenomenon is Anne Frank. The tangibility of her diary in a classroom setting is obvious, and her story is one that relays the horrors of the Holocaust but not in a manner that is *too* tragic for young children. She was not imprisoned at a camp while writing her famous diary, but the reader knows the outcome of her story. She has been memorialized as a child who fell victim to the terrors of fascism, and her legacy reflects that. However, this leaves the innocence of her childhood up for interpretation, as some might find themselves thinking of what her adulthood could have been like. According to Dara Horn,

[t]he problem with this hypothetical, or any other hypothetical, about Frank’s nonexistent adulthood isn’t just the impossibility of knowing how Frank’s life and career might have developed. The problem is that the entire appeal of Anne Frank to the wider world—as opposed to those who knew and loved her—lay in her lack of future.<sup>26</sup>

One of Frank’s most notable quotes comes from one of her last diary entries, which reads, “It’s really a wonder that I haven’t dropped all my ideals, because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet I keep them, because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart.”<sup>27</sup> While it was more than likely not her intention while writing, this offers a quasi-redemptive ending to the reader. Since her diary did not accompany her to Bergen-Belsen, the horrors of living in a concentration camp are not recorded. This, coupled with the tangibility of a diary, gives teachers a resource to teach younger children about the Holocaust.

The downside of “Holocaust icons” is that it is their image or story that usually resonates with students the most and, consequently, will be the image that they carry with them for the rest of their adult lives.<sup>28</sup> This is not an inherently negative thing but, at its core, the diary is a primary source about life in hiding before being taken to a concentration camp. While Frank’s diary is a material source that

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<sup>25</sup> Oren Baruch Stier, *Holocaust Icons: Symbolizing the Shoah in History and Memory* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

<sup>26</sup> Horn, *People Love Dead Jews*, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Anne Frank, *Diary of a Young Girl*, trans. Barbara B. M. Mooyaart-Doubleday (New York: Bantam Books, 1993), 263.

<sup>28</sup> Stier, *Holocaust Icons*.

provides valuable insight in its given context, it does not reflect the vast history of the Holocaust, despite its cultural significance across the world.

The muddiness of memory becomes even more apparent in a museum setting when private and personal memories are intertwined. As historian and director of the University of London's Holocaust Research Institute Dan Stone asserts that "the clash between private memories and public memory is nowhere clearer than in a state-funded museum."<sup>29</sup> There are lots of areas in public history that shape our memory that are not apparent to the naked eye: for example, *USHMM*'s location in relation to other iconic American institutions; its funding sources; which exhibitions it introduces and displays at a given time; why such decisions are made; and the list goes on. *USHMM* plays a pivotal role in shaping the collective memory of the Holocaust in the United States, which is why the public history sector should not be ignored when analyzing the collective memory of the Holocaust.

#### *IV. Material Culture and Culture as Memory*

While there is a good deal of controversy surrounding them, archaeological projects routinely provide more information. In a project in Treblinka, a concentration camp in Nazi-occupied Poland, research

has allowed the original camp boundaries to be detected at both the labour and extermination camp, and it has allowed the various layers of the camps' post-war history to be uncovered. In fact, this research has demonstrated that, contrary to popular belief, a wealth of physical evidence relating to both the extermination and labour camps does in fact survive.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, there are considerable physical remains of concentration camps that continue to be uncovered. While popular belief may lead some people to suspect that not much remains from this era, there are, in fact, extensive amounts of physical remains to research further and to enhance Holocaust education. The materials found at these sites can be extremely valuable to our collective understanding of concentration camps. Yet while these remains are incredibly useful for memory and educational purposes, there is a degree of uncertainty about some of the material remains. As Colls notes in her work,

[s]ome archaeologists may well be inclined to omit such materials from discussions concerning sites – relegating them only to a line in a finds database perhaps. Instead, these items should be viewed as an important part of Holocaust historiography, since their multiple interpretations can provoke valuable discussions regarding the value placed upon objects, the development of cultural memory, and the implications of a failure to investigate crimes at the point at which they occurred.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Dan Stone, *History, Memory, and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide* (Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 159.

<sup>30</sup> Colls, "Uncovering a Painful Past," 42–43.

<sup>31</sup> Caroline Sturdy Colls and Michael Branthwaite, "'This is Proof?' Forensic Evidence and Ambiguous Material Culture at Treblinka Extermination Camp," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 3 (September 2018): 430–453.

Colls indicates that there are material remains at concentration camp sites that are typically neglected in the wider scope of Holocaust historiography. A shift in focus from traditional Holocaust historiography to focusing more on these material remains could largely shift our collective memory and our understanding of the Holocaust. If the topic were to be taught through physical objects (rather than traditional educational means), its history would be much more tangible.

The trials and tribulations of the forensic process can muddy the waters for anthropologists and other researchers trying to utilize the material culture found at these sites. This exemplifies how contemporary memory plays an important role in the utilization of material culture as an educational tool. While this process can be problematic in some situations, the push for more evidence to be uncovered has not gone unnoticed. According to Colls, since the end of the Holocaust,

material culture has not featured in historical narratives and so it has only been possible to realize a partial account concerning how the camp [i.e., Treblinka] operated, what it looked like, and what those who encountered it experienced. Therefore, in 2007 a forensic archaeological investigation was launched to locate, record, and interpret any surviving physical evidence at Treblinka in association with other information derived from archives, witness testimonies, and modern digital data. Non-invasive surveys, using a wide range of techniques, were undertaken in 2010 and 2012 at the extermination and labor camps respectively. Following this, in 2013, a further survey and excavation at the extermination camp uncovered jewelry, hair clips, tools, pots, pans, and other domestic items, thus confirming that mass murder on such a scale had left behind a considerable body of evidence.<sup>32</sup>

In recent excavations, non-invasive methods have been utilized to examine concentration camp sites. There are substantial material remains located at these sites. This begs the question how these excavations can be utilized in the grand scheme of public knowledge and education. While publishing and making the respective findings available to the public is of the utmost importance, there is the issue of how these findings are presented to the public.

Museums and the public education system have a difficult time creating the best presentation method for these topics. Colls explains the importance of remains from concentration camp sites, stating that

their rarity combined with the absence of above-ground material traces bestows a unique educational value upon them and offers the potential to provide new information to visitors about the events and experiences pertaining to the camps. At Treblinka, effectively exhibiting these items without either embellishing their importance or overshadowing it, represented a challenge to which other curators at Holocaust sites will undoubtedly relate."<sup>33</sup>

There is no easy solution or method of presenting this information to the public, especially if young children will be visiting the museum or site.

In her extensive research on the Harbin Jews of northern Manchuria (China), Dara Horn describes the exploitation of Jewish history and stories as follows:

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<sup>32</sup> Colls and Branthwaite, "This is Proof?," 431.

<sup>33</sup> Colls and Branthwaite, "This is Proof?," 444.

This attempt to 'attract business investments' by researching Jewish history seems, to put it gently, statistically unsound. Among the tens of millions of tourists to China each year, forty thousand annual Israeli visitors and even fewer Jewish tourists from elsewhere amount to a rounding error. And the idea that Israeli or other Jewish-owned companies would be moved to invest in Heilongjiang Province out of nostalgia for its Jewish heritage seems unlikely at best. The only way to understand this thinking is to appreciate the role Jews play in the Chinese imagination.<sup>34</sup>

This case study does not explicitly cover Holocaust archaeology, but it does exemplify how there is a present social phenomenon of cultures utilizing Jewish history and suffering for tourism and non-educational purposes.

The idea that antisemitism and Jewish history are "done deals" and do not require modern remembrance is not only a typical antisemitic notion but also one that can be applied to other areas of "hard history." With regard to Native history in the Americas, there has historically been an extreme lack of accountability and education. For example, Native Canadians have had a particularly difficult time getting the proper treatment and remembrance for their past traumas. According to the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, "[d]espite having high levels of human development as a country, Canada's indigenous peoples 'live in conditions akin to those in countries that rank much lower and in which poverty abounds.'"<sup>35</sup> The Canadian government has made efforts to build a bridge to the country's Native population, like the 2008 federal apology for residential schools, but the work does not end there.<sup>36</sup> In 2021, one Indigenous community reported that they found the remains of two hundred and fifteen children from a forced-assimilation school.<sup>37</sup> According to an article in the *New York Times*, "[t]he office of Carolyn Bennett, the federal minister responsible for Indigenous relations, said in a statement that the 'discovery reflects a dark and painful chapter in our country's history.' Her department and health officials in British Columbia will set up support services for the First Nation, it said."<sup>38</sup>

Canada has since acknowledged their wrongdoing with regard to the establishment of residential schools, a dark part in the country's history, but there have been few efforts on the government's part to increase remembrance and solidarity for the Native communities. Upon the discovery of the mass graves, there were immediate protests. According to one news report, the Canadian educator Egerton Ryerson (1803–1882)

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<sup>34</sup> Horn, *People Love Dead Jews*, 27.

<sup>35</sup> Terry Mitchell and Charis Enns, "The U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Monitoring and Realizing Indigenous Rights in Canada," *Centre for International Governance Innovation Policy Brief* no. 39 (April 2014): 2, [online](#).

<sup>36</sup> Mitchell and Enns, "U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," 7.

<sup>37</sup> Ian Austen, "'Horrible History': Mass Grave of Indigenous Children Reported in Canada," *The New York Times*, May 28, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>38</sup> Austen, "Horrible History."



has been called an 'architect' of the residential school system in Canada. His statue was vandalized and splattered with red paint last week. There are hundreds of pairs of shoes at the base at the statue, and they form a memorial to the children whose lives were lost at the Kamloops Indian Residential School.<sup>39</sup>

A similar lack of official recognition characterizes the Jewish history at Harbin, as well as the United States and its historical treatment of minorities.

The mass graves in Canada had connections to the country's forced-assimilation schools, yet little action has been taken thus far to preserve the memory of the lives lost at these residential schools, which speaks volumes about the priorities of the federal government when it comes to human rights and remembrance. Even with remains and physical evidence at these sites, there has been little recognition by the federal government. However, the memory of those who lost their lives is being upheld by those protesting the Canadian government as well as the Native communities and their supporters.

Material or physical remains play a large role in the cultivation and preservation of memory. Canada's recent uncovering of the mass graves of children who were sent to residential schools reveals aspects that the material culture that is being utilized as a tool for Holocaust education does not face. For instance, the material remains that are utilized in Holocaust education are not uncovered in the United States, and the respective human remains are typically not whole human remains. However, the overarching power of material culture as a method for education (including raising awareness for the given cause) is extremely valuable and provides weight to the call for memory and preservation.

Culture has undoubtedly played a critical role in understanding antisemitic behavior. As academic Herbert Hirsch has put it:

The longer I study violence and human behavior the more suspicious, and perhaps cynical, I become about academic prescriptions to halt the violence or to replace one morality with another. [...] People are not born with political ideas. As far as it is discerned, everything we know about politics, and this includes genocide and/or human rights, ethics, morality, is learned or taught to us either formally, as, for example, through the process of education, or informally, through the process of cultural transmission.<sup>40</sup>

How we view genocide and human rights violations can be seen through a cultural lens. From this, researchers can attain a more thorough and holistic view of why certain population groups in this world hold certain beliefs.

### *Conclusion*

More education on the Holocaust and other genocides is of the utmost importance. However, the way in which information is presented makes or breaks the respective didactic efficacy. One example of how an institution can go about

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<sup>39</sup> "Hundreds Gather in Toronto to Honour 215 Indigenous Children Found Buried in B.C.," *CBC News*, June 6, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>40</sup> Herbert Hirsch, *Anti-Genocide: Building an American Movement to Prevent Genocide* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 161–162.

educating the public about the Holocaust by utilizing material culture is Rowan University's V.R. (Virtual Reality) project on the Warsaw Ghetto. As it stands now,

[w]orking on a core team of 20 history, engineering and art students under the direction of Professors Jenny Rich (sociology), Shreekanth Mandayam (electrical and computer engineering) and Amanda Almon (biomedical art and visualization), the group has spent almost a year developing a V.R. experience to educate visitors about the ghetto. Expected to open next year at the South Jersey Technology Park, the experience also will be available virtually so that anyone—anywhere—can learn about the lives lived, and lost, during the Holocaust.<sup>41</sup>

The *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* is in the process of developing a similar project. And

[t]hrough the projects are different, the results of the interviews, focus groups and written feedback about them were remarkably similar. Teachers who viewed the recreated spaces from the Warsaw Ghetto were enthusiastic, because many had struggled to engage all learners in their (often brief) units about the Holocaust.<sup>42</sup>

In both of these projects, educators are utilizing material culture in a virtual setting. They do not disturb or use any physical material remains but, rather, rely on technological advances.

However, this method comes with its own set of unique shortcomings. Material culture places heavy emphasis on the physical objects themselves. While virtual and digital tools facilitate the viewing of these objects, the tangibility of the items is lost. With technology becoming more advanced and at a faster rate, the appeal of utilizing features like virtual reality is understandable. Digitization can look different depending on the artifact. For a flat piece of paper, it is as simple as scanning the document, whereas more complex artifacts require 3D renderings (assuming the goal is to extend beyond an uploaded photograph of said artifacts). Since this is such a new area of study in the greater scheme of educational research as well as Holocaust studies, there is a gap in the literature on this specific topic. It would certainly be a great benefit to educators to have more options when teaching the Holocaust, especially options that are more engaging to students.

There are other projects that focus on specific concentration camp sites, like Treblinka. According to Caroline Sturdy Colls, a new digital project

will provide a sustainable educational resource, which can be used by members of the public, teachers, students, and researchers. Based around a 360-degree tour of Treblinka and a catalogue of the materials uncovered during archaeological research, this resource creates a virtual environment that incorporates the history of Treblinka as an extermination and labour camp landscape, alongside information concerning its post-war history, which includes of course the archaeological research undertaken there.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "Exceptionally Driven," *Rowan Today*, May 7, 2020, [online](#).

<sup>42</sup> Jennifer Rich, Michael Haley Goldman and Sara Pitcairn, "Opinion: How Best Do We Teach Kids about Holocaust Horrors? Show Them What It Was Like," *The Hechinger Report*, July 26, 2021, [online](#).

<sup>43</sup> Colls, "Uncovering a Painful Past," 44.

The growing demand for accessible and reliable educational materials regarding the Holocaust and concentration camp history has found itself at an intersection between the use of material culture and digital history.

These projects are innovating the way in which the Holocaust is taught in schools and, most importantly, are doing so in a respectful and responsible manner. Projects like this do rely on material cultural items that have been previously excavated, which implies a dependence on archaeological projects at concentration camps. Virtual projects like these appeal to the desire to have tangible pieces of history without having to physically obtain the respective remains. They provide an alternative to the desire for physical remains and artifacts without encroaching on sacred spaces. These V.R. projects also integrate the want and need for innovative educational tools in a museum setting.

The issue of systemic ignorance regarding the Holocaust and Holocaust education in the United States stems from a lack of standardized Holocaust education across all U.S. states. In recent years, more states have proposed legislation to integrate Holocaust education into their public-school curricula. While this is a step in the right direction, it will take years for researchers to properly gauge how effective these policies and curricular requirements are. Without more immediate action that addresses the lack of understanding about the Holocaust and levels of antisemitism in the country, researchers are in an awkward state of limbo while waiting for more data. This is not to discredit the trend to integrate Holocaust education into public-school curricula, but it is not an immediate solution, and there is no immediate solution that would curb antisemitism. By advancing new methods, like virtual reality, in Holocaust and genocide education, students can learn about material culture without the burden of relying on physical excavations.

Researchers are certainly aware of the systematic ignorance with regard these “hard histories,” as exemplified by the Canadian government and their response, or lack thereof, toward Indigenous people’s history, or by the treatment of Jewish history in Harbin, China. By examining how other governments and societies recognize tragedy and how they prioritize memory within their cultures, new methods can be introduced to the United States and its public memory of past atrocities. A better understanding of how collective and contemporary memory of atrocities—like the Holocaust—works can assist educators, researchers, and policymakers in realizing the importance of Holocaust memory and history.

History holds a great place in contemporary society and memory. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that memory holds more weight and social influence than history. There have been recent surges in antisemitic behavior and ideology both in the United States and around the globe. While this does not directly touch on Holocaust and genocide education, especially the use of material culture, it does exemplify a shift in cultural understanding. These instances reflect our societies and cultures, and education plays a crucial role in forming cultures and cultural understandings. History that is taught in schools or in a formal

educational setting, like museums, plays a major role in shaping collective memory. The recent politicization and rise in right-wing extremism have proven to play an even larger role in shaping collective memory throughout our society. To counteract this, especially at a time when the world is increasingly enamored with technology, educators should embrace new opportunities to make historical reality virtual, thereby more accessible, and – ultimately – a transformative force for good.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Kathryn Judith Seu of Camden County, New Jersey, earned a B.A. in History and a B.A. in Anthropology (2022) as well as an M.A. in Holocaust and Genocide Education (2023) at Rowan University, where she is a member of the Psi-Iota Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) as well as the Theta Chapter of Lambda Alpha (Anthropology Honor Society). She is currently pursuing an Ph.D. in Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Gratz College. The article published here originated in a seminar offered by Rowan University's Anthropology Department.*

Jason Ambriz

*The “Language of Progress”:  
English in Postwar Western Europe*

*ABSTRACT: Today, many Europeans speak English. A major reason for this is the fact that Britain and the United States, two Allied powers, actively promoted English in Europe after World War II. As this essay demonstrates, these Allied powers believed that promoting English would assist them in having covert control over Europe’s political and economic ambitions, reinforce their own geopolitical hegemony in the context of the Cold War, and provide economic benefits by reaching more people with cultural exports and English language teaching (E.L.T.).*

*KEYWORDS: modern history; Europe; United States (U.S.), Britain; World War II; postwar Europe; Allied powers; Cold War; imperialism; English language teaching (E.L.T.)*

*Introduction*

There is a well-known quote in the western world that is usually recited as some variant of, “If Hitler had won the war, we’d all be speaking German!” While there is no way to know the truth of this assertion, today the opposite is true: most western Europeans understand at least some English.<sup>1</sup> This is no coincidence, as this is the language of two of the major Allied powers that actively promoted English in postwar Europe. Powerful countries have an interest in spreading their languages around the world, and that is certainly true regarding the English-speaking Allied powers. The English language was promoted in western Europe by the United States and Britain in the postwar era primarily because they believed it could be used as a tool to Americanize western Europe so that Europeans would be more susceptible to U.S. and British influence. Spreading English also aided Cold War efforts by advancing the idea that Europe should align itself with the United States and Britain rather than with the Soviet Union. In addition, there was an economic incentive because of the profitability of English language teaching (E.L.T.) and the creation of a wider audience for English language cultural exports and trade interests.

*I. Historiography*

Scholars of various nationalities have analyzed the presence of the English language in Europe, and while there is generally agreement with regard to how English spread in Europe, there is more disagreement when it comes to why it was promoted. There seem to be two extremes on this subject: firstly, the view that English is a neutral means of communication that was promoted because of its usefulness and ability to allow Europeans of all nationalities to communicate effectively, and secondly, that the promotion of English by the Allies was a malicious act of linguistic imperialism that was part of an effort to homogenize Europe for the benefit of the English-speaking Allied powers. Most historians have

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<sup>1</sup> European Commission, “Europeans and Their Languages,” *Special Eurobarometer* 386 (June 2012), 31, [online](#).

a view somewhere in the middle of these two extremes, although there are people who hold views on both ends of the spectrum.

Jeffra Flaitz details that there was a particular hostility toward the spread of English in France that intensified in the postwar era.<sup>2</sup> She states, "The reaction of French power elites to the spread of English in France has spawned a movement which is exclusive in its membership and is generally referred to as *la défense de la langue française*."<sup>3</sup> She stresses that this view is held by a "small segment of the French population," but that the negative attitude toward English in France has been significant enough to result in the government passing legislation with the goal of promoting French over English.<sup>4</sup> Flaitz outlines the views of those within the French population who oppose English, and they generally believe that "the threat to French" posed by the English language is threefold: "(1) loss of French political, social, and linguistic prestige; (2) linguistic corruption; and (3) ideological colonization."<sup>5</sup> The third point is directly related to Americanization, as opponents of the spread of English in Europe widely perceived it as an American endeavor. Flaitz lists numerous instances in France where English has been perceived as an act of linguistic imperialism. Her list of examples includes: René Etiemble of the University of Paris, who argues that "upon exposure to English, French men and women risk absorbing American values and attitudes that can lead to spiritual and intellectual ruin;"<sup>6</sup> Jack Lang, a French socialist, who warned that "adoption of English as an international *lingua franca* would lead to the uniformization of Europe;"<sup>7</sup> and a 1983 French publication, *Projet culturel extérieur*, which likens the spread of English in western Europe to the spread of Russian in eastern Europe, also declaring that speaking French was "a symbol of anti-imperialism."<sup>8</sup> Flaitz herself rejects the idea that the spread of English in France had imperialistic intentions, saying that the link between language and culture is only "alleged."<sup>9</sup> Claude Truchot also mentions Etiemble in one of his theses and takes the view that his opposition to English is less about its spread in Europe than it is about American imperialism.<sup>10</sup> The view that the spread of English is a dubious act of

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<sup>2</sup> Jeffra Flaitz, *The Ideology of English: French Perceptions of English as a World Language* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, Inc., 1988), e-book.

<sup>3</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 103.

<sup>4</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 103.

<sup>5</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 104.

<sup>6</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 107.

<sup>7</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 108.

<sup>8</sup> Ministère des relations extérieures, Direction générale des relations culturelles, scientifiques et techniques, *Le projet culturel extérieur de la France* (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1983), quoted in Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 110.

<sup>9</sup> Flaitz, *Ideology of English*, 103.

<sup>10</sup> Claude Truchot, "The Spread of English in Europe," *Journal of European Studies* 24, no. 94 (June 1994): 141-151, here 144.

cultural imperialism in Europe does not seem to be taken too seriously by most scholars.<sup>11</sup>

Some historians take the view that English is a neutral means of communication and is not necessarily tied to the Americanization of Europe. These historians generally analyze English in Europe in the present day, but even so, individuals such as René Etiemble and Jack Lang would argue that even today, the English language in Europe is an Americanizing force that has its roots in Cold War era policies. One such historian who argues that English is a neutral language is Alessia Cogo, who states that English has become widespread in Europe because it is a practical and neutral *lingua franca*.<sup>12</sup> She also argues that English cannot be considered a force for homogenization, stating that English in Europe is heterogenous and has "variability" and "adaptability."<sup>13</sup> Jennifer Jenkins aligns with this view and states that those who oppose the spread of English generally do so because they fear that it would negatively affect "standard" English or that it would promote a monolithic type of English around the globe.<sup>14</sup> No historian denies that the widespread use of English in Europe today is at least partially a result of American and British efforts, but the extent to which historians connect Americanization to the spread of English differs. Cogo and Jenkins minimize this link and emphasize the practicality of the English language over its cultural influence, whereas others, such as Etiemble and Lang, compare the spread of English to imperialism mostly on cultural grounds.

Daniel Spichtinger holds a view in the middle of the two extremes. He argues that English cannot be so easily tied to imperialism and states that the disagreement over linguistic imperialism is a matter of a "fundamental disagreement about the nature of language" and that "proponents of linguistic imperialism are sometimes overly influenced by left-wing ideology."<sup>15</sup> That said, Spichtinger does not fully disregard the concept of linguistic imperialism, saying that it "might not be impossible" for it to occur in some instances.<sup>16</sup> He also does not deny that the spread of the English language in the postwar era is strongly

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<sup>11</sup> Berndt Ostendorf, "Why Is American Culture so Popular? A View from Europe," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 46, no. 3 (2001), 339–366, here 339–340; David Reynolds, "Review: America's Europe, Europe's America: Image, Influence, and Interaction, 1933–1958," *Diplomatic History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1996): 651–661, here 656.

<sup>12</sup> Alessia Cogo, "English as a Lingua Franca in Europe," in *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*, ed. Andrew Linn, English in Europe 6 (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 79–88, here 80.

<sup>13</sup> Cogo, "English as a Lingua Franca in Europe."

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Jenkins, "The Future of English as a Lingua Franca?," in *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, ed. Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker, and Martin Dewey (London, Routledge, 2017), 594–605, here 597.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Spichtinger, "The Spread of English and Its Appropriation," (Diplomarbeit/M.A. thesis, Universität Wien, August 2000), 18, [online](#).

<sup>16</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 20.

connected to Americanization. Spichtinger goes into great detail about the spread of English in Germany. He describes how the English language was held in high regard in Nazi Germany: they saw English as "the language of a Germanic nation that has, like no other before it, conquered the world."<sup>17</sup> In addition, he points to the fact that "English was installed as the first foreign language at the turn of the year 1936/1937 on the ground that it was regarded as more Germanic than French."<sup>18</sup> With that in mind, it would be dishonest to say that English was "imposed" on postwar Europe in an imperialistic sense, especially in postwar Germany.

## II. Postwar Efforts

The spread of the English language in Europe certainly did not begin with the end of World War II. However, it was in the postwar era that English became more prominent in mainland Europe than it had ever been before, primarily because the Allied powers had nearly complete control of most of western Europe, and the most powerful of the western Allies, the United States and Great Britain, sought to spread their influence through a variety of means, one of which was language. Britain had recognized the importance of spreading language prior to the end of World War II, as evidenced by the fact that the British Committee, which would later become the British Council, was founded in 1934. The British Council, from its foundation to the present day, is one of the most prominent organizations that works to spread the English language around the world. It operates under the authority of the British government, and thus the goals of the British Council can be regarded as aligning with the interests of their government. Britain's actions with regard to spreading language and influence apply not only to postwar Europe but also to the British colonies; however, this essay focuses on Britain's activities in postwar Europe.

Both Britain and the United States recognized the ability of language to influence foreign nations for their own benefit. The idea was to make other nations more like "us," or to homogenize them, in order to make them easier to influence. I should clarify here that the terms "homogenization" and "Americanization" in the context of English in Europe are synonyms. As Flaitz points out, the phenomenon of the English language in Europe is mostly perceived as a result of American influence (in the immediate postwar years), so even the British promotion of English can be regarded as a form of "Americanization." The British Council came about as a result of Britain's Foreign Secretary being tasked with making "British ideals better known and appreciated overseas" in 1920.<sup>19</sup> The goals slightly changed in 1940 when the British Council was incorporated by a

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<sup>17</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 66.

<sup>18</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 67.

<sup>19</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report: British Council, 1934–2016*, The National Archives, U.K., November 2016, 5, [online](#).



Royal Charter, the most notable change being the addition of its principal activity: "Promoting a wider knowledge of [the United Kingdom] and the English language abroad; and developing closer cultural relations between [the United Kingdom] and other countries for the purpose of benefitting the British Commonwealth of Nations."<sup>20</sup> The purpose of the British Council outlined in 1920, combined with their 1940 objectives, show that there is a clear link between spreading language and spreading ideology, the end goal being to benefit "the British Commonwealth of Nations."<sup>21</sup> Official documents from the British Council do not detail exactly what these "benefits" are but give a general idea as to why the English language was spread overseas: Britain wanted to make foreign countries more like Britain. The British Council focused mostly on western Europe until 1953 (though they also had offices in South America and the Middle East),<sup>22</sup> so these objectives were mostly designed with that area of the world in mind.

After World War II, rebuilding and reshaping Germany was a major objective of the occupying Allied governments, and the United States sought to rebuild Germany in both a literal and figurative sense. Like Britain, the United States made efforts in postwar Europe to reconstruct European countries in its own image, in part through spreading the English language. While American sources specifically regarding the spread of the English language in the immediate postwar era are scarce, sources detailing the American goals of reshaping Europe are plentiful, and the two subjects are intimately connected. A wartime handbook produced by the U.S. War Department stressed that Germany's military defeat would result in "social revolution, and that the United States must have some part in it."<sup>23</sup> A postwar memorandum regarding German affairs plainly laid out the American objectives in postwar Germany:

Our over-all objective as regards Germany may be stated as finding ways and means of preventing Germany from again menacing our safety and that of the nations [...] we call 'the democratic world.' There are three main ways of seeking to achieve this objective. (1) We can seek to make the Germans convinced believers in democracy [...] (3) We can so weave Germany into a larger whole as to contain satisfactorily the energies, economy, and political ambitions of the Germans.<sup>24</sup>

The United States had a clear interest in homogenizing postwar Germany and reshaping it in the image of the United States, but these sources do not explicitly detail how this was to happen, only that the U.S. government would take actions in an effort to make it happen.

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<sup>20</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report*, 6.

<sup>22</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report*, 7.

<sup>23</sup> U.S. War Department, *Handbook of Military Government for Germany*, August 15, 1944, 2, [online](#).

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Memorandum Prepared in the Bureau of German Affairs: Germany in the European Context*, February 11, 1950, [online](#).

### III. Education

The key to transforming Europe was education. This is outlined in a postwar U.S. propaganda film called "Here Is Germany," which gives a very brief outline of how the United States was going to rebuild and reshape Germany.<sup>25</sup> The film generally stresses how Nazism must be stamped out by the occupying Allied forces, and the end of the film summarizes how the United States planned to do this, namely, primarily through radically revising German education. The film specifically stated that new German textbooks were to be printed "under our direction" in an effort to ensure that "all Nazi doctrine is destroyed."<sup>26</sup> The film does not elaborate on exactly how the United States was going to transform German education beyond printing new textbooks and getting rid of Nazi teachings, but it establishes the fact that the Allies, in this case the United States, recognized the importance of controlling German education to change how Germans thought of the world.

It is known that European textbooks in the immediate postwar era were printed under the authority of the Allies, as mentioned in the film. Spichtinger goes into great detail about how German textbooks and English-language teaching textbooks in Europe changed as a result of the Allied occupation. E.L.T. textbooks are of particular interest because they were used throughout western Europe and not just Germany, as the German textbooks that Spichtinger references apply only to Germany. He indicates that E.L.T. textbooks in the postwar era had more American influence than British influence because the British "had far less money to their disposal than the Americans," and the British Council concerned itself more with influencing European elites rather than European education.<sup>27</sup> This lends some credibility to the notion that the widespread use of English in Europe is a result of American influence. Spichtinger describes how postwar E.L.T. textbooks in Europe were infused with the re-education policies of the United States and had recurring themes of "democracy, religion (as a factor in history and philosophic thought), humanitarianism and politics. The unity of European culture [was] also emphasized."<sup>28</sup> The themes in E.L.T. textbooks remained much the same throughout the decades in Europe, promoting "[t]he impression of one big, happy family of English speaking nations" and encouraging the idea of a "voluntary association of nations."<sup>29</sup> Spichtinger stresses that these Allied-produced postwar textbooks (not just the E.L.T. textbooks) contained these themes of unity in contrast to textbooks produced prior to World War II that had

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<sup>25</sup> U.S. War Department, "Here Is Germany," 1945, Reel 6, U.S. National Archives, Identifier 36077, Accession Number 2355, Local Identifier 111-OF-11, [online](#).

<sup>26</sup> U.S. War Department, "Here Is Germany."

<sup>27</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 74.

<sup>28</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 72.

<sup>29</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 75.

promoted nationalistic messages, and that the English language was at first spread alongside the ideal of European unity.<sup>30</sup>

The themes of these American-produced E.L.T. textbooks show that the English-speaking Allied powers wanted to promote a particular narrative of European unity through the English language. The promotion of such a narrative would end up influencing European political thought and would assist in homogenizing western Europe in a social and political sense, a process that Spichtinger refers to as "Americanization" (despite his criticisms of linking the spread of English in Europe to American "linguistic imperialism").<sup>31</sup> If Germany were to become more like the United States, its citizens would be easier to influence, as outlined in the U.S. memorandum on German affairs.<sup>32</sup> This concept applied not only to Germany but also to the rest of Europe and the world. A 1966 document regarding foreign assistance programs further details how this was the case: "The teaching of English is to the advantage of the United States because when a person becomes exposed to the English language he can read USIA [i.e., United States Information Agency] publications, he can understand its films, can listen to the VOA [i.e., Voice of America] and becomes one who will more readily accept U.S. ideas than if he had a remote language and no knowledge of English."<sup>33</sup> Spichtinger also cites examples of E.L.T. textbooks advancing the idea that English is a unifying (and useful) language in and of itself; he quotes from one: "a Swede and a Dutchman meeting in Vienna will converse in English; an Egyptian politician will address his European colleagues in English; a Russian pilot [...] will talk to the airport tower in English."<sup>34</sup>

Official American sources in the immediate postwar era rarely brought up education in foreign countries, let alone English language teaching. Spichtinger highlights the importance of the European Recovery Act, also called the Marshall Plan, but the latter does not directly mention American influence in European education.<sup>35</sup> When looking at sources that do concern foreign education, the U.S. Information and Exchange Act of 1948 provides a more detailed perspective of the United States on spreading its influence and the English language overseas.<sup>36</sup> Similarly to the British Council, the United States sought to influence education systems abroad to promote its own image. The 1948 Information and Exchange Act, which contains a program for English language teaching abroad, states in its

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<sup>30</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 72.

<sup>31</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 73.

<sup>32</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Memorandum*, February 11, 1950.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Department of State, 106. *Minutes of a Meeting of the President's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs*, September 12, 1966, [online](#).

<sup>34</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 76.

<sup>35</sup> *Marshall Plan (1948)*, U.S. National Archives, [online](#).

<sup>36</sup> *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, U.S. Government Information, [online](#).

objective that its purpose is to “enable the Government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries.”<sup>37</sup> The objectives of this act are nearly identical to the ones stated by the British Council. It is evident that both the United States and Britain saw English teaching as a method of spreading their ideals throughout Europe (as well as the world), and in the U.S. Information and Exchange Act, this is made clearer in a section detailing overseas institutions: “The Secretary is authorized to provide for assistance to schools, libraries, and community centers abroad, founded or sponsored by citizens of the United States, and serving as demonstration centers for methods and practices employed in the United States.”<sup>38</sup> Official documents that come from government sources provide the logistics of how these powers spread their influence, along with the English language as one of the tools they use to do so, but only a partial picture of the motivations behind them. For example, the official objectives of the British Council and the United States in spreading the English language overseas are coated in flowery language such as “increasing understanding,” “developing closer cultural relations,” or “promoting inclusive and fair societies,” without directly mentioning how they benefit from it (or why spreading English helps promote “inclusive and fair societies,” in Britain’s case). Classified documents provide a fuller picture of the motivations behind these policies and reveal ulterior but grander motives for promoting English.

#### *IV. Geopolitical Aspects*

The policies outlined above were initially implemented during the early years of the Cold War era (with the exception of the pre-World War II activities of the British Council). The teaching of English in Europe was not only motivated by a desire to change Europe domestically; it also had the potential to influence the geopolitical positions of western European countries to align more with the United States and Britain. A secret document produced by the U.S. Department of State in 1951 regarding the information and exchange programs directly states their purpose, unlike the official documents themselves. Seeing as the English language teaching programs funded by the United States fall under the Information and Exchange Acts, they are included in this, and according to the Department of State,

[t]he current information and educational exchange programs of the Department of State are directed to giving psychological impact to the political, military, and economic decisions and actions taken by the people and governments of the free world, under the leadership of the United States, to frustrate the design of the Kremlin.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, 2.

<sup>39</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Study Prepared by the Department of State: The Information Program*, August 8, 1951, 924, [online](#).

This document blatantly states that the United States created the information and exchange programs to psychologically influence foreign governments and their citizens as a way to have discreet leverage over their political, military, and economic affairs, seeing them as being “under the leadership of the United States” against the “Kremlin,” or the Soviet Union.<sup>40</sup> It also shows that the ideals promoted alongside the English language in foreign countries had two purposes: firstly, that European countries would adopt political and economic positions domestically that were favorable to the United States, and secondly, that they would oppose America’s geopolitical rivals, namely, in the Cold War era, the Soviet Union.

Britain, too, had a shared interest in opposing the spread of communism, and the British Council worked toward this goal in part by promoting English. According to Diana Jane Eastment, “[t]he Foreign Secretary said that the best means of preventing the countries of south-eastern Europe from being absorbed into an exclusive Soviet sphere of influence was to provide a steady stream of information about British life and culture.”<sup>41</sup> It is worth pointing out that the anti-communist messaging within Britain’s language teaching programs was likely not unique to Europe. As Eastment details, the British Council gave increased priority to both Italy and Greece because they were Britain’s “‘bastions of democracy’ in the Mediterranean against the encroachments of communism to the Middle East and Africa.”<sup>42</sup> Considering that Britain’s colonies were especially susceptible to communist influence in the postwar era, it is safe to say that part of the British effort to curtail socialist movements in their colonies was through language teaching. With regard to spreading the English language, both Britain and the United States had the same motivations for doing so in the context of the Cold War: both wanted to oppose Soviet cultural and political influence. While Britain and the United States may have had some slight differences in their ways of promoting the English language on a technical basis, when their motivations are compared, it is easy to see why Britain’s efforts to spread English can be lumped in with the overall “Americanization” of Europe.

#### V. The “*Language of Progress*”

The perception of the language by Europeans was another aspect of how English was perceived in a geopolitical sense, and both the United States and Britain wanted English to be perceived as a “progressive” language, whether it be political or technological progress. Britain and the United States strove to have English perceived as a useful language, a language of power, and a language of political progress. If English was a useful language, more people would want to learn it,

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<sup>40</sup> U.S. Department of State, *Study*, August 8, 1951, 924.

<sup>41</sup> Diana Jane Eastment, “The Policies and Position of the British Council from the Outbreak of War to 1950” (Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds, 1982), 237, [online](#).

<sup>42</sup> Eastment, “Policies and Position of the British Council,” 230.

thus exposing them to American and British ideals. If English was a language of power, this helped legitimize British and American hegemony and influence throughout Europe. If English was a "language of progress," technological or political, fewer people would criticize its spread, and might in fact argue that it was a good thing. As George Watson points out regarding technological progress, when Sputnik went into orbit in 1957, there was a "sense of amazement and horror [...] that any other nations should be technically ahead of the United States."<sup>43</sup> An example of this in the postwar era are the Marshall Plan posters made by the United States in 1950. They generally depict messages of European unity and the idea that Europe must move forward under the guidance of the Allied powers. Some of the posters, such as one intended for use in the Netherlands, have English captions despite the fact that they were intended for use in western Europe, suggesting the idea that English was the language of progress that would move Europe forward.<sup>44</sup> As Spichtinger argues, "[t]he possibility to communicate with the Allied forces directly increased one's social status and prestige. In brief, somebody who knew English was important."<sup>45</sup> The idea that English was both useful and the "language of progress" gave English a certain level of authority over other languages. Truchot details how this perception of English persists into the present day in international affairs, long after the end of the Cold War:

English enjoys a special status in international operations in the former Yugoslavia. As Gret Haller, the ambassador and mediator in Bosnia, has pointed out on the strength of her experience there, no one listens to what you say if you do not speak English because English is the language of power and, by speaking another language, you show you have no power.<sup>46</sup>

For historians who argue that English is a "neutral" language, this reality of the English language may be difficult to separate from the legacy of American and British imperialism.

Britain's promotion of English as a "language of progress" in opposition to its geopolitical rivals is more subtle, but it can be seen in the British Council appraisal report from 2016. According to this report, the British Council increased its activities in 1990 in post-Soviet states and after 1975 in Spain.<sup>47</sup> Both of these years coincide with major political changes in these countries, and given the fact that the British Council had as one of its societal goals in foreign countries to "enhance their capacity to contribute to the democratic process,"<sup>48</sup> this affirms the idea that Britain wished for English to be perceived as a language of political progress. The United States has a similar policy, which is outlined in the 1961 Mutual

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<sup>43</sup> George Watson, "Americanophilia," *The American Scholar* 69, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 119–126.

<sup>44</sup> "Marshall Plan: Netherlands," Marshall Plan Posters, *Historiana*, [online](#).

<sup>45</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 74.

<sup>46</sup> Claude Truchot, *Key Aspects of the Use of English in Europe* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2002), 17–18, [online](#).

<sup>47</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report*, 6, 38.

<sup>48</sup> British Council, *Appraisal Report*, 17.

Educational and Cultural Exchange Program, more commonly called the Fulbright-Hays Act. This act is similar to the U.S. Information and Exchange Act of 1948, including a section regarding language teaching and detailing that it is the act’s goal to “increase mutual understanding,” but there is also a section of the act that specifically states that the act is to finance “visits and interchanges between the United States and countries in transition from totalitarianism to democracy.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, the United States and Britain sought to take advantage of the changing social conditions of countries transitioning between political systems to promote their own ideas, and one method of doing so was English language teaching. English being perceived as a language of authority and progress benefitted the United States and Britain as it added legitimacy to their hegemony against their less democratic geopolitical rivals.

Britain and the United States also spread the English language around the world because there is an economic incentive to do so. The motivations for spreading English are not purely political. The British Council makes no secret of the fact that spreading English around the world, particularly in Europe, is an economic benefit to Britain. As an article on their official website details,

English tuition and proficiency exams are big business for the U.K. The market for students studying English in the U.K. is dominated by students from Europe – around 75% of the total [...] more than the total number of international students in Higher Education in the U.K. – making a clear valuable contribution to the U.K. economy. This is estimated to be worth £2.1 billion in revenue for the U.K., and to support more than 35,000 jobs.<sup>50</sup>

The United States has similar programs described in the Information and Exchange Acts and the Fulbright-Hays Act promoting foreign students to study in the United States and overseas language teaching programs, which include English teaching programs. Thus, it can be safely said that the United States experiences similar benefits. As Truchot states, “the teaching of English is a fruitful business for these countries who sell courses, teaching material, accommodation for learners, training for teachers, etc. Dutch universities have reckoned it would cost them less to send their students abroad to learn the language than to keep the teaching apparatus they have to pay for.”<sup>51</sup>

Truchot also stresses the importance of American cultural products, as they help spread the English language, influence foreign cultures in favor of the United States, and bring economic benefits. A notable example is the film industry. As Truchot stresses, “the world market for cultural products is increasingly concentrated around Hollywood (50% of its revenue comes from abroad compared to scarcely 30% in 1980): [the U.S.] claimed 70% of the film market in

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<sup>49</sup> *Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Program*, 22 U.S.C. 33, §§ 2451–2461, [online](#).

<sup>50</sup> Sarah Rolfe, “English in Europe,” *British Council*, May 2018: “New evidence suggests that English will continue to be the lingua franca in the E.U. after Brexit,” [online](#).

<sup>51</sup> Truchot, “Spread of English in Europe,” 144.

Europe in 1996."<sup>52</sup> However, American sources, even formerly confidential ones, only seem to hint at such economic benefits, although it is clear that the United States recognized the same economic incentives to spread English as Britain did. A confidential 1965 document from the White House with the subject "U.S. Government Policy on English Language Teaching Abroad" details that English "opens doors to scientific and technical knowledge indispensable to the economic and political development of vast areas of the world,"<sup>53</sup> but even with this knowledge, the United States seems to have primarily concerned itself with the English language being used as a tool for political influence rather than as an economic benefit.

### Conclusion

The story of English in Europe is complex. It can be analyzed from the perspectives of the governments that promoted it, the Europeans who speak it daily, or through an economic, social, or cultural lens. The Allied powers understood that language could be used as a powerful tool to alter all aspects of society, which is why the English language was promoted alongside de-Nazification efforts in the immediate postwar era. The widespread use of the English language in Europe today suggests that the Allied efforts to promote it were successful, and as Spichtinger details, the perception of the English language among modern Europeans aligns with how the United States wanted it to be perceived. Spichtinger conducted a survey with European students and asked them questions regarding the English language in Europe. One of his questions was, "Is English (in your opinion) the 'language of progress'?" The response from the students was overwhelmingly "yes," with an average of 81% of students responding favorably toward English.<sup>54</sup> With an increasing number of Europeans learning English every year, it is clear that it will continue to be the *lingua franca* of Europe, and save for a handful of mostly French critics, everybody else seems to think that this is a good thing.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Jason Ambriz of Orange, California, is pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The essay published here originated in a seminar on European Identities offered by CSUF's History Department.

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<sup>52</sup> Truchot, *Key Aspects of the Use of English in Europe*, 18.

<sup>53</sup> The White House, *National Security Action Memorandum No. 332: U.S. Government Policy on English Language Teaching Abroad*, June 11, 1965, 1, [online](#).

<sup>54</sup> Spichtinger, "Spread of English," 97.



Nicole Hallenbeck

*“Our Boys Need Blood”:  
The Activism of Women, Lesbians, and People of Color  
during the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in San Francisco*

**ABSTRACT:** *This article highlights the activism of women, lesbians, and people of color during the first decade of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in San Francisco. Utilizing primary source materials such as pamphlets, posters, and flyers from LGBTQ+ activist groups in the Bay Area, as well as historiographical works on the epidemic, the author argues that the historiography of the epidemic has previously centered around white gay men, but that marginalized members of the LGBTQ+ community were greatly affected and responded with culturally competent community care methods that reduced the spread of HIV/AIDS.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; 1980s; United States (U.S.); San Francisco; LGBTQ+ community; HIV/AIDS; activism; women; lesbians; people of color*

*Introduction*

When HIV/AIDS appeared in the early 1980s, the United States was experiencing rampant political debates between the federal government and Civil Rights activists. In the decade prior, both the gay liberation movement and the second wave feminist movement occurred, and both communities made major strides in their fight for equality. When Ronald Reagan entered the White House in January 1981, he ushered in an era of conservatism, funding cuts, and silence on Civil Rights issues.<sup>1</sup> The Reagan era brought major setbacks for both communities, as well as people of color. However, the research on the epidemic has been mostly centered around the effects that HIV/AIDS had on gay white men.

This article looks at the HIV/AIDS epidemic through a new lens that emphasizes the intersections of gender, race, and class in the gay community's activism of the 1980s. It focuses specifically on the gay community of San Francisco in the first decade of the crisis. Conservative historians who have written about Ronald Reagan's presidency have chosen to remove his role with regard to HIV/AIDS altogether. They have not acknowledged how his administration's irresponsible handling of public health contributed to the deaths of thousands of Americans while he was in office, most of whom belonged to the gay community.<sup>2</sup> This article argues that the historiography has routinely overlooked the toll that the virus took on people of color, women, and lesbians, misrepresented these communities' roles in the activism of the decade, and neglected their strong influence on prevention strategies. However, these groups mobilized quickly to

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<sup>1</sup> Stewart Landers, Farzana Kapadia, and Lisa Bowleg, "1981–2021: HIV and Our World," *American Journal of Public Health* 111, no. 7 (2021): 1180–1182.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanine Alexander, "The Problem of AIDS: The Reagan Administration, the Presidential Commission, and the AIDS epidemic" (Master's thesis, University of Nebraska at Kearney, 2013), 1.

combat the epidemic and care for their communities and others. This article aims to highlight those feats.

### *I. Historiography*

Amidst the historiography of HIV/AIDS, some historians have already shed light on these misrepresentations in their work and amplified the voices that have traditionally been silenced. Jennifer Brier's *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* addresses the politics behind the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which includes the federal government's inadequate response, the different individuals and organizations that worked with AIDS, and the people who were affected by the disease.<sup>3</sup> This work also discusses the problematic elements of the gay community's response, along with the women, lesbians, and people of color who worked to correct these shortcomings. Mike Greenly's *Chronicle: The Human Side of AIDS* sets out to fix misrepresentations of the HIV/AIDS epidemic by utilizing the stories of people who experienced the crisis, told in their own words.<sup>4</sup> In his book, Greenly interviews people with AIDS, healthcare professionals, volunteers from the organization Shanti, the former Director of Consumer Affairs for the FDA, and more. These narrators bring stories that might have otherwise gone untold into the literature on AIDS, they dispel myths and stigmas, amplify the work of volunteers, and give voices to people with AIDS. Brandon Michael Ball's article "The Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses as an Issue of Civil and Sexual Liberties During the AIDS Epidemic" takes a different approach, addressing the carceral nature of the San Francisco government's closing of the gay bathhouses, which was regarded by others as a positive action.<sup>5</sup> Although some historians have heralded Dianne Feinstein as a hero, Ball argues that stripping the gay community of its safe spaces was a Civil Rights violation and highlights other controversial actions of the San Francisco government that hurt the community. Lastly, Dan Royles' *To Make the Wounded Whole: The African American Struggle Against AIDS* discusses not only the disproportionate effect that AIDS had on the black community but also the struggles they faced within the gay community due to a lack of representation and solidarity.<sup>6</sup> The black community was hit especially hard by the epidemic, and activists battled both the abandonment of the government and their community while trying to provide culturally comprehensive prevention and care strategies for those affected.

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<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Mike Greenly, *Chronicle: The Human Side of AIDS* (New York: Irvington Publishers Inc., 1986).

<sup>5</sup> Brandon Michael Ball, "The Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses as an Issue of Civil and Sexual Liberties During the AIDS Epidemic," *Ex Post Facto: Journal of the History Students at San Francisco State University* 28 (2019): 59-70.

<sup>6</sup> Dan Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole: The African American Struggle Against HIV/AIDS* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

Other historians have focused solely on the role women and lesbians played in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Jackie Winnow's article, "Lesbians Evolving Healthcare: Cancer and AIDS," discusses the specific services that lesbians offered to both women and men in their community during the crisis and shows their involvement in social justice movements in prior decades.<sup>7</sup> Winnow also points to the uncomfortable truth that women and lesbians have not always received the same level of support and solidarity from men in the gay community. Jacqueline Foertsch's "Angels in an Epidemic: Women as 'Negatives' in Recent AIDS Literature" shares some of the same arguments as Winnow's work.<sup>8</sup> Foertsch focuses mainly on how these women were perceived as "angelic" caregivers instead of powerful activists with agency to organize an effective response. This work changes the narrative of women as passive and soft helpers and highlights their capacity for strong leadership. Maggie Shackelford's M.A. thesis, "Unsung Heroes: Lesbian Activists in the AIDS Epidemic in North Carolina and California, 1981-1989," outlines the work of lesbian activists, highlights notable activists in cities such as San Francisco, and gives credit to the activists in smaller cities in the South that mobilized AIDS care.<sup>9</sup> Shackelford provides discourse on the separation between gay men and lesbians in the community and explains the ideological schisms between lesbian separatists and those who worked with HIV/AIDS. Emily K. Hobson's *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* reflects some of the sentiments of the authors above but focuses on the more radical and progressive members of the gay community, intersectional approaches to AIDS, and activists' previous work in the anti-war movement.<sup>10</sup> Hobson reflects on the issues of race, class, and imperialism in the gay community and those who created more inclusive activist spaces. Lastly, Beth E. Schneider's and Nancy E. Stoller's *Women Resisting AIDS* discusses the ways in which women were left behind during the epidemic, how their health was ignored, and how they fought back.<sup>11</sup> Schneider and Stoller also explore the specific discrimination and underrepresentation that lesbians experienced during the crisis. Together, the works of these historians help to fill the gaps in the historiography of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. They paint a clearer picture of the actors involved in caring for their communities and taking a stand against a misinformed and silent government.

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<sup>7</sup> Jackie Winnow, "Lesbians Evolving Health Care: Cancer and AIDS," *Feminist Review* 41, no. 1 (Summer 1992): 68-76.

<sup>8</sup> Jacqueline Foertsch, "Angels in an Epidemic: Women as 'Negatives' in Recent AIDS Literature," *South Central Review* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 57-72.

<sup>9</sup> Maggie Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes: Lesbian Activists in the AIDS Epidemic in North Carolina and California, 1981-1989" (Master's thesis, The College of William and Mary, 2011).

<sup>10</sup> Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

<sup>11</sup> Beth E. Schneider and Nancy E. Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS: Feminist Strategies of Empowerment* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

## II. The Federal Government's Response

The first cases of AIDS appeared in San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles in the summer of 1981.<sup>12</sup> Since the first cases were discovered in gay men, it was initially named Gay-Related Autoimmune Disease (GRID), a misnomer that deeply offended the gay community.<sup>13</sup> In 1983, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) identified four risk groups: gay men, intravenous drug users, hemophiliacs, and Haitians (who were removed from the list in 1985).<sup>14</sup> These four groups, called the "4-H Club", were heavily stigmatized populations, and this classification further marginalized them. People with AIDS would go on to experience discrimination in healthcare, housing, insurance, and social security due to harmful stigmas, racism, and homophobia.<sup>15</sup> The federal government also criminalized those who had HIV/AIDS, and it became the only medical condition that carried a felony charge when undisclosed, amongst other discriminatory laws.<sup>16</sup> When HIV was determined to be the precursor to AIDS by Dr. Robert Gallo in 1984, the CDC, the government of San Francisco, and community-based organizations had already been hard at work trying to prevent the spread of AIDS and treat those who had developed it.<sup>17</sup> However, the Reagan administration was lagging far behind.

The Reagan administration was fatally slow to respond to the epidemic. AIDS was first discovered six months after Ronald Reagan took office.<sup>18</sup> Although meetings were held on AIDS in 1983, they were informal and included only a handful of government officials; the federal government did not hold any more meetings to discuss AIDS until 1985.<sup>19</sup> Prior to that moment, members of his administration and conservative journalists had publicly mocked people with AIDS, calling it the "gay plague" in a 1982 press conference.<sup>20</sup> In 1985, Rock

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<sup>12</sup> Michelle Cochrane, *When AIDS Began: San Francisco and the Making of an Epidemic* (New York: Routledge, 2004), xx.

<sup>13</sup> "Looking Back: The AIDS Epidemic," *SF LGBT CENTER*, December 15, 2018, [online](#).

<sup>14</sup> Patricia D. Siplon, *AIDS and the Policy Struggle in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 6-7.

<sup>15</sup> Nan D. Hunter, *Epidemic of Fear: A Survey of AIDS Discrimination in the 1980s and Policy Recommendations for the 1990s* (New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1990), 1-2; see also 22.

<sup>16</sup> Aaron Samuel Breslow, "HIV is Not a Crime: Exploring Criminalization and Discrimination in a Dual Model of HIV/AIDS Minority Stress" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2018), 2.

<sup>17</sup> Kathy S. Stolley and John E. Glass, *HIV/AIDS* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 173.

<sup>18</sup> Donald P. Francis, "Deadly AIDS Policy Failure by the Highest Levels of the U.S. Government: A Personal Look Back 30 Years Later for Lessons to Respond Better to Future Epidemics," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 33, no. 3 (2012): 290-300, here 292.

<sup>19</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 82-83.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Bennington-Castro, "How Aids Became an Unspoken—But Deadly—Epidemic for Years," *History*, June 1, 2020, [online](#). See also Trevor Hoppe, *Punishing Disease: HIV and the Criminalization of Sickness* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018; first published 2017), 1.

Hudson, an American actor and close friend of Reagan's, died of AIDS.<sup>21</sup> Only then, after 15,000 cases, half of which had already resulted in deaths, did Reagan acknowledge the epidemic. In the same year, the CDC also proposed a prevention plan that would provide antibody testing and the latest information on the virus. It had an estimated \$37 million budget request. It was denied on February 4, and members of the CDC were told to "look pretty and do as little as you can."<sup>22</sup> During that time, Reagan refused to meet with AIDS organizations and did not hold his own conference on AIDS or say the word aloud until February 5, 1986.<sup>23</sup> His Surgeon General, Everett C. Koop, a known Christian conservative, took a surprising turn and wanted to be proactive about AIDS.<sup>24</sup> His report in 1986 provided AIDS education to children in schools, information about condom use, and addressed racial disparities, which gained him the support of AIDS activists.<sup>25</sup> Twenty million copies of his report were set to be distributed to American homes and schools. This angered the members of his own party and subjected him to public attacks.<sup>26</sup> Following the report, the Secretary of Education, Gary Bauer, denounced Koop. Reagan supported Bauer and favored his traditional Christian rhetoric, which emphasized monogamy and abstinence.<sup>27</sup> Reagan did not create the federal AIDS Commission until 1987, and they did not release their report until 1988, a full seven years after AIDS had been discovered.<sup>28</sup> The commission included doctors and one gay male but excluded activists that AIDS organizations had recommended.<sup>29</sup>

In 1987, the federal government finally began allotting money for the prevention, research, and treatment of AIDS. Conservatives began launching counterattacks to limit the government's ability to respond. Historians have also pointed out how little the government spent on AIDS in comparison to the federal budget. In 1988, Reagan relegated \$1.5 million to the AIDS crisis, which was not nearly enough money since the estimated cost an AIDS patient would spend on care in their lifetime was an estimated \$100,000.<sup>30</sup> Out of over 500 recommendations made to the president by the AIDS Commission, a ten-point

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<sup>21</sup> Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2007; first published 2007), xxi. See also Tasleem J. Padamsee, "Fighting an Epidemic in Political Context: Thirty-Five Years of HIV/AIDS Policy Making in the United States," *Social History of Medicine* 33, no. 3 (2020): 1001-1028, here 1005.

<sup>22</sup> Francis, "Deadly AIDS Policy Failure," 295-297.

<sup>23</sup> Alexander, "Problem of AIDS," 34-35.

<sup>24</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 88. See also Padamsee, "Fighting an Epidemic," 1006.

<sup>25</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 89.

<sup>26</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 90.

<sup>27</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 92.

<sup>28</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 94; see also 96.

<sup>29</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 95.

<sup>30</sup> Alexander, "Problem of AIDS," 79.

plan was developed. It did not include a ban on AIDS discrimination and, in fact, removed Civil Rights rhetoric from the original wording.<sup>31</sup> In 1986, the Department of Health and Human Services' AIDS budget was \$126 million, which was only .08% of the department's \$1.5 billion budget.<sup>32</sup> One of the roadblocks to funding put up by conservatives was the Helms Amendment, which stated that any federally funded program could not contain sexually explicit material in its advertising and was required to promote abstinence.<sup>33</sup> This would prevent AIDS organizations from promoting safe sex, using suggestive imagery, or using graphics about condom use if they were to receive federal funding.

### III. The Local Government's Response in San Francisco

At the local level, the government of San Francisco was used as a model for taking action and distributing funds early to fight AIDS. According to Dianne Feinstein, who was the mayor of San Francisco during the epidemic, the city's leaders educated themselves on the virus in order to respond quickly and rationally with government programs.<sup>34</sup> In 1983, the city government had already established an AIDS ward at San Francisco General Hospital and staffed it with nurses and volunteers who were willing to give specialized care to AIDS patients.<sup>35</sup> Cliff Morrison, one of the nurses who helped develop Ward 5-B at San Francisco General Hospital, gave credit to Feinstein for being proactive about AIDS. Feinstein also initiated the city's first AIDS awareness week in 1984. By 1985, the city government had allotted \$8.8 million to healthcare, counseling, and education. Feinstein also wrote a personal letter to President Reagan asking him to increase the budget for AIDS, but he never responded.<sup>36</sup> Feinstein claimed that the public and the gay community also played a large role in mobilizing to help others and that the city was used as a paradigm for responding to the epidemic. Dr. Mervyn Silverman, who was the director of the city's Department of Public Health at the time, attributed the success of the San Francisco model to the compassionate and anti-hierarchical organization of hospitals and volunteer organizations like Shanti that worked with AIDS patients.<sup>37</sup> Shanti, which was developed in 1974 to help terminally ill patients, mostly those with cancer, sent around 400 volunteers to work with AIDS patients in San Francisco.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Alexander, "Problem of AIDS," 61; see also 74.

<sup>32</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 86.

<sup>33</sup> "S.Amdt.963 to H.R.3058," 100<sup>th</sup> Congress (1987-1988), October 14, 1987, *The Library of Congress*, [online](#).

<sup>34</sup> Greenly, *Chronicle*, v.

<sup>35</sup> Greenly, *Chronicle*, 366-367.

<sup>36</sup> Alexander, "Problem of AIDS," 29.

<sup>37</sup> Greenly, *Chronicle*, 357-358.

<sup>38</sup> Greenly, *Chronicle*, 377.

While the government of San Francisco acted quickly, some historians have pointed out flaws in their policies that angered the gay community. Although it was short-lived and they were reopened later the same year, one particularly problematic initiative was Dianne Feinstein's decision to close the bathhouses in early 1984.<sup>39</sup> This policy was backed by Dr. Mervyn Silverman, who resigned the next year amid the backlash.<sup>40</sup> A small number of community members, including the famed author Randy Shilts, who later died of AIDS in 1994, supported the closure.<sup>41</sup> According to Brandon Michael Ball, the gay community had established several safe spaces for men to socialize, including bars and nightclubs, theaters, and stores, since the early 1900s.<sup>42</sup> The bathhouses were one of those safe spaces. Those who opposed the closure believed it to be a waste of money and a symbol of the government's history of criminalizing the gay community. It was also a sign that outsiders did not trust their ability to participate in safe and consensual sex. Prior to the AIDS epidemic, the city's police had raided the bathhouses throughout the 1960s, and gay sex was illegal up until the Consenting Adult Sex Bill was passed in 1976.<sup>43</sup> An anonymous source also revealed that Feinstein spent \$50,000 of AIDS money on undercover investigators to surveil the bathhouses and report on what they witnessed.<sup>44</sup> Her rhetoric that "promiscuity kills" also contributed to the harmful stigmatization and stereotyping of gay men's sexual activity.<sup>45</sup> This was considered a major infringement on the privacy and sexual freedom of the gay community and connected to the larger history of the city's policing. Activists also drew attention to the fact that Feinstein was ignoring women's health during the epidemic. Organizations like ACT UP San Francisco made political cartoons addressing this issue. One flyer titled "Feinstein on Women and AIDS" depicted the mayor's face with an empty speech bubble, symbolizing her silence toward women during the epidemic. It also featured dollar signs drawn across her face, suggesting that Feinstein was only motivated to act by money.<sup>46</sup> Regardless of their rapid response, politicians in San Francisco deployed misguided and stigmatizing approaches and neglected the needs of women and the gay community, and activists sought ways to address and fix their shortcomings.

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<sup>39</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 60; see also 64.

<sup>40</sup> Greenly, *Chronicle*, 357.

<sup>41</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 62. See also Alexander, "Problem of AIDS," 13.

<sup>42</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 59.

<sup>43</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 65.

<sup>44</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 66.

<sup>45</sup> Ball, "Defense of San Francisco's Gay Bathhouses," 67.

<sup>46</sup> "Feinstein on Women and AIDS; Wilson on Women and AIDS," circa 1987-1996, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives, University of Southern California Digital Library, [Calisphere, online](#).

#### IV. HIV/AIDS Activism in San Francisco

At the end of 1981, there were twenty-four AIDS cases in San Francisco, and the number grew to over one hundred in 1982.<sup>47</sup> In the face of the federal government's silence and some of the erroneous actions of the local government, the gay community of San Francisco organized swiftly to care for one another. Their actions were much more comprehensive than those of the government in preventing the spread of the disease.<sup>48</sup> The incidence rate in San Francisco in 1982 was 18.4%, but by 1987 the rate had gone down to 1%, which is attributed to the work of community organizations.<sup>49</sup> Jeffrey Weeks's work outlines three traits in the gay community that could have contributed to this effectiveness: social capital in the city, extensive experience in grassroots organizing, and long-established mutual care networks.<sup>50</sup> Their response was also so successful because it was rooted in the ideas of community empowerment and gay liberation. This removed the shame and stigma from AIDS and promoted collective responsibility over placing blame on individual behavior.<sup>51</sup>

One of the most powerful organizations during the epidemic was the San Francisco AIDS Foundation (S.F.A.F.). The majority of the S.F.A.F.'s volunteers were gay men who were involved in both politics and healthcare.<sup>52</sup> Their initial model for prevention was to "eroticize" safe sex and push condom use along with instructional pamphlets at gay bars and businesses.<sup>53</sup> Their safe-sex marketing strategies were sexually suggestive and concise, which was the opposite marketing strategy used by condom brands themselves, which used discrete messaging.<sup>54</sup> One of the S.F.A.F.'s condom ads depicted two young shirtless men draped in an American flag and brandishing a condom, above which the text read: "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."<sup>55</sup> Although this ad was not offensive, at the time, this kind of marketing was considered more explicit and put images of homosexuality directly in the public eye.

Apart from marketing, the S.F.A.F. participated in more direct action. They created a hotline to disseminate information and direct people to AIDS care, which

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<sup>47</sup> Mick Sinclair, *San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History* (Northampton: Interlink Books, 2010; first published 2004), 223.

<sup>48</sup> Siplon, *AIDS and the Policy Struggle*, 8.

<sup>49</sup> Eric Stewart and Julian Rappaport, "Narrative Insurrections: HIV, Circulating Knowledges, and Local Resistances," in *Community Interventions and AIDS*, ed. Edison J. Trickett and Willo Pequegnat (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 56–87, here 61.

<sup>50</sup> Jeffrey Weeks, *Making Sexual History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 10–11.

<sup>51</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 39–40.

<sup>52</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 51.

<sup>53</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 45.

<sup>54</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 46.

<sup>55</sup> "Condom Use," circa 1986–2000, item 2/81, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).



served over six thousand callers, therapy groups, and education centers. The organization also designed their own educational pamphlets, one of which was called *Can We Talk*, which promoted safe sex and condom use.<sup>56</sup> The bathhouses were being turned into educational centers by 1983, prior to the government shutting them down the following year.<sup>57</sup> Over one hundred bars, nightclubs, and businesses also became safe-sex educational centers.<sup>58</sup> Bartenders against AIDS began holding their own meetings, where they distributed condoms, offered training sessions, and made commercials.<sup>59</sup> The S.F.A.F. also organized free forums on AIDS antibody testing with healthcare professionals at the Department of Public Health.<sup>60</sup> They addressed how AIDS affected their work lives and helped organize a conference titled "Moving Beyond Crisis: Managing AIDS in the Workplace."<sup>61</sup> In order to honor those who had lost their lives to AIDS, candlelight vigils were held in the city. Two of these took place on May 2 and May 27, 1983, and the pamphlets read "Fighting for Our Lives: An AIDS Candlelit March."<sup>62</sup> The work of the San Francisco AIDS Foundation was valuable and did not go unnoticed. The organization went on to receive awards, such as the 1985 Cable Car Award, as well as an award from the Washington Business Group on Health, for their achievements.<sup>63</sup>

Other organizations outside of the S.F.A.F. were also working on prevention and outreach strategies and distributed their own pamphlets and flyers. Organizations like ACT UP San Francisco used even more sexually explicit messaging than the S.F.A.F. One particularly blunt ACT UP flyer depicted the "La Muerte" Loteria card (a popular Mexican card game), which featured a skeleton holding a scythe. The back read, "Don't play lottery with your life!" along with

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<sup>56</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 52.

<sup>57</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 53.

<sup>58</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 57.

<sup>59</sup> "Bartenders against AIDS Meeting Flyer," undated, item 1/1, San Francisco AIDS Foundation Records, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>60</sup> "Conferences and Community Forums—Healthcare Industry Related," 1984–2001, item 20/23, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>61</sup> "Conferences and Community Forums—General," 1982–1998, item 1/164, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>62</sup> "AIDS Candlelight Memorial Vigil and March," circa 1983–2000, item 4/28, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "AIDS Candlelight Memorial Vigil and March," circa 1983–2000, item 5/28, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>63</sup> "Awards Given to SFAF," (1985), Item 1/2, San Francisco AIDS Foundation Records, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "Awards Given to SFAF," (1985), Item 2/2, San Francisco AIDS Foundation Records, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

expletives.<sup>64</sup> Other organizations were not as brusque with their advertising but produced extensive informational pamphlets on HIV/AIDS. For example, the Gay Men's Health Crisis created "The Safer Sex Condom Guide."<sup>65</sup> It was four pages long, intended for both men and women, and offered photo demonstrations. The *Hot and Healthy Times* newspaper distributed a condom guide as well, which included AIDS facts on the other side.<sup>66</sup> It provided information on a wide variety of protection, inserted a guide for communication between partners, and contained photo demonstrations as well. Lastly, the *Condom Sense* newspaper made a more inclusive issue that discussed women and AIDS and prevention techniques.<sup>67</sup> It was titled "Women's Concerns about Condoms" and corrected misinformation for women to help them make safer choices.

Although they were fighting for the same cause, and organizations like the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and ACT UP did a lot of important work to fight AIDS, infighting took place within the prominent gay community organizations. These organizations also had trouble gaining federal funding because of their sexually explicit ad campaigns.<sup>68</sup> In addition, some of their marketing lacked cultural sensitivity and mostly appealed to white gay men. Marginalized groups within the community began pointing to the inadequate support for women and people of color.<sup>69</sup> In response to their lack of visibility in the primarily white gay male organizations, these groups took matters into their own hands and constructed their own prevention and care strategies.

#### V. Women and Lesbian Activists

The traditional image of San Francisco's gay community was that of gay men in the Castro, but lesbians had a strong presence in the city prior to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. They created safe spaces for the women in the community and owned businesses that catered to their needs in areas such as the Mission District.<sup>70</sup> These spaces were not only used as a means of socialization but also for organizing.<sup>71</sup> Unfortunately, lesbians have been largely left out of the historiography on HIV/AIDS. They have also been omitted from the art made about the period, which includes films and literature. In the words of Jacqueline Foertsch,

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<sup>64</sup> "Condom Use," circa 1986–2000, item 9/81, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>65</sup> "Condom Use," circa 1986–2000, item 40/81, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>66</sup> "Condom Use," circa 1986–2000, item 57/81, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>67</sup> "Condom Use," circa 1986–2000, item 69/81, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>68</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 72.

<sup>69</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 77.

<sup>70</sup> Sinclair, *San Francisco*, 226.

<sup>71</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 17.

Women have been integral to gay men's lives since the advent of the HIV epidemic; gay authors' continued efforts to downplay or ignore women's important roles as supporters, healers, activists, and fellow sufferers dissolve the radical potential of the AIDS text into the misogynist tradition that typifies the heterosexualized Western canon.<sup>72</sup>

Although they are often left out of the representation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the lesbian community of San Francisco has had a long history of activism in the city and across the globe. Lesbians were involved in the Civil Rights movement, anti-war protests, and the fight for class equality.<sup>73</sup> They participated in large numbers as leaders in the second wave feminist movement as well as the gay liberation movement during the 1970s.<sup>74</sup> They also organized for multiple causes at once. During the HIV/AIDS epidemic, they took part in protests against war in Nicaragua and Honduras and called for "Money for AIDS, Not War."<sup>75</sup> These activists saw sexual identity as a political issue and connected it to other issues such as racism, imperialism, and classism in their organizing.<sup>76</sup>

Although women were seemingly less affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic than men, lesbians took on a major role in fighting for the gay community in the early 1980s. Women who were affected by AIDS were greatly ignored by the media and the medical field because of the notion that AIDS was a disease of gay men.<sup>77</sup> Much attention was not paid to the health of women and lesbians during the crisis, and some felt "othered" by the gay community that they were fighting to protect.<sup>78</sup> Their grass-roots initiatives also did not receive as much funding as predominantly male organizations, but they set a precedent for responding to the crisis in a way that emphasized communal care. Despite being ostracized, they felt a responsibility to women and to the gay community to take action when the government would not. Well-known activists such as Tonie Osborn also rejected the idea that lesbians participated in HIV/AIDS organizing because of the shared experience of being gay or the stereotype that women were "natural caretakers."<sup>79</sup> Their real motivation was justice, and they acted because they believed it was the right thing to do. Since lesbians did not view themselves as being "at-risk" in comparison to gay men or heterosexual women, they also felt that they could safely engage in AIDS work and saw it as an opportunity to bridge the gap between themselves and gay men.<sup>80</sup> These women, such as the prominent activist

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<sup>72</sup> Foertsch, "Angels in an Epidemic," 57.

<sup>73</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 7.

<sup>74</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 270.

<sup>75</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 157.

<sup>76</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 2.

<sup>77</sup> Julien S. Murphy, "Women with Aids: Sexual Ethics in an Epidemic," in *AIDS: Principles, Practices, & Politics*, ed. Inge B. Corless and Mary Pittman-Lindeman (New York: Routledge, 2013), 65-80, here 65.

<sup>78</sup> Winnow, "Lesbians Evolving Health Care," 69.

<sup>79</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 16-17.

<sup>80</sup> Winnow, "Lesbians Evolving Health Care," 70.

Cindy Patton, saw HIV/AIDS as an extension of the gay liberation movement and the feminist movement and saw the government's response as an attack on the community's Civil Rights.<sup>81</sup>

One mode of activism was through debates in the gay press and strategizing.<sup>82</sup> Both gay men and lesbians advocated in the press for their shared belief in safer sex as opposed to pushing abstinence. They proposed that the only effective response to the crisis would be through love and unity in the community.<sup>83</sup> However, lesbian writers took these theories a step further, weaving in feminist rhetoric and addressing the role misogyny played in sexual practices. They reiterated the arguments they deployed in the women's health movement in the decade prior regarding informed consent and self-care and asserted that feminist ideology would aid in prevention.<sup>84</sup> These sentiments became the blueprint for the safe-sex rhetoric that gay men deployed in the AIDS epidemic.<sup>85</sup> They also rejected the notion that gay sex decoupled love from sexual practice and wrote such sentiments off as homophobic. They sought out messages that were grounded in love and emphasized safe sex without uplifting puritanical ideals. Marie Goodwin wrote, "Our love and sexuality are not mutually exclusive... We have at times been careless, but we were never immoral."<sup>86</sup> This was reflected in the writings of Cindy Patton as well. These writers' experiences in the women's health movement offered a valuable perspective on community building and responsibility and furthered the conversation on healthcare inequality during the 1980s.

Apart from writing theory, the lesbian community took tangible action to prevent transmission of the virus and care for those who had contracted it. Their knack for organization from previous activist work made them fit to lead their community, and they took on roles as healthcare and social workers.<sup>87</sup> They also did clerical work, led educational services, and held "caretaking" jobs.<sup>88</sup> According to Jackie Winnow, the community in San Francisco provided 100 women with AIDS with "housing, childcare, a day-care center, haircuts, a food bank, massage, counselling, meals, and other support services."<sup>89</sup> They also had experience in the mental health profession and nursing, and many of them volunteered to work with AIDS patients at San Francisco General Hospital when other healthcare workers declined to treat them out of fear of getting sick.<sup>90</sup> The

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<sup>81</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 11-12.

<sup>82</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 236.

<sup>83</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 243.

<sup>84</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 244.

<sup>85</sup> Stewart and Rappaport, "Narrative Insurrections," 61.

<sup>86</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 245.

<sup>87</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 4.

<sup>88</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 275-276.

<sup>89</sup> Winnow, "Lesbians Evolving Health Care," 68.

<sup>90</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 18.

Lesbian Caucus of the Harvey Milk AIDS Education Fund held multiple blood drives between 1983 and 1987. Their flyers read "Our PWA's Need Blood," "Our Boys Need Blood," and "Lesbians: Help Solve an Urgent Crisis in Our Community."<sup>91</sup> There was a multi-organization civil disobedience demonstration from the Women and AIDS Action Alliance to protest the silence about women with AIDS, and the flyer was printed in both English and Spanish.<sup>92</sup> Each of these activities was undertaken by lesbians who had formed organizations such as the Women's Aids Network in San Francisco in 1982.<sup>93</sup> However, this passionate involvement and knowledge did not stop popular, male-led organizations from undermining their service and denying the risks that lesbians faced during the epidemic.<sup>94</sup>

The lesbian community experienced their own internal ideological struggles, and a small number of lesbian separatists did not see HIV/AIDS as a women's issue worth fighting for.<sup>95</sup> Separatists were also hesitant to participate because they had either experienced or feared experiencing sexism from gay men.<sup>96</sup> Until the AIDS epidemic, the gay and lesbian communities were not united, and separatists were not used to working alongside men.<sup>97</sup> However, this was not a universal experience for lesbians, and many of them did not report being discriminated against by gay men.<sup>98</sup> Lesbian activists had a stake in the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Apart from being in a broad community with gay men, some of them lost close friends to AIDS. Although some critics believed that working with AIDS would divide the lesbian community, activists continued to organize in the name of Civil Rights and gay liberation.

Another issue with lesbian separatism was that HIV/AIDS did affect many women, even though their health was not considered. Between 1981 and 1987, around four thousand women were diagnosed with AIDS, and that number rose

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<sup>91</sup> "Blood Drives," 1983–1987, item 9/12, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "Blood Drives," 1983–1987, item 10/12, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "Blood Drives," 1983–1987, item 12/12, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>92</sup> "Women and AIDS," circa 1983–2000, item 12/26, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "Women and AIDS," circa 1983–2000, item 13/26, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>93</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 277.

<sup>94</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 278.

<sup>95</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 21–22.

<sup>96</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 20.

<sup>97</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 19.

<sup>98</sup> Shackelford, "Unsung Heroes," 11.

to over twenty-five thousand by the early 1990s.<sup>99</sup> The women represented in these statistics primarily contracted AIDS through heterosexual contact, and women who engaged in sex work were also a high-risk group.<sup>100</sup> Class, too, contributed to infection rates and access to medical care, and the wage gap between men and women increased the class divide and, therefore, the risk.<sup>101</sup> Concurrently, HIV/AIDS did not only affect heterosexual women. Lesbians were not immune to transmission, and many activists came across HIV-positive lesbians.<sup>102</sup> Some may have developed HIV/AIDS through injection-drug use or blood transfusions.<sup>103</sup> However, there also existed the issue of "coming out," which similarly affected gay men. Some closeted lesbians participated in sex with men, putting them at risk for the virus and leading to improper representation in the statistics. Although lesbians had a low chance of transmitting the virus through sexual activity and contracted it less than men did, HIV/AIDS was still a women's issue worth fighting for, regardless of sexual orientation.

The radical lesbian activists in San Francisco were remarkably responsive to the needs of women of color. Although they did not always occupy the same spaces, their movements crossed over often, and white lesbian activists learned much of their strategies from women of color.<sup>104</sup> They educated themselves with materials from feminist activists and integrated their tactics and rhetoric into their organizational work with HIV/AIDS.<sup>105</sup> The radical lesbian activists who participated in anti-war efforts were also fighting for the sexual liberties of gay people of color in countries outside of the United States.<sup>106</sup> However, this solidarity in lesbian activist spaces did not alleviate the struggles that women of color were facing in the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and black women were dying of AIDS nine times more often than white women in the 1980s.<sup>107</sup> Diane K. Lewis theorizes that this high rate of infection is a direct result of "a government policy of disruption of social services and neglect" in the black community.<sup>108</sup> She also outlines the effects of poverty and injection-drug use in San Francisco on these statistics.<sup>109</sup> Although AIDS may have affected women who were not injection-drug users, they could have encountered male sexual partners who were. The

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<sup>99</sup> "HIV and AIDS—United States, 1981–2000," *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, June 1, 2001, [online](#).

<sup>100</sup> Murphy, "Women with Aids," 72.

<sup>101</sup> Murphy, "Women with Aids," 76.

<sup>102</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 224.

<sup>103</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 225.

<sup>104</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 5.

<sup>105</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 4.

<sup>106</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 7.

<sup>107</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 57.

<sup>108</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 60.

<sup>109</sup> Schneider and Stoller, *Women Resisting AIDS*, 61.

government's intentional silence on the health of women and people of color exacerbated this issue, and prevention strategies for women lagged behind the already delayed response to men's health in the crisis. They did not prioritize research about the early signs of AIDS for women, and clinical trials for treatment favored wealthy white men.<sup>110</sup> As a result, lesbian HIV/AIDS activists had to fight for the visibility of underrepresented communities during the epidemic and challenged both the medical community and the government's notion that HIV/AIDS was not a concern for women.

#### VI. HIV/AIDS Activism by People of Color

Although AIDS disproportionately affected people of color, particularly the black community, they did not receive the same media attention, support from the gay community, financial support, or medical care. By the second year of the epidemic, the black community accounted for 20% of AIDS cases in the United States.<sup>111</sup> In 1983, Latinx people represented 14% of reported HIV cases.<sup>112</sup> The primary reason for their underrepresentation was the media's portrayal of AIDS as a disease of white gay men. Despite being represented in statistics, they were overshadowed in the social understanding of the epidemic. As previously indicated, AIDS research, including clinical trials for medication and treatment, primarily catered to white male subjects. Furthermore, the combination of racism and homophobia they experienced prevented them from being open about their sexuality, and they lacked the visibility of "out" white men.<sup>113</sup> This helps explain the fact why many AIDS cases among people of color were self-identified heterosexuals and closeted men. The conservatism and structural racism of the Reagan administration reinforced the government's historical oppression of people of color.<sup>114</sup> There was an air of distrust for the medical community, which had a long history of ignoring their health. Although the Shanti Project was praised for its volunteer work with AIDS patients, people of color did experience overt racism from some of its employees.<sup>115</sup>

Within the gay community, they also experienced marginalization, even though they shared the experience of being oppressed for their sexuality. According to Jennifer Brier, some of the major gay community organizations themselves "relied on a white gay identity as a universal model for gayness" and neglected the needs of people of color.<sup>116</sup> Some gay men's inability to come out

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<sup>110</sup> Hobson, *Lavender and Red*, 159.

<sup>111</sup> "30 Years of HIV in African American Communities: A Timeline," *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, 2011, [online](#).

<sup>112</sup> "30 Years of HIV in Hispanic/Latino Communities: A Timeline," *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*, 2011, [online](#).

<sup>113</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 7.

<sup>115</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 52.

<sup>116</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 47.

also prevented their participation in openly gay spaces. One of the largest organizations, the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, was largely staffed by white men who were not equipped to understand the intersection of race in the epidemic, even though 24% of its clients were people of color.<sup>117</sup> The S.F.A.F. attempted to correct their lack of diversity by hiring more diverse staff members in the mid-to-late 1980s, but their outreach campaigns still received indifference because their messages were not relatable, and some of their marketing language was offensive.<sup>118</sup>

In response to their lack of representation, or misrepresentation, by white-led organizations, gay men of color initiated their own outreach efforts. The Third World AIDS Advisory Task Force (T.W.A.A.T.F.), which was formed in 1985, was inclusive of all races. Their staff members were well versed on the effects that economics, incarceration, and drugs had on the transmission of AIDS.<sup>119</sup> They worked alongside other organizations, including the Latino Coalition on AIDS and the Black Coalition on AIDS, to reach more people.<sup>120</sup> The T.W.A.A.T.F.'s 1985 brochure used inclusive language that was explicitly designed for women, black, Latinx, Asian, and indigenous queer people. The T.W.A.A.T.F. also held demonstrations and conferences with other AIDS organizations. On April 1, 1989, they helped organize the "People of Color Mobilizing Against AIDS" march.<sup>121</sup> The flyer, printed in both English and Spanish, stated, "AIDS does not discriminate! AIDS can be stopped through education, prevention, and treatment!"

The National Task Force on AIDS Prevention (N.T.F.A.P.), a branch of the organization Black and White Men Together, stands out for its effectiveness. It was initially formed in 1985 by Calu Lester and Reggie Williams.<sup>122</sup> According to their published mission statement, their goal was to create partnerships with other organizations, conduct research, and provide educational workshops.<sup>123</sup> It also stated that "all AIDS education plans...have to be culturally sensitive and appropriately targeted to our communities—even to specific segments within our

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<sup>117</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 63.

<sup>118</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 63–64.

<sup>119</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 48.

<sup>120</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 60.

<sup>121</sup> "People of Color and AIDS," circa 1988–1994, item 9/18, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "People of Color and AIDS," circa 1988–1994, item 10/18, San Francisco LGBT General Subjects Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>122</sup> "History, Goals and Objectives," 1988–1990, item 6/20, The National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>123</sup> "History, Goals and Objectives," 1988–1990, item 2/20, The National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "History, Goals and Objectives," 1988–1990, item 3/20, The National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).



communities." The N.T.F.A.P. aimed to gather volunteers, conduct surveys, and develop a prevention model. However, organizations such as the N.T.F.A.P. initially struggled to gain funding.<sup>124</sup> Although they received a \$1 million CDC grant that would be spread out over five years, federal funding often restricted their actions and their messaging.<sup>125</sup> This was in part due to the Helms Amendment, which stated that federally funded programs could not use sexually explicit advertising and should promote abstinence.<sup>126</sup> After appealing to Nancy Pelosi, the N.T.F.A.P. became classified as a nonprofit, which made it easier to obtain funding.<sup>127</sup>

Despite these struggles, the N.T.F.A.P. successfully advocated for gay men of color in San Francisco. Like many community-based organizations, they began releasing their own pamphlets on AIDS. One was titled "Black Community at Risk."<sup>128</sup> This pamphlet contained information on how AIDS is spread, corrected misinformation about transmission, and listed the warning signs of AIDS. It also included the address and phone number of their AIDS Education Unit in San Francisco. This unit offered presentations, socials, safe-sex workshops, information about legal services, educational materials, and volunteer programs. The N.T.F.A.P. organized a workshop called "Hot, Horny and Healthy!" that was open to everyone but were designed for gay and bisexual men of color.<sup>129</sup> They held support groups and organized retreats to include members in their planning process. The Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Forum, as well as the National Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization, worked alongside the N.T.F.A.P. to hold conferences and develop joint outreach programs. Lastly, they distributed condoms at gay bars that men of color frequented and created informational video kiosks. After the loss of their leader, Reggie Williams, to AIDS in 1999, the organization unfortunately declined due to internal struggles.<sup>130</sup> However, it was a model for addressing the intersection of race and class in community care during the AIDS epidemic, which white-led organizations struggled to confront.

### Conclusion

The responsibility for the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS in San Francisco during the first decade of the epidemic fell largely on the shoulders of the gay

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<sup>124</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 8.

<sup>125</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 49.

<sup>126</sup> Padamsee, "Fighting an Epidemic," 1007.

<sup>127</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 67.

<sup>128</sup> "African American Communities," 1988-1990, item 1/93, National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#). "African American Communities," 1988-1990, item 2/93, National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>129</sup> "History, Goals and Objectives," 1988-1990, item 4/20, The National Task Force on AIDS Prevention, UC San Francisco, Library, Special Collections, *Calisphere*, [online](#).

<sup>130</sup> Royles, *To Make the Wounded Whole*, 71-72.

community. The federal government remained intentionally silent on the crisis due to their prejudices toward marginalized risk groups. Until they were personally affected by the deaths of their own, officials did not act in a timely manner. This resulted in thousands of lives being lost, and by the time they offered aid, it was restrictive and ineffective. The government of San Francisco responded much sooner than the federal government and even appealed to the president to help. They allocated money and resources to education and care, built the first AIDS unit at San Francisco General Hospital, and supported major activist organizations. However, some of their approaches restricted the liberties of the gay community. As a result, the gay community carried much of the burden of caring for the public. They led prevention campaigns, raised money, held demonstrations, and volunteered in healthcare. The white male community organizations had their own shortcomings and often excluded people of color, women, and lesbians from their organizing. In response, women, lesbians, and people of color led their own organizations and initiatives to reach a larger audience with comprehensive education and community care initiatives. Although they are commonly left out of the narrative of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, these groups played a crucial role in caring for their communities and preventing the spread of AIDS.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Nicole Hallenbeck earned a B.A. in History (2019) at San Francisco State University and an M.A. in History/Public History (2022) at California State University Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). The article published here originated in a graduate seminar in American History offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Christian Fuentes

*“And even Marx would not have been able to answer”:  
The Trilateral Relationship between China, Russia, and the United States  
(1989–2022)*

ABSTRACT: *Although the Cold War has been over for more than thirty years, enduring issues have kept the relationship between China, Russia, and the United States at the forefront of international politics. Using government documents, statements, and records from all three nations, as well as accounts from central figures, this essay traces the history of their interactions from the final moments of the Cold War to the 2022 invasion of Ukraine. The author argues that China and Russia have both tried to advance their positions on the world stage without jeopardizing their regional security interests in the face of U.S. power projection.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; China; Russia; United States (U.S.); Xi Jinping; Vladimir Putin; regional security; Taiwan; Ukraine; diplomatic history*

*Introduction*

The 2022 invasion of Ukraine has brought the trilateral relationship between China, Russia, and the United States to the forefront of international politics, reviving the question of whether China and Russia can be considered allies and what implications their cooperation has for U.S. global interests. The Chinese and Russian governments have labeled their cooperation a “strategic partnership,”<sup>1</sup> yet the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) has also used this term to refer to its relations with states like Germany<sup>2</sup> and Australia<sup>3</sup> in recent years, making a more detailed analysis necessary to highlight the unique aspects of Sino-Russian relations that have been developing since the end of the Cold War. Some observers suggest that a Sino-Russian alliance has been consolidated in everything but name and that it is an immediate threat to U.S. interests. However, while notable elements of Sino-Russian cooperation exist and have been developing since relations were restored under Deng Xiaoping and Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989, both nations have, at times, also hesitated to draw too diplomatically close to each other and have made their own cooperative moves with the United States. Therefore, I contend that China and Russia have not drifted into a binding alliance, and that their behavior from 1989 forward has not been part of a joint effort to challenge U.S. hegemony; rather, successive administrations in both nations have sought to improve their position in the global power system while promoting their regional security interests, which has resulted in their unstable, trilateral relationship with the United States.

The invasion of Ukraine is the latest international conflict in which Chinese, Russian, and U.S. interests have converged, one that extends back to Russia’s 2014

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<sup>1</sup> “Putin Congratulates China on National Day,” *People’s Daily*, October 2, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>2</sup> “Spotlight: Innovation, Cooperation Highlight Upgraded Sino-German Partnership,” *People’s Daily*, October 11, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>3</sup> “Chinese, Australian DMs Hold Talks,” *People’s Daily*, October 13, 2014, [online](#).

annexation of Crimea but can even be seen as a ripple effect of the Soviet Union's collapse in 1991. In fact, many of the recent conflicts within the China-Russia-U.S. relationship can be traced back to the Cold War's sudden and unexpected conclusion: Russia's turn toward energy diplomacy, China's international investment and development projects, and the United States' conspicuous yet "unofficial"<sup>4</sup> support of the Taiwanese government. While few scholars contest that certain tensions were still present in Sino-Soviet relations during the final years of the Cold War, the following three decades have presented a complicated picture of shifting policy interests within each country. To make sense of this turbulent dynamic, scholars have continuously examined the distance between each state in the relationship. Is Russia a true ally of China, or have the two merely pursued some mutually beneficial policies? Does the United States see itself as being closer to China due to their significant trade arrangements? The most crucial uncertainty, however, is whether all three will be able to cooperate in the future or if their interests will prove irreconcilable for decades to come.

### *I. Historiography*

From the 1990s onward, two schools of thought have dominated discussions of the China-Russia-U.S. relationship: the Cold War school and the hegemony school. The basis of the assumptions for the former school came from an intersection of cultural studies and Cold War history. After 1991, some scholars chose to analyze the post-Soviet landscape of international politics by focusing on cultural differences, the legacy of the Cold War, and the ways in which all three countries were drifting away from the ideological battle between communism and capitalism. First published in his 1993 article, Samuel P. Huntington's thesis in "The Clash of Civilizations" has had an enduring impact on how the trilateral relationship is framed by political scientists, especially those within the field of international relations. Huntington theorized that cultural norms would collide on a global level and that they would determine where conflicts would occur for the foreseeable future. He believed that, having lost its Soviet mode, Russia was suffering a crisis of identity that would bring it either closer to the culturally unified Western nations or cause it to retreat into self-perceived Russian traditions, and that China could possibly become the dominant cultural identity of East Asia, influencing its neighbors accordingly.<sup>5</sup> In a similar vein, Kristina Spohr used this idea of an East versus West divide in her examination of the Cold War's conclusion and aftermath. Although Spohr noted that Gorbachev was drifting toward shared values with the United States before the fall of the Soviet Union,<sup>6</sup> she and Huntington both saw the overall context of the Cold War and the reassertion of

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<sup>4</sup> "U.S. Relations with Taiwan," *U.S. Department of State*, May 28, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>5</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): 22-49, here 44-47.

<sup>6</sup> Kristina Spohr, *Post Wall, Post Square: How Bush, Gorbachev, Kohl, and Deng Shaped the World After 1989* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 48-51, ProQuest Ebook Central.

national identities that followed it as key to characterizing the later tensions within the trilateral relationship.

Like the Cold War school, the hegemony school suggests that China has been a rising economic and military power for decades and that a geopolitical East-West divide exists. Yet, while these scholars occasionally mention cultural factors and the Cold War, the hegemony school tends to prioritize discussion of hard power concerns. In addition, the school makes two crucial assumptions: one, that states are the primary actors in global politics, which lessens the importance of individual people and administrations; and the other, that China, Russia, and the United States have been moving toward fixed political alignments. Specifically, the school suggests that China and Russia have been natural challengers to a unipolar world system—a liberal hegemony of Western nations wherein the United States is the most dominant. Andrew Kydd, for instance, noted that shared elements of authoritarianism have drawn China and Russia together in opposition to the democratic rhetoric and policy interests of the United States, whom they recognize as the major Western hegemon.<sup>7</sup> John M. Owen tried to complicate this view by suggesting that we should not use the U.S. government as a standard to gauge how close China and Russia have become. Nevertheless, he continues to reference Western liberal hegemony and, therefore, the East and West divide, as if such a distinction is insurmountable.<sup>8</sup>

In my own research, however, I have found the East-West divide to be an inadequate and unnecessary tool for explaining why China-Russia-U.S. relations have progressed to their current status. Scholars from both established schools of thought have used this concept to explain the broad strokes of modern interstate relations, but such discourse begs an unavoidable question: What ultimately determines whether a nation is "Eastern" or "Western?" For Huntington, culture is an essential determinant; yet, when we look at the totality of a nation's foreign policy, domestic conditions, and the divisions that exist within its society, we may find its status too ambiguous to classify. Huntington himself acknowledged the deficiency of his thesis by describing certain countries as exceptions to the divide. He felt, for instance, that Russia's crisis of identity in the early 1990s had made it difficult to tell whether it was an Eastern or Western nation. Similarly, he claimed that Japan had become diplomatically aligned with the West while retaining its own unique cultural identity.<sup>9</sup>

Unlike Huntington, scholars from the hegemony school often seem entirely focused on hard-power dynamics, but the cultural connotations of the East-West divide remain implicit in their application of the concept, especially in their

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Kydd, "Switching Sides: Changing Power, Alliance Choices and US-China-Russia Relations," *International Politics* 57, no. 5 (March 2020): 855–884, here 859.

<sup>8</sup> John M. Owen IV, "Sino-Russian Cooperation Against Liberal Hegemony," *International Politics* 57, no. 5 (10, 2020): 809–833, here 821.

<sup>9</sup> Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations," 27–28.

perceptions of authoritarian state behavior. Such connotations are significant enough that, in my view, scholars should not rely on the East-West divide unless they properly address all dimensions of the concept. Utilization of the divide may be helpful if one is summarizing interactions over a substantial period of time and between many nations, but to use it needlessly could over-generalize the details of a more focused topic.

This essay analyzes the development of the trilateral relationship from 1989 to the present day through the lens of geopolitics. It attempts to circumvent oversimplified perspectives of this topic that rely too heavily upon the concept of an East-West divide. Special attention is given to how the fall of the Soviet Union transformed the relationship, the issue of Taiwanese sovereignty, Russian rhetoric toward Ukraine, and official government documents, particularly treaties and discussions between leaders from all three nations. Naturally, this results in a highly top-down understanding of the international power system, but such an approach is necessary to maintain my focus on diplomacy and the impacts that come from administrative changes. With regard to Chinese and Russian relations, this essay addresses how the two states have supported each other in the realm of international politics while avoiding clear alliance behavior and then question the extent to which this dynamic has been based on their strategic opposition to U.S. global interests. I suggest that the Russian government of today has opted to put its regional security concerns ahead of its plans for economic integration, knowing well that it can lean into growing Chinese institutions without becoming an unconditional ally or puppet of China. As the Chinese economy has grown, adopted ambitious projects like the Belt and Road Initiative, and come under Xi Jinping's leadership, Russia has shared some interests with the nation in order to protect its control of energy resources and its trade connections. Meanwhile, the United States has continually supported foreign policies and stances on human rights violations that oppose Russia and China. I hope to convey all of these interpretations in a manner that focuses on individual leaders and administrations; this allows me to demonstrate where the idea of an East-West divide falls short.

## *II. Transitioning Out of the Cold War*

Gorbachev's visit to Beijing during the 1989 Sino-Soviet summit was a clear attempt to restore relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. A Soviet premier had not come to China since 1959, which elevated the visit from a diplomatic gesture to a signal that Gorbachev and Deng were ready to forge a new sense of affability between their nations. Both leaders expressed a desire to move on from the disputes that had fueled the Sino-Soviet split and fractured the communist world. Despite all of the charged rhetoric that the Soviet Union and China had used to bicker about their ideological differences in the 1960s, Gorbachev now asserted that neither state had ever abandoned the tenets of socialism. Speaking in agreement, Deng implied that both nations had adapted

as best as they could to suit the evolving global political landscape, saying, "And even Marx would not have been able to answer all the questions, which came up after his death."<sup>10</sup> Both men characterized the summit as setting a foundation for their future cooperation, with Deng asserting that relations had "officially" been "normalized."<sup>11</sup> From 1989 onward, communication between the two states became more frequent and sustained, which made security deals more tenable over time. Consequently, China and Russia would go on to make new agreements regarding their disputed borders, a topic that had been a source of antagonism since the Sino-Soviet split and had also been addressed by Deng during the 1989 summit.

Nevertheless, the summit also made it clear that underlying tensions existed between the two leaders. Deng began the meeting by reminding Gorbachev of the "three obstacles" to improved relations that he had enumerated three years prior:<sup>12</sup> the Soviet Union's presence in Afghanistan, its military forces at the Chinese border, and its support for Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. At this point, all three obstacles had been removed; thus, Deng's eagerness to address them could be seen as a provocation of sorts, a suggestion that the Soviet Union had either made concessions to China or that it had failed to project its hard power throughout the decade. Deng went on to characterize some of the Soviet Union's past actions as being part of an imperialist legacy that stretched back to the Opium Wars of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Notably, he mentioned the Soviet Union's acquisition of islands near Khabarovsk, its hand in creating the Mongolian People's Republic using land that China had claimed, and its earlier misperception of "China's place in the world."<sup>14</sup> Finally, Deng also brought up a recent speech that Gorbachev had given in Vladivostok. He believed that the friendly tone of the speech might be signaling a possible "turning point in relations between the USSR and the USA," allowing the two nations to lessen their hostilities for each other.<sup>15</sup> Deng found this matter considerably important since, in his mind, "problems of Soviet-American relations" were "the central questions of international politics."<sup>16</sup> Therefore, this visit was the first in a chain of diplomatic moves that suggested a future of cooperation between China and Russia, but it also hinted at the instability of their relationship. Deng was keeping the Soviet Union at arm's length and was simultaneously wary of its relations with the United States; meanwhile,

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<sup>10</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989, *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, [online](#).

<sup>11</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989.

<sup>12</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989.

<sup>13</sup> "Excerpts from the Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping," May 16, 1989, *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, [online](#).

<sup>14</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989.

<sup>15</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989.

<sup>16</sup> "Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping" (excerpts), May 16, 1989.

Gorbachev seemed to be treading lightly so that he could present a peaceable appearance to the public. Gorbachev's responses were generally measured and cautious, urging for discussion of what might lie ahead rather than of their past interactions. He also made no statements about the ongoing protests at Tiananmen Square, despite the fact that many protestors were trying to appeal to him directly. When students tried to arrange a meeting with Gorbachev by delivering a letter with "6,000 signatures" to the Soviet embassy, the embassy declared that he would eventually speak to the public but gave no details about what that might entail.<sup>17</sup>

The collapse of the Soviet Union only two years after the 1989 Sino-Soviet summit raised many questions about where a post-Soviet Russia would stand in global politics. Significantly, it also inspired a brief period of Russian-American cooperation that seemed to overshadow the relations that Deng and Gorbachev had initiated. Stripped of its communist identity, Russia would endure a major transitional period throughout the 1990s. Initially, this included a high degree of diplomatic openness with the United States. Prior to the Soviet collapse, Gorbachev had already overseen the adoption of the first Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) agreement with the United States, beginning a drastic reduction of their strategic nuclear arsenals, and had joined the United States in supporting United Nations resolutions that opposed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. When Gorbachev was forced out of his leadership position and the Soviet Union ceased to exist, Boris Yeltsin continued this cooperative stance in his presidency, particularly in 1992. Vladimir Lukin, who was Yeltsin's ambassador to the United States, would later characterize that year as one in which his administration had taken a "pro-Russian policy which [was] most effectively achieved through cooperation with the leading Western Power."<sup>18</sup> Thus, at that time, the Yeltsin administration had participated in the initial talks for the START II agreement, which was intended to limit the capabilities of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) for the United States and Russia. It had also become a recipient of aid from the U.S. Freedom Support Act of 1992, which was one of the investments that helped prop up Russia's economy under Yeltsin.<sup>19</sup>

Yet, the ties that were forming between the United States and Russia would begin to dissipate in the latter half of the decade as Yeltsin faced domestic turmoil and China became open to hard power deals with Russia. The Russian Constitutional Crisis of 1993 showed Yeltsin the extent to which the public and parliament had lost faith in his economic reforms, reforms that had been partially buttressed by the foreign aid the country had received in 1992. As a result, Yeltsin realized that aligning himself with the United States was not enough to secure his policies and therefore reverted to more traditional concerns, such as regional

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<sup>17</sup> Spohr, *Post Wall, Post Square*, 48-51.

<sup>18</sup> "Interview and Discussion with Vladimir Lukin," August 13, 2020, *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, [online](#).

<sup>19</sup> Spohr, *Post Wall, Post Square*, 478.



security. In 1996, Yeltsin argued with Clinton regarding the continued development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), though both leaders agreed to present a facade of mutual understanding to the press.<sup>20</sup> The lack of progress regarding the decrees of START II came to indicate the shift in Russia's attitude toward the United States. Despite successful deliberations and its acceptance by both parties, the START II treaty was never actually implemented and would be abandoned completely in the 2000s. START II came at the end of a series of hard power deals between the United States and Russia, but its failure to produce any tangible results showed that the Yeltsin administration had already begun to de-prioritize U.S. relations by the second half of the decade.

As previously discussed, the new Russian government had become split between countless concerns at the start of the 1990s as it struggled to regain stability. The C.C.P., however, had held onto power in spite of public unrest, and its policy interests therefore found much continuity with its third generation of leadership. The C.C.P. had therefore maintained a heavy focus on its regional security concerns, particularly with regard to Taiwan, making it no surprise when tensions began to flare up in the South China Sea. In 1996, Chinese missile tests provoked the mobilization of American ships, creating a tense standoff between the two governments now known as the Third Taiwan Strait Crisis. Just one month after this standoff, the Chinese General Secretary, Jiang Zemin, traveled to Russia and signed a joint statement announcing the two nations' "partnership of strategic coordination...oriented toward the twenty-first century."<sup>21</sup> In the aftermath of the crisis, it became clear that China and Russia shared a mutual frustration with U.S. power projection due to their respective regional security concerns. For the remainder of the decade, the two states kept engaging diplomatically to signal this, which was reflected by their criticism of "attempts to enlarge and strengthen military blocs" like NATO and their praise of "regional peace" and "multipolarization" in a 1997 joint declaration.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, it seems that the cooling of relations between Russia and the United States gave Jiang the perfect opportunity to increase relations with Russia in the late 1990s, thereby responding to increased U.S. military presence in the South China Sea.

### III. The Dawn of a New Century

Changes in the Chinese and Russian administrations near the turn of the century ushered in another shift in relations that seemed to mirror the circumstances of the early 1990s. Vladimir Putin maintained amiable relations with China, but he was more focused on a reconciliation with the United States and Western Europe;

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<sup>20</sup> "Summary Report on One-on-One Meeting Between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin, May 10, 1995, 10:10 A.M.-1:19 P.M., St. Catherine's Hall, The Kremlin," *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, [online](#).

<sup>21</sup> "China and Russia: Partnership of Strategic Coordination," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, copyright 1998-2014, [online](#).

<sup>22</sup> "Russian-Chinese Joint Declaration on a Multipolar World and the Establishment of a New International Order, Adopted in Moscow on 23 April 1997," *United Nations Digital Library*, [online](#).

therefore, Putin was taking a stance that was very similar to the one that Yeltsin had taken at the beginning of his tenure. The Russian government avoided making a significant petroleum deal with China and instead searched for opportunities to build energy infrastructure for the United States and nations within its sphere of influence.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, in 2001, Jiang used the eightieth anniversary of the C.C.P.'s founding to take a less aggressive view of the global political landscape. Though he emphasized the memory of the imperial oppression that China had fallen victim to in the nineteenth century, as Deng and Mao had done before him, he was careful not to specify which "Western nations" had been at fault, and unlike Deng, he steered clear of discussing twentieth-century foreign conflicts that pertained to the trilateral relationship.<sup>24</sup> He also made no mention of the United States in any capacity and only mentioned Russia during his brief reference to the Russian Revolution. His most important talking points were all limited to the domestic development of China. The C.C.P. was not necessarily withdrawing from global affairs, but now that the Taiwan issue had become stable again, China was not eager to threaten the status quo that had emerged in the trilateral relationship.

Just as had happened in the transition from the early to late 1990s, however, China and Russia were once again drawn together by issues of regional security. Any expectations that Putin had for the Russia-U.S. relationship were gradually abandoned as revolutions in Eastern Europe heightened his concerns about NATO; his administration even seemed to believe that the United States had used its dominant position in Europe to cause the turmoil.<sup>25</sup> Simultaneously, Taiwan had remained a critical concern for China even as it de-prioritized the improvement of Sino-Russian relations. As mentioned previously, Jiang had generally been careful to avoid discussing recent foreign conflicts at the 2001 C.C.P. anniversary, yet he abandoned all caution when speaking about Taiwan. Thus, only five years after its serious confrontation with the United States in the region, he characterized the idea of a reunification with Taiwan as a "trend that no one and no force can stop."<sup>26</sup> In addition, Russia and China signed another treaty of cooperation in 2001. Unlike their former declaration in 1997, it did not emphasize multipolarization and therefore took a comparatively less hostile attitude toward perceived U.S. hegemony. However, neither country had changed its stance on the regional security issues that had been highlighted in 1997. This 2001 treaty reiterated their antagonism toward military blocs and their focus on regional peace, but also gave Russia an opportunity to unequivocally denounce

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<sup>23</sup> Artyom Lukin, "Soviet/Russian-China Relations: Coming Full Circle, in *Uneasy Partnerships: China's Engagement with Japan, the Koreas, and Russia in the Era of Reform*, ed. Thomas Fingar (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 189–218, here 199, ProQuest Ebook Central.

<sup>24</sup> "Jiang Zemin's Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Part of China," July 1, 2001, *china.org.cn*, [online](#).

<sup>25</sup> Lukin, "Soviet/Russian-China Relations," 199–200.

<sup>26</sup> "Jiang Zemin's Speech," July 1, 2001, *china.org.cn*.

the concept of Taiwanese sovereignty.<sup>27</sup> China and Russia continued to share a great interest in keeping neighboring regions within their respective spheres of influence. By 2005, Russia and China had begun to use their positions in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (S.C.O.) to denounce the United States' military reach in Central Asia.<sup>28</sup>

Although both countries had shown clear unease with regard to their regional security situations, China had taken an arguably harder stance than Russia due to its over fifty-year focus on Taiwan. This changed in 2014 with the annexation of Crimea. Suddenly, Russia had become willing to use direct military intervention in order to maintain what little influence it had over Europe: its control of oil and gas resources. In an attempt to legitimize the annexation, Putin claimed that the action had been taken because of Crimea's "ethnic Russian majority,"<sup>29</sup> though his rhetoric eventually evolved to the point that he implied that Russians and Ukrainians are one people,<sup>30</sup> similar to how the C.C.P. has characterized the people of Taiwan as being part of China. Nevertheless, China had not actually attacked Taiwan since 1958, making true conflict in the region a distant memory. The Putin administration, on the other hand, had thrown caution to the wind. This single military operation was enough to threaten Russia's relationship with much of the international community and result in the rapid deployment of sanctions from countries like the United States. However, even if the new Xi Jinping administration did not wholly agree with the annexation, it still saw the conflict as an opportunity to "upgrade" its strategic partnership with Russia in hopes of securing future energy and regional security deals and also to reduce the amount of pressure that the United States could put on its tactically important neighbor.<sup>31</sup>

#### IV. The Issue of Ukraine

With the 2022 invasion of Ukraine, it has become clear that, within the trilateral relationship, the Russian government is currently the most willing to challenge perceived notions of regional stability in order to support its security interests. As a result, the United States has made its rhetoric against Russia increasingly hostile and has doubled down on the strategy that it used during the annexation of Crimea: the deployment of sanctions. The U.S. government has characterized these sanctions as being part of an "unprecedented action" that "will have a deep and

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<sup>27</sup> "Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation," July 24, 2001, [online](#).

<sup>28</sup> Lukin, "Soviet/Russian-China Relations," 201.

<sup>29</sup> "Russian President of the State of Russia's Economy: Excerpts from a Press Conference Held by Russian President Vladimir Putin on December 18, 2014, on the State of Russia's Economy," in *Historic Documents of 2014*, ed. Heather Kerrigan (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2015), 627-636, here 634.

<sup>30</sup> "Address by President of the Russian Federation," *The Kremlin*, March 18, 2014, [online](#).

<sup>31</sup> Pavel K. Baev, "Three Turns in the Evolution of China-Russia Presidential Pseudo-Alliance," *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies* 6, no. 1 (October 2018): 4-18, here 6-7.

long-lasting effect on the Russian economy and financial system."<sup>32</sup> Yet, even though the Biden administration has fervently defended this response to Russian aggression, it cannot escape concerns regarding the third member of the trilateral relationship, China.

The Putin administration's unflinching commitment to its militant approach has created a strange diplomatic battle in which the United States and Russia have both pushed China to take a definitive stance on the conflict, but the C.C.P. has carefully avoided doing so. While the C.C.P. has neither supported nor denounced Russia, it "maintains that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries must be respected."<sup>33</sup> Political commentators have noted that China is supporting Ukrainian sovereignty so that it does not contradict its own stance on Taiwan. The C.C.P. wants to discourage other nations from challenging its claim of sovereignty over the island. Yet, only one month after the C.C.P.'s previous statement, the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister declared that the C.C.P. would pursue deeper cooperation with Russia despite any changes to the international landscape. In response, Russia's ambassador to China stated that increasing ties with the C.C.P. was the Putin administration's "diplomatic priority."<sup>34</sup> The two nations have therefore expressed a mutual desire to not halt the progress that their relationship has seen since its status was upgraded in 2014.

China's strained attempt to remain neutral in the conflict has been met with displeasure from U.S. President Joseph Biden. Though the Biden administration has boasted that "more than 30 allies and partners have levied the most impactful...restrictions in history" against Russia,<sup>35</sup> the effectiveness of this collective action will be threatened if China moves toward an explicitly pro-Russian stance. As a result, the U.S. government has repeatedly warned China against aiding Russia's invasion efforts. Biden has implied that any Chinese "material support" for the Kremlin's goals in Ukraine will provoke a retaliatory response from his administration, a point that he stressed in his April video call with Xi.<sup>36</sup> Yet such rhetoric does not seem to have intimidated Xi. The Chinese president responded by claiming that Ukraine and Russia are both in need of support during this difficult period.<sup>37</sup> His statement paints both nations as victims

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<sup>32</sup> "U.S. Treasury Announces Unprecedented & Expansive Sanctions Against Russia, Imposing Swift and Severe Economic Costs," *U.S. Department of the Treasury*, February 24, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>33</sup> "Yang Jiechi Expounds China's Position of the Ukraine Situation," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, March 15, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>34</sup> "Vice Foreign Minister Le Yucheng Meets with Russian Ambassador to China Andrey Ivanovich Denisov," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, April 19, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>35</sup> "Fact Sheet: United States, G7 and EU Impose Severe and Immediate Costs on Russia," *The White House*, April 6, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>36</sup> "Readout of President Joseph R. Biden Jr. Call with President Xi Jinping of the People's Republic of China," *The White House*, March 18, 2022, [online](#).

<sup>37</sup> "President Xi Jinping Has a Video Call with U.S. President Joe Biden," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, March 19, 2022, [online](#).

of the conflict, which is a rational conclusion when one considers that the Ukrainian and Russian forces have both suffered heavy casualties, but it certainly downplays the Kremlin's role in planning, mobilizing, and initiating the invasion of its neighbor and, by extension, ignores Biden's view of Russia as the clear aggressor. In the same meeting, Xi insisted that the United States had "sent a wrong signal to 'Taiwan independence' forces," and asserted that the issue could stifle bilateral relations.<sup>38</sup> His straightforward jab at the issue of Taiwan, an issue he recognizes as one of the most pressing feuds between the United States and China, comes at a moment of incredible tension for the overall trilateral relationship. It is unclear whether the C.C.P. views the invasion of Ukraine as a possible catalyst for another standoff over Taiwan. It is likely, however, that President Xi sees China as being in a similar position to the one it was in after the 2014 annexation of Crimea. For the second time, China finds itself not wholly agreeing with Russian aggression but fully aware of how such aggression could rebalance the trilateral relationship. Still, while Russia's role as a tactically important neighbor has not changed, the United States remains one of China's most lucrative trading partners. Under these circumstances, the C.C.P.'s neutral stance is essentially acting as a diplomatic failsafe to ensure that neither Russia nor the United States can derail China's quest for regional security.

### *Conclusion*

Though the trilateral relationship has long been the subject of intense speculation, much of which has portrayed Sino-Russian cooperation as being founded on an opposition to U.S. hegemony, a broader perspective of these nations' diplomatic behavior reveals a more complicated picture. The alignments between China, Russia, and the United States have not remained stable throughout the past thirty-three years, nor have they been predetermined by an intrinsic East-West divide. China and Russia have both altered their rhetoric and their approaches to hard power in pursuit of favorable positions within the global political landscape. Russia in particular has switched back and forth between heightened cooperation with either the United States or China in the hopes of gaining leverage within the trilateral relationship. On the occasions where China and Russia have taken rigid stances against the United States, they have typically done so to promote their regional security interests. In other realms of cooperation, such as economic and military deals, there has continually been a great deal of ambiguity and opportunism. Thus, one should refrain from believing that the development of a full Sino-Russian alliance is inevitable. Additionally, we should not assume that some insurmountable boundary has kept Chinese or Russian interests from converging with U.S. interests in recent history.

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<sup>38</sup> "President Xi Jinping Has a Video Call with U.S. President Joe Biden," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*, March 19, 2022.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: *Christian Fuentes of West Covina, California, earned a B.A. in History with a minor in Creative Writing (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). The essay published here originated in a seminar on Contemporary China offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Isaiah Colton Thompson

*Widen the Cypher:  
Hip Hop Studies in America and Its Relevance to Historians*

**ABSTRACT:** *This essay explores the utility of history for the field of hip hop studies. It positions early hip hop scholarship as narratives from below, investigates the role of hip hop as a means of communicating memory, and offers insights for future research possibilities. It surveys the works of Patricia Rose, Jeff Chang, Derrick Alridge, and Pero Gaglo Dagbovie. Collectively, these authors suggest the potential for viewing hip hop through history and history through hip hop. The essay argues that historians are largely absent from the developing field of hip hop studies but that their voices would only enrich this already vibrant area of research.*

**KEYWORDS:** *modern history; United States (U.S.); Civil Rights movement; South Bronx; DJ Kool Herc; African American history; hip hop; rap music; cultural history; hip hop studies*

*Introduction*

The beat of hip hop is marching to its own drum, stomping through every border, barrier, and brogue. It fills the airwaves of FM stations; it appears on youth culture playlists; and it is performed at highly attended and celebrated events.<sup>1</sup> Hip hop is a global phenomenon. As a genre, its reach is pervasive, influencing nearly every culture and finding expression on every continent. From Polish hip hop to Ukrainian rap, from Brazilian rhymes to London freestyles, from Turkish raps performed in Berlin to lyrical flows emerging from Canada, even from Chinese songs to African rhymes, hip hop is widespread, and it shows no signs of halting its progress anytime soon.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to say how it will further develop, but scholars are beginning to explore just how it began.

The study of hip hop is certainly gaining academic traction. The established *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* and the recent *Global Hip Hop Studies* journal reveal the growing academic interest in the culture of hip hop. What began as a subject of investigation for a few scholars trudging off the beaten path has now expanded to a wide trail, attracting many travelers. Ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, and

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<sup>1</sup> The 2022 Superbowl half-time show consisted entirely of hip hop performances from Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg, Eminem, Mary J. Blige, Kendrick Lamar, 50 Cent, and Anderson .Paak.

<sup>2</sup> For global hip hop studies, see Alena Gray Aniskiewicz, "Cultural Remix: Polish Hip-Hop and the Sampling of Heritage" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2019); Adriana N. Helbig, *Hip Hop Ukraine: Music, Race, and African Migration* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); Derek Pardue, *Ideologies of Marginality in Brazilian Hip Hop* (New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); Richard Bramwell, *UK Hip-Hop, Grime and the City: The Aesthetics and Ethics of London's Rap Scenes* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Ayhan Kaya, *Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2001); Rebecca J. Haines, "Break North: Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture in Canada," in *Ethnicity, Politics, and Public Policy: Case Studies in Canadian Diversity*, ed. Harold Troper and Morton Weinfeld (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 54–88; Xuan Wang, "'I Am Not a Qualified Dialect Rapper': Constructing Hip-Hop Authenticity in China," *Sociolinguistic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2012): 333–372; and Birgit Englert, "Africa Raps Back: Reflections on Hip Hop from Tanzania and South Africa," in *Crossing Borders: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Africa*, ed. Anne Schröder (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2004), 77–97.

academics of critical theory are all probing the meaning, occurrence, and cultural significance of hip hop. But like the genre—which has its own foundational contributors—the scholarship of hip hop studies has an original cast of thinkers that have highly influenced the now maturing field.

### I. Scholarship

The most widely praised work in hip hop studies, though by no means the earliest, is *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (1994) by Tricia Rose, a professor of Africana Studies at Brown University. The work itself is highly interdisciplinary or “polyvocal” in nature, according to the author’s description.<sup>3</sup> In her introduction, Rose outlines the multiple theoretical tones contributing to her unique voice. Her work’s underpinnings include “Black cultural theory, urban history, personal experiences, Black feminism, and theories that explore working-class oppositional practices.”<sup>4</sup> In addition to these applied theoretical lenses, Rose presents a diverse range of aims. She remarks that “*Black Noise* examines the complex and contradictory relationships between forces of racial and sexual domination, Black cultural priorities, and popular resistance in contemporary rap music.”<sup>5</sup> Although Rose explores various subtopics, she never strays from her prime concern—hip hop.

*Black Noise* is a foundational work for scholars investigating the genre of rap music, but it lacks a strictly historical take on hip hop. This is no surprise. Rose generously admits that she makes “no claims to offer a complete history of rap music.”<sup>6</sup> Scholars often cite another work alongside *Black Noise* that provides a more thorough history. *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (2005) by journalist and historian Jeff Chang is the leading history of hip hop in America to date.<sup>7</sup> However, this work is somewhat of an anomaly in academic circles. The book is a popular history, regularly assigned for high school reading. But it also appears on the personal library shelves of hip hop academics, and for good reason. Chang’s work is mostly built upon interviews with foundational hip hop influencers. As a journalist with a graduate degree in Asian American Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles, Chang has written a history of hip hop that has gone unquestioned and unrivaled—even by academics—since its debut. In fact, there is no other work of comparable extent that covers the early developments of hip hop.<sup>8</sup> Any serious historiography of hip hop must include

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<sup>3</sup> Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and the Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, xiv.

<sup>5</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, xii.

<sup>6</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, xii.

<sup>7</sup> Jeff Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (New York: Picador, 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Derrick P. Alridge and James B. Stewart, “Introduction: Hip Hop in History: Past, Present, and Future,” *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 190–195, here 191,



this work, even with the unique challenges presented to scholars who recognize Chang's work as nonacademic.

In addition to *Black Noise* and *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, several journal articles present informative studies on hip hop. In his work titled "From Civil Rights to Hip Hop: Toward a Nexus of Ideas" (2005), Derrick Alridge, professor of Education at the University of Virginia, examines the historically complex relationship between Civil Rights leaders and hip hop pioneers.<sup>9</sup> He articulates how both generations hold similar values but offer divergent expressions and commitments. His work is suggestive of bridging the ideological gap that often leaves either group on oppositional terrain. In the same journal, Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, a historian at Michigan State University, presents a study exploring hip hop's connection to the legacy of Black history (also 2005).<sup>10</sup> He demonstrates how Black history is reimagined in the time stamps of rap songs and hip hop culture. Surveying lyrics and magazines, he highlights themes of Black history presented in the creative production of rap music, revealing how admired artists often assume the role of public or popular historian.

Collectively, these four distinct works (i.e., by Rose, Chang, Alridge, and Dagbovie) contribute to the developing discourse within hip hop studies, and they demonstrate the relevance and resourcefulness of engaging this genre through history. As a diverse area of inquiry, hip hop studies usually lends history a contributing role, but it rarely takes center stage in the scholarly discussion. In what follows, I provide a historiographical review of these four works, detailing the emergence and historical significance of this globally evolving genre – hip hop. But before anything can be said about its international reach, one must first appreciate its initial rise. Those early figures who sparked a global movement from the Black and Puerto Rican Bronx culture of the 1970s are captured in the works mentioned above, the works to which I now turn.

## II. From Urban Ruin to Artistic Rumbles

The history of hip hop is often presented as a history from below. Rose's scholarship and Chang's historical narrative describe hip hop's genesis as a cultural response emerging from the dark social reality of a New York urban setting – the South Bronx, the original "home of hip hop culture."<sup>11</sup> Chang alludes to this dim existence with his description of New York City's 1977 blackout. He writes that "after dark on July 13, as if an invisible hand were snuffing them, the

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praise Chang's monograph as a historical contribution, stating that "Chang's work offers an oral and narrative history of hip hop and is destined to become a classic in the field of hip hop studies."

<sup>9</sup> Derrick P. Alridge, "From Civil Rights to Hip Hop: Toward a Nexus of Ideas," *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 226–252.

<sup>10</sup> Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, "'Of All Our Studies, History Is Best Qualified to Reward Our Research': Black History's Relevance to the Hip Hop Generation," *The Journal of African American History* 90, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 299–323.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 30.

streetlights blew out. The city had plunged into a blackout.”<sup>12</sup> The result was complete disarray, especially in the South Bronx. Vandalism, fires, and public disorder swept through the neighborhood. Residents suffered losses; onlookers voiced concern. Rose writes that, “in the national imagination, the South Bronx became the primary ‘symbol of America’s woes.’”<sup>13</sup> The Bronx borough emerged as a dead-end road of social breakdown in the minds of America. According to Rose, “depictions of Black and Hispanic neighborhoods were drained of life, energy, and vitality. The message was loud and clear: to be stuck here was to be lost.”<sup>14</sup> The South Bronx, according to Chang and Rose, was perceived as a backward urban center with little hope for social or economic revitalization.

The 1977 blackout brought national light to the lower-class miseries of the Bronx, but it failed to expose the ties between the spiraling urban situation and the upper-class interests of city planners. Between 1930 and 1960, city officials restructured the Bronx. As Rose explains, Robert Moses, “a very powerful city planner,” introduced a Cross-Bronx Expressway that “cut directly through the center of the most heavily populated working class areas in the Bronx.”<sup>15</sup> During its implementation, over 50,000 homes were demolished and 170,000 residents relocated.<sup>16</sup> Business owners closed their shops and moved with the northward flow of “white-flight” migration.<sup>17</sup> Rose states that “Black and Hispanic residents in the South Bronx were left with few city resources, fragmented leadership, and limited political power.”<sup>18</sup> The construction of the expressway—imagined to connect wide populations—served to isolate the South Bronx and dismantle its social, economic, and political resources. The pathways of upper-class planning hampered the highways of lower-class mobility.

The reordering of the South Bronx stunted the social capital of its youth culture. The younger generation witnessed the deindustrialization of their neighborhoods, inherited communities drained of economic relief, and lived in a dizzying reality of urban decay. Few options for upward mobility existed. As a result of the fractured climate, many joined gangs in the hopes of finding stability. The South Bronx morphed from a topographic order of streets and landmarks to a concrete jungle of gangs and in-group territory. From the Savage Skulls in the south to the Turbans in the east, the Bronx was a gang landscape structured according to rivalry and power.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 33.

<sup>15</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 31.

<sup>16</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 31.

<sup>18</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 43.

Hip hop surfaced in response to the deteriorating urban setting brought on by New York City planners, and it served as a vehicle for reconfiguring the possibilities of urban reality. According to Rose, “life on the margins of postindustrial urban America is inscribed in hip hop style, sound, lyrics, and thematics.”<sup>20</sup> Hip hop created new social pathways that transformed the seemingly stagnant setting of the South Bronx. Rose writes that “hip hop replicates and reimagines the experiences of urban life and symbolically appropriates urban space through sampling, attitude, dance, style, and sound effects.”<sup>21</sup> She further states that “hip hop gives voice to the tensions and contradictions in the public urban landscape during a period of substantial transformation in New York and attempts to seize the shifting urban terrain, to make it work on behalf of the dispossessed.”<sup>22</sup> Hip hop, according to Rose, transformed the Bronx from a borough of ruins to a canvas of artistic possibility.

### III. Hip Hop's "Seven-Mile Cipher"

Hip hop was expressed visually, physically, and sonically throughout the South Bronx. More than a genre, it developed as a sub-culture consisting of several artistic features. Rose identifies hip hop as an “African-American and Afro-Caribbean youth culture composed of graffiti, breakdancing, and rap music.”<sup>23</sup> She argues that these “central forms...developed in relation to one another and in relation to the larger society.”<sup>24</sup> Chang presents a similar perspective on the elemental forms of hip hop culture when writing about an early hip hop influencer, Afrika Bambaataa, who perceived hip hop as consisting of “DJing, MCing, b-boying, and Graffiti Writing.”<sup>25</sup> These separate expressions coalesced to transform the urban setting. Graffiti writers decorated abandoned buildings with unique designs; b-boys clothed concrete slabs with flattened cardboard to perform innovative dance maneuvers; and DJs plugged in sound systems to the once darkened streetlights, powering their speakers, and performing new musical expressions using turntables and techniques of sampling, scratching, and looping.<sup>26</sup>

The DJs were the earliest champions of the hip hop movement. Chang describes the DJ as “the king of the party.”<sup>27</sup> They served as a communal rallying

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<sup>20</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 21.

<sup>21</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 22.

<sup>22</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 22.

<sup>23</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 27

<sup>25</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, 90.

<sup>26</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 51, writes that DJs plugged their equipment directly into street lights: “early DJs would connect their turntables and speakers to any available electrical [sic] source, including street lights, turning public parks and streets into impromptu parties and community centers.”

<sup>27</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, 132.

point, bringing together the hip hop conglomeration of rap, graffiti, and breakdance. As Rose asserts, “in the earliest stages, DJs were the central figures in hip hop; they supplied the break beats for breakdancers and the soundtrack for graffiti crew socializing.”<sup>28</sup> DJs soon emerged as public figures, and they altered the concrete terrain. Rose states that “DJs battled for territories.”<sup>29</sup> The once gang-defined zones of Bronx neighborhoods were revised into a map of DJ influence. DJs came to represent the north, south, east, and west Bronx.

The king of the block was the master of the turntable, and the first musical monarch was a Jamaican-born DJ—Kool Herc. Clive Campbell, eventually known for his stage name Kool Herc, had arrived in New York in 1967 at the age of twelve.<sup>30</sup> As an immigrant from Kingston, Jamaica, Herc was influenced by the tunes and culture of reggae. Chang tells how “DJ Kool Herc spent his earliest childhood years in the same Second Street yard that had produced Bob Marley.”<sup>31</sup> This supports Chang’s claim that Jamaica’s “story is the prelude to the hip-hop generation.”<sup>32</sup> Herc embodies the transition from reggae to hip hop. In the context of Bronx culture, he pioneered new musical performances. His claim to fame stems from his innovative technique called “the Merry-Go-Round.”<sup>33</sup> As Chang describes, “Herc began to work two copies of the same record, back-cueing a record to the beginning of the break as the other reached the end, extending a five-second [instrumental beat] breakdown into a five-minute loop fury.”<sup>34</sup> The beat break became the rhythm of the break dancers, the music of the rappers, and the soundtrack of the graffiti artists.

Herc’s influence sparked a wave of postindustrial art from the underside of cultural influence. As Chang observes, “an enormous amount of creative energy was now ready to be released from the bottom of American society, and the staggering implications of this moment eventually would echo around the world.”<sup>35</sup> But before hip hop went global, it first extended beyond its “seven-mile cipher.”<sup>36</sup> Hip hop pushed against its confinement, creating new pathways of cultural and social exchange. The previously isolated Bronx morphed into a hub of artistic export. Chang describes how live performance cassette tapes of DJ parties “passed hand-to-hand in the Black and Latino neighborhoods of Brooklyn, the Lower East Side, Queens and Long Island’s Black Belt.”<sup>37</sup> The music was

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<sup>28</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 51.

<sup>29</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 53.

<sup>30</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 72.

<sup>31</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 79.

<sup>34</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 79.

<sup>35</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 82–83.

<sup>36</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 127.

<sup>37</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 127–128.

spread by “OJ Cabs that took folks across the city,” according to Chang.<sup>38</sup> Rose also charts the dispersion of hip hop, stating that “it was not long before similarly marginalized Black and Hispanic communities in other cities picked up on the tenor and energy in New York hip hop.”<sup>39</sup> What had begun in the South Bronx was soon witnessed in Chicago, Atlanta, Miami, Houston, and all the way on the other end of the country in Los Angeles.<sup>40</sup> In the short span of a decade, the South Bronx not only transformed itself; it also altered the artistic tone of the nation.

#### *IV. Hip Hop’s Prelude: Black History and Civil Rights*

Hip hop certainly presented new creative expressions, but some rejected this artistic cultural phenomenon. Activists from the Civil Rights era challenged the hip hop trend. According to Chang, “the elders spend a lot of time talking about the glories of the Civil Rights movement, while dismissing the hip-hop generation.”<sup>41</sup> Derrick Alridge’s work on hip hop and the Civil Rights movement considers the divide between the two generations. Like Chang, Alridge asserts that “some activists and scholars of the Civil Rights era criticize the hip hop generation for failing to carry on the struggles of the [Civil Rights movement].”<sup>42</sup> He further suggests that “the two generations have, for the most part, been skeptical, if not outright suspicious of one another, and scholars have tended to portray them in opposition and conflict.”<sup>43</sup> Civil Rights activists perceive hip hop artists as dismissive, and hip hop artists view Civil Rights activists as out of touch with present concerns.

Regardless of their differences, the two generations share many similarities. In his work, Alridge’s expressed aim is to “help the hip hop and Civil Rights generations recognize their common ideology and goals and help facilitate a discourse grounded in a history of ideas found among both generations.”<sup>44</sup> Alridge presents several points that unify the two generations, but his strongest argument centers on African-American self-determination. Stretching back to the transatlantic African diaspora, the author argues that “historically, African Americans’ desire to control their own destinies can easily be traced to the first Africans who resisted enslavement during the Middle Passage and later in North and South America.”<sup>45</sup> This unique self-determination is historically articulated musically. Alridge points out how Blacks used Spirituals and secular music to voice critique against societal structures of injustice. The Blues also served a

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<sup>38</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 127.

<sup>39</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 60.

<sup>40</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 60.

<sup>41</sup> Chang, *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop*, 215.

<sup>42</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 227.

<sup>43</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 227.

<sup>44</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 228.

<sup>45</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 234.

similar function. He argues that this musical form “developed into an epistemology for understanding and articulating Black oppression.”<sup>46</sup> Alridge draws a direct link between the self-determination sung in the Spirituals and Blues and its appearance in hip hop. As he puts it, “hip hop, like the Spirituals...and the Blues emerged from the oppression of African Americans and people of color.”<sup>47</sup> The Spirituals of the Civil Rights movement and the hip hop of youth culture both serve as rallying points for protesting structures of power and racial inequality, and they both stem from the tradition of Black history.

Hip hop is not merely an extension of Black history; it also operates as a reflection and expression of historical memory. Pero Gaglo Dagbovie’s work on history and hip hop highlights this reality. As he claims, many rap artists “make passing references to Black history in their rhymes, videos, and self-presentation.”<sup>48</sup> Their music serves as a cultural touchpoint, inviting youth to interact with history. Musical themes generally revolve around individuals and broad ideas instead of specific events. According to Dagbovie, Black activist Malcolm X (1925–1965) receives extended attention from the hip hop community. Dagbovie suggests that the 1992 Spike Lee film on Malcolm X likely generated this widespread historical interest among American youth.<sup>49</sup> The film’s influence resulted in increased references to Malcolm in rap music, curating a particular hip hop historicity. Malcolm is not the only figure appearing in rap lyrics. Songs and music videos include references to other figures and groups relevant to Black history,<sup>50</sup> including Rosa Parks,<sup>51</sup> the Black Panthers,<sup>52</sup> Harriet Tubman,<sup>53</sup> Frederick Douglass,<sup>54</sup> Clayton Powell, Jr.,<sup>55</sup> and Marcus Garvey.<sup>56</sup> Hip hop provides a unique cultural form of memorializing the past. While history certainly shaped hip hop, rap artists are using their music to mold historical memory.

#### *V. Particular Beginnings and Universal Ends*

Hip hop scholars generally interpret rap music as a cultural and historical response to hegemony. This musical movement is thus distinguished as a form of protest against America’s prevailing trends of power. As Rose articulates, “rappers are constantly taking dominant discursive fragments and throwing them

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<sup>46</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 234.

<sup>47</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 235.

<sup>48</sup> Dagbovie, ““Of All Our Studies,” 301.

<sup>49</sup> Dagbovie, ““Of All Our Studies,” 304.

<sup>50</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 229–230.

<sup>51</sup> Civil Rights activist (1913–2005).

<sup>52</sup> Black Panther Party (founded 1966).

<sup>53</sup> American abolitionist (unknown date of birth; died 1913).

<sup>54</sup> American abolitionist and preacher (1818–1895).

<sup>55</sup> American Baptist pastor (1908–1972).

<sup>56</sup> Activist and Black nationalist (1887–1940).

into relief, destabilizing hegemonic discourses and attempting to legitimate counterhegemonic interpretations.”<sup>57</sup> Hip hop is the counternarrative to American self-perception. It speaks out against the accepted norms and structures of society. According to Alridge, some forms of hip hop “critique U.S. capitalism, imperialism, racism, and globalization” while also presenting lyrical scrutiny against “discrimination, prejudice, and oppression.”<sup>58</sup> Hip hop is the soundtrack of the underprivileged, the underappreciated, and the historically underrepresented populations of America.

Hip hop is the song of protest, but hip hop scholars voice their own objections against the genre. Instead of offering a purely descriptive work, Rose often comments on hip hop’s shortcomings, especially relating to its crude chauvinism. She writes, “I am thoroughly frustrated but not surprised by the apparent need for some rappers to craft elaborate and creative stories about the abuse and domination of young Black women.”<sup>59</sup> She traces the roots of lyrical misogyny in the broader music industry. The “corporate culture of the music business” encourages sexism.<sup>60</sup> According to Rose, women in the music industry often require support from male “superiors,” without which they are dismissed, receive less pay, and gain little respect.<sup>61</sup> Rose’s style of open critique is witnessed in later hip hop scholarship. Dagbovie advocates for increased historical awareness among hip hop artists, asserting that the overall genre of hip hop is failing to educate the general audience on Black history.<sup>62</sup> He predicts generational transformation through collaborative work between historians and artists.<sup>63</sup> For both Rose and Dagbovie, hip hop is more than a subject of study. It is a landscape of creative opportunity and open appraisal.

Hip hop is also Black. Arguably, Rose’s most impactful contribution to hip hop scholarship hinges on her claim that “rap music is a Black cultural expression that prioritizes Black voices from the margins of urban America.”<sup>64</sup> According to Rose, the cultural and artistic expression of hip hop flows out of the experience of Black humanity. Rose explicitly assigns the ownership of hip hop to Black culture. She perceives rap music as “Black America’s most dynamic contemporary popular cultural, intellectual, and spiritual vessel.”<sup>65</sup> The historical context and emergence of hip hop merit this claim. However, hip hop is not confined to the Black community alone. Rose points out hip hop’s collective implications for society. She

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<sup>57</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 102.

<sup>58</sup> Alridge, “From Civil Rights to Hip Hop,” 226.

<sup>59</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 15.

<sup>60</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 16.

<sup>61</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 16.

<sup>62</sup> Dagbovie, “Of All Our Studies,” 318.

<sup>63</sup> Dagbovie, “Of All Our Studies,” 318.

<sup>64</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 19.

states that hip hop has both the ability to “unnerve and simultaneously revitalize American culture.”<sup>66</sup> Rap music emerges with a particular start but advances toward universal inclusion.

### *Conclusion*

Scholars of hip hop reveal optimism for the genre’s overall possibilities. Rose interprets hip hop as a corrective against American hegemony; Chang conceives it as the overcoming expression of disadvantaged voices; Alridge conveys it as the bridge unifying generational division; and Dagbovie suggests its unique function for displaying the very history from which it emerged. These perspectives reveal enthusiasm for hip hop’s functionality. But hip hop is a universal channel, open to any interpretation, ideology, and creed. While it certainly began as a Black and Puerto Rican vehicle of creative expression, it has morphed and expanded. Hip hop includes privileged voices, ultraconservative messaging, and even nationalist sentiment. Further historical research might consider case studies of hip hop’s use in specific localities tied to specific themes. For instance, an in-depth historical study on hip hop and politics, culture, or religion would prove useful in exploring the significance of hip hop. Rap music and identity formation in the present global context might also provide helpful insight. Given that hip hop is tied to history and culture, historians with interdisciplinary interests might apply old lenses of thought to new topics of interest on a local and global scale. What began at South Bronx block parties is now witnessed internationally. And scholars have only recently expressed interest in the topic. Whatever might be said about hip hop scholarship, one thing is certain: the field would benefit from further robust historical investigation. It is time for historians to enter the cypher of hip hop studies.

*ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.” The essay published here originated in a graduate seminar offered by CSUF’s History Department.*

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<sup>66</sup> Rose, *Black Noise*, 185.



Robert Fleming, Rachel Jensen, and Jesus Vazquez (editors)

*Signed, Sealed, and Delivered:  
A Contract of Sale for Land in England (1826)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

Rare File 0.

Indenture on Vellum.

January 17, 1826.

*Introduction*

The indenture edited below is part of the Rare File Collection, which consists of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and manuscripts from the fifteenth to twentieth century held in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections. According to a note on the back of the document's first page, it was gifted to CSUF in March 1972 by Dr. Fairfax Proufit Walkup. The document originates from the nineteenth century, written in 1826 as a contract between Joshua Hoare (and Frances, his wife) and Charles Tyler, with the acknowledgment and consent of a group composed of Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux (and Susan, his wife), Thomas Underwood, and William Day the Younger. In the indenture, Tyler promises payment of £1350 for a dwelling and outbuildings (a messuage), a farm, and surrounding land in the parish of Little Gransden in the County of Cambridge (England). The indenture details the relationship of all parties involved in the sale and how the property came to be in the possession of Hoare, tracing the process of inheritance. The property to be sold is extensively described, including the purposes of various tracts and parcels of the land.

The indenture is composed of six sheets of vellum, measuring 20.7 by 25.9 inches, which are stacked upon one another, with the final page being the first one sequentially. Pages are labeled below according to the order in which they would be read. The document is legibly written in notarial cursive in black ink on vellum (beige in color) with either 45 or 46 lines of writing per page. The vellum from the back-most page is folded over the bottom to encompass and hold together all other pages. A blue piece of ribbon is stitched through the bottom, securing the indenture. The eight red wax seals that are stamped over the ribbon are in fair condition though they have begun to wear down with age. A red double line surrounds the writing, creating a margin on the left hand side, where a blue revenue stamp can be found. Each of the page's opening words are embellished with decorative flourishes and in a font different from the remainder of the document. In order to guarantee that all lines reach the edges of the margins (to ensure no additions could be made once the document had been signed), flourishes were added to take up space.

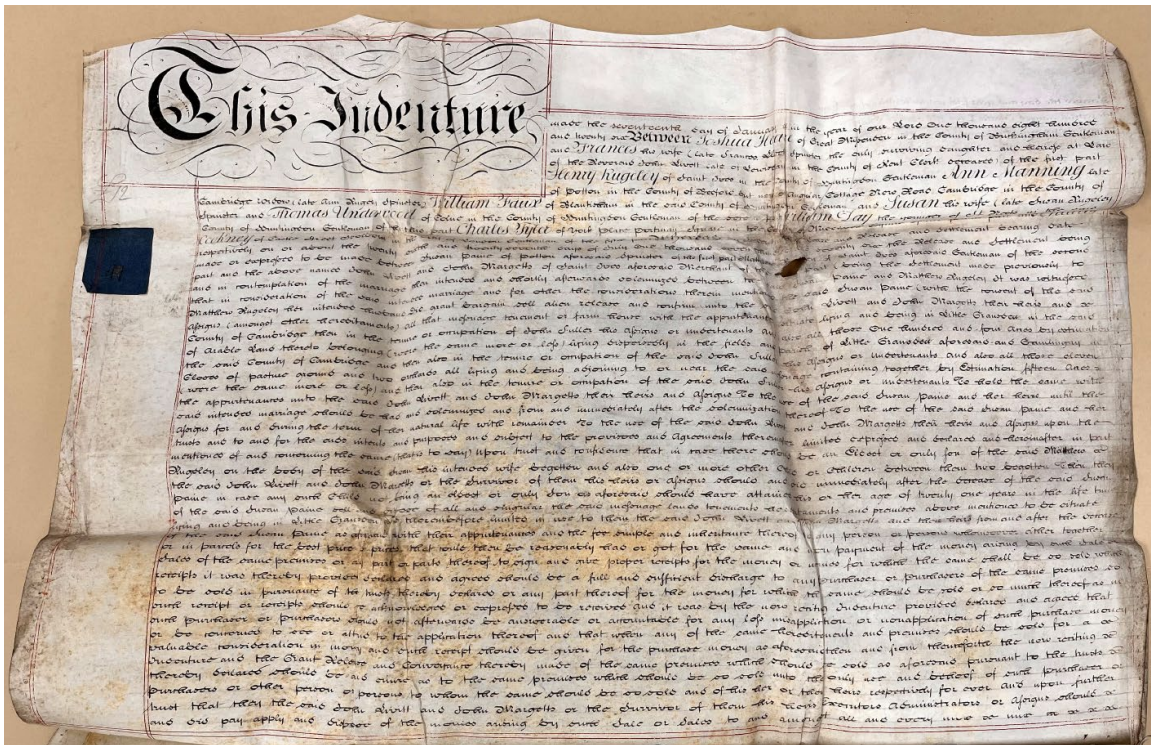


Figure 1: Indenture on Vellum, January 17, 1826, page 1 [front].

Overall, the pages are in relatively fair condition, the vellum largely free of damage except where the document was folded. Historically, such indentures were kept folded for storage purposes, this one being no different. There is extensive yellowing and staining across the pages, but such discoloration does not interfere with the legibility of the writing. Damage is most extensive on page 1, the outermost page, which would have been subjected more to the elements. Consequently, page 1 is far more weathered than page 6, which was protected when the document was in its folded state. A water stain to the right of center diminishes the readability of sections of text across all six pages. In addition, because the water damage is on a crease line, a small hole has worn into page 1, completely obscuring some of the words. Aside from the small hole and the water stain, the document remains highly physically legible. What makes the document difficult to decipher is its sheer lack of punctuation.

The indenture is of particular interest to those studying nineteenth-century British history, including those studying legal history as it provides insight into the ways in which contracts were created during this time period. The document is a valuable primary source in that it reveals the inner workings and lives of everyday individuals. The agreed upon transaction is ultimately commonplace, a routine moment in the lives of the people immortalized in the document. The indenture provides a detailed catalogue of the past in Little Gransden, the people and places one would have encountered there. Its geographical scope lends insight into the landscape of the area, supplying details about the composition of the land,

thus the indenture would be useful for those interested in historical geography. To the social historian, it presents an opportunity to understand the lives of those involved and consequently those of the larger British population during the nineteenth century.

The transcription below preserves the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original document. Any textual additions are enclosed by square brackets. To enhance the document's readability, punctuation has been added throughout. The aforementioned flourishes are marked by reversed curly brackets: }{.

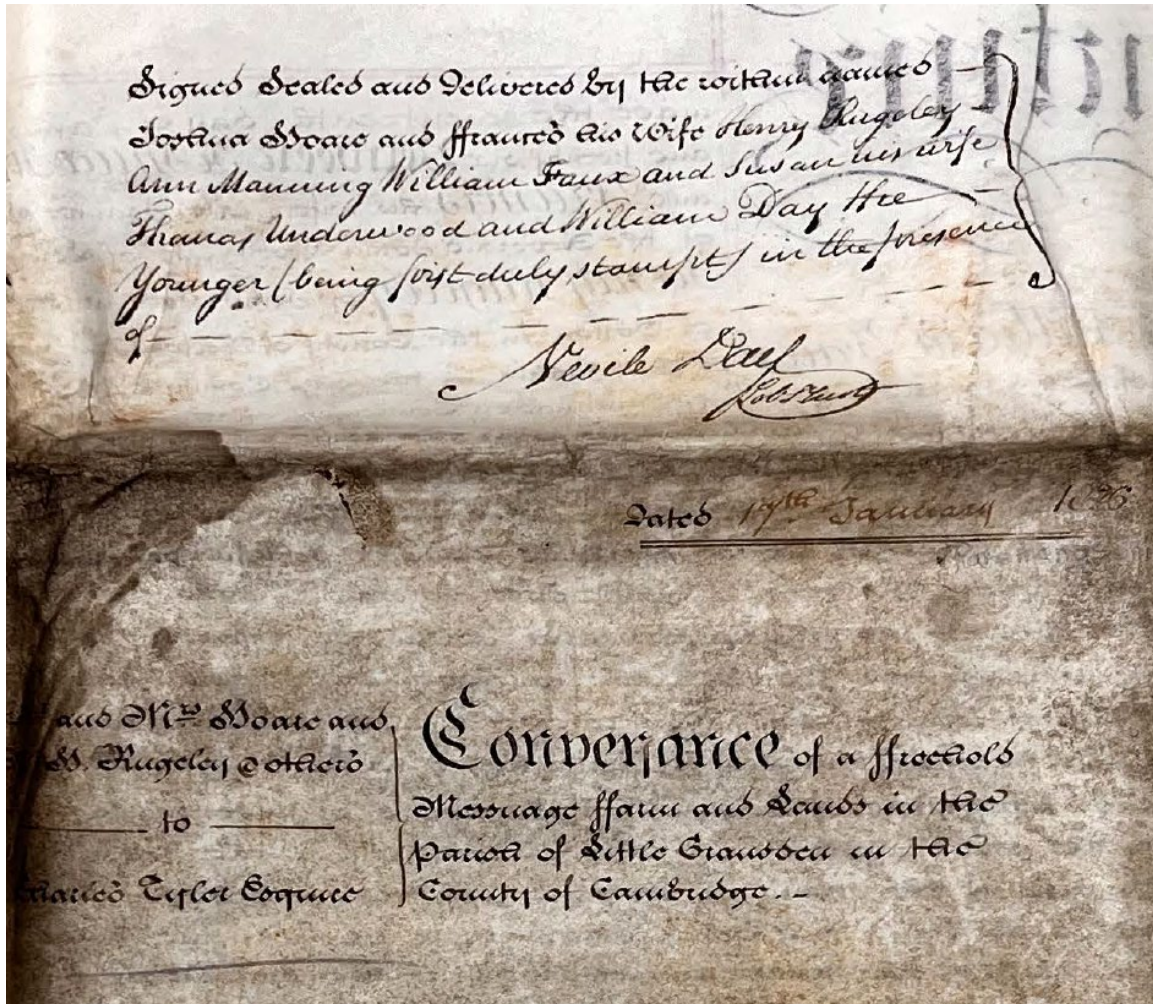


Figure 2: Indenture on Vellum, January 17, 1826, page 1 [back, excerpt].

*Edition: Indenture on Vellum,  
January 17, 1826*

Page 1 [Front]:

This Indenture,<sup>1</sup> made the seventeenth day of January, }} in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty six, Between Joshua Hoare<sup>2</sup> of Great Missenden<sup>3</sup> in the County of Buckingham,<sup>4</sup> Gentleman, and Frances,<sup>5</sup> his wife (late Frances Livett, Spinster,<sup>6</sup> the only surviving daughter and heiress at Law of the Reverend John Livett,<sup>7</sup> late of Lewisham<sup>8</sup> in the County of Kent,<sup>9</sup> Clerk, deceased) of the first part; Henry Rugeley<sup>10</sup> of Saint Ives<sup>11</sup> in the County of Huntingdon,<sup>12</sup> Gentleman, Ann Manning,<sup>13</sup> late of Potton<sup>14</sup> in the County of Bedford<sup>15</sup> but now of Angular Cottage,<sup>16</sup> New Road,<sup>17</sup> Cambridge, in the County of Cambridge,<sup>18</sup> Widow (late Ann Rugeley Spinster), William Faux<sup>19</sup> of Blantisham<sup>20</sup> in the said County of Huntingdon, Gentleman, and Susan<sup>21</sup> his wife

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<sup>1</sup> A legal contract that reflects or covers a debt or purchase obligation.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably son of John Hoare and husband of Frances.

<sup>3</sup> Village in Buckinghamshire, England.

<sup>4</sup> Ceremonial county in South East England, northwest of London.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the wife of Joshua Hoare.

<sup>6</sup> An unmarried woman of a gentile family.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably father of Frances Livett.

<sup>8</sup> Historic village in Kent, England, now an area in southeast London.

<sup>9</sup> County of Kent, southeast of London.

<sup>10</sup> Son of Matthew Rugeley and Susan Rugeley (nee Payne), sibling of Ann Manning (nee Rugeley) and Susan Faux (nee Rugeley).

<sup>11</sup> Town in (historic) Huntingdonshire, England; now in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>12</sup> Historic county in England, north of London.

<sup>13</sup> Second daughter of Matthew Rugeley and Susan Rugeley (nee Payne), sibling of Henry Rugeley and Susan Faux (nee Rugeley).

<sup>14</sup> Town in Bedfordshire, England.

<sup>15</sup> Ceremonial county in England.

<sup>16</sup> Presumably a place in Cambridge, England.

<sup>17</sup> Road in Cambridge, England.

<sup>18</sup> County in England, north of London.

<sup>19</sup> Husband of Susan Faux (nee Rugeley); presumably author of *Memorable Days in America* (London, 1823).

<sup>20</sup> Bluntisham. Village in (historic) Huntingdonshire, England; now in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>21</sup> Youngest daughter of Matthew Rugeley and Susan Rugeley (nee Payne), sibling of Henry Rugeley and Ann Manning (nee Rugeley).

(late Susan Rugeley, Spinster), and Thomas Underwood<sup>22</sup> of Colne<sup>23</sup> in the County of Huntingdon, Gentleman, of the second part; William Day<sup>24</sup> the younger of St. Neots<sup>25</sup> in the said County of Huntingdon, Gentleman, of the third part; Charles Tyler<sup>26</sup> of York Place, Portman Square,<sup>27</sup> in the County of Middlesex,<sup>28</sup> Esquire,<sup>29</sup> of the fourth part; and Charles Cookney<sup>30</sup> of Castle Street Holborn<sup>31</sup> in the City of London, Gentleman, of the fifth part. Whereas an Indenture of Lease and Release and Settlement bearing date respectively on or about the twenty sixth and twenty seventh days of July, One thousand seven hundred and seventy six, the Release and Settlement being made or expressed to be made between Susan Paine of Potton, aforesaid Spinster, of the first part; Matthew R[ugele]y<sup>32</sup> of Saint Ives, aforesaid Gentleman, of the second part; and the above named John Livett and John Margetts<sup>33</sup> of Saint Ives, aforesaid Merchant, of the [third]<sup>34</sup> part (being the Settlement made previously to and in contemplation of the marriage then intended and shortly afterwards solemnized between the said Susan Paine and Matthew Rugeley), It was witnessed that in consideration of the said intended marriage and for other, the considerations therein mentioned, the said Susan Paine (with the consent of the said Matthew Rugeley, her intended husband) Did grant, bargain, sell, alien,<sup>35</sup> release, and confirm unto the said John Livett and John Margetts, their heirs and

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<sup>22</sup> Married to Elizabeth Underwood (nee Rugeley) who is sibling to Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning (nee Rugeley), and Susan Faux (nee Rugeley).

<sup>23</sup> Village in (historic) Huntingdonshire, England; now in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>24</sup> Presumably son of William Day and Sarah Traylen.

<sup>25</sup> Town in (historic) Huntingdonshire, England; now in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>26</sup> Unknown person.

<sup>27</sup> York Place is a neighborhood of thirty houses at the upper end of Baker Street In Central London's Private estate.

<sup>28</sup> Historic county in England; now part of London.

<sup>29</sup> A person of nobility, especially in England.

<sup>30</sup> Unknown person.

<sup>31</sup> Castle Yard Street in Central London that leads from Holborn into Cursitor Street.

<sup>32</sup> Text obscured by a hole in the vellum.

<sup>33</sup> A brewer, son of John Margetts and Mary Rugely Margetts.

<sup>34</sup> There is a 1/2 x 1/2 inch hole in the page here.

<sup>35</sup> Transfer.

assigns,<sup>36</sup> (amongst other hereditaments<sup>37</sup>) all that messuage,<sup>38</sup> tenement,<sup>39</sup> or farm house with the appurtenances<sup>40</sup> situate, lying, and being in Little Gransden<sup>41</sup> in the said County of Cambridge then in the tenure or occupation of John Suller,<sup>42</sup> his assigns, or undertenants;<sup>43</sup> and also all those One hundred and four Acres by estimation of Arable Land thereto belonging (were the same more or less) lying dispersedly in the field and parish of Little Gransden aforesaid; and Gamlingay<sup>44</sup> in the said County of Cambridge and then also in the tenure or occupation of the said John Suller, his assigns, or undertenants; and also all those eleven Closes of pasture ground and two orchards all lying and being adjoining to or near the said messuage containing together by Estimation fifteen acres }} (were the same more or less) and then also in the tenure or occupation of the said John Suller, his assigns, or undertenants. To hold the same with the appurtenances unto the said John Livett and John Margetts, their heirs, and assigns To the use of the said Susan Paine and her heirs until the said intended marriage should be had and solemnized, and from and immediately after the solemnization thereof To the use of the said Susan Paine and her assigns for and during the term of her natural life, with remainder to the use of the said John Livett and John Margetts, their heirs, and assigns upon the trusts and to and for the ends, intents, and purposes and subject to the provisoes and Agreements therein after limited, expressed, and declared and hereinafter in part mentioned of and concerning the same (that is to say) upon trust and confidence that, in case there should be an Eldest or only son of the said Matthew R<sup>45</sup> Rugeley on the body of the said Susan, his intended wife begotten, and also one or more other child or children between them two begotten. Then they, the said John Livett and John Margetts or the Survivor of them, his heirs, or assigns, should and did immediately after the decease of the said Susan Paine, in case any such Child not being an oldest or only Son as aforesaid should

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<sup>36</sup> A person appointed to act for another; a representative or deputy.

<sup>37</sup> Heritable property; property that is to be passed down from parent to offspring.

<sup>38</sup> A legal term referring to a dwelling house with outbuildings and land assigned to its use.

<sup>39</sup> A piece of land or property held by an owner.

<sup>40</sup> An accessory or other item associated with a particular activity or style of living.

<sup>41</sup> Civil parish and village in South Cambridgeshire, England.

<sup>42</sup> Unknown person.

<sup>43</sup> A person who holds lands or tenements by a sublease.

<sup>44</sup> Civil parish in the South Cambridgeshire district of Cambridgeshire, England

<sup>45</sup> It appears that the writer was intending to write Rugeley but realized there was not enough room to complete the name so opted to abort the attempt.

have attained his or her age of twenty one years in the life time of the said Susan Paine, sell and dispose of all and singular the said messuage, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and premises above mentioned to be situate, lying, and being in Little Gransden and therein before limited in use to them, the said John Livett and John Margetts and their heirs from and after the decease of the said Susan Paine, as aforesaid with their appurtenances and the fee simple and inheritance thereof to any person or persons whomsoever, either together or in parcels, for the best price or prices that could then be reasonably had or got for the same, and upon payment of the money arising by such sale or Sales of the same premises or any part or parts thereof to sign and give proper receipts for the money or monies for which the same shall be so sold, which receipts it was thereby provided, declared, and agreed should be a full and sufficient discharge to any purchaser or purchasers of the same premises so to be sold in pursuant<sup>46</sup> of the trusts thereby declared or any part thereof for the money for which the same should be sold, or so much thereof as in such receipt or receipts should so acknowledged or expressed to be received, and it was by the now reciting Indenture provided, declared, and agreed that such purchaser or purchasers should not afterward be answerable or accountable for any loss, misapplication, or nonapplication of such purchase money or be concerned to see or attend to the application thereof, and that when any of the same hereditaments and premises should be sold for a }} valuable consideration in money and such receipt should be given for the purchase money as aforesaid, then and from thenceforth<sup>47</sup> the now writing }} Indenture and the Grant Release and Conveyance thereby made of the same premises, which should be sold as aforesaid pursuant to the trusts }} thereby declared, should be and since as to the same premises which should be so sold unto the only use and behoof<sup>48</sup> of such purchaser or purchasers or other person or persons to whom the same should be so sold and of his her or their heirs respectively for over and upon further trust that they, the said John Livitt and John Margetts or the Survivor of them, his heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns should }} and did pay, apply, and dispose of the monies arising by such Sale or Sales to and amongst all and every }} }} }} }} }} }} }} }}

Page 2 [Front]:

Such Child and Children of the said Matthew Rugeley on the body of the said Susan, his intended wife, to be begotten equally, to be }} divided between such children if more than one share and share alike; and if but one such child, the whole to such one child,

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<sup>46</sup> In accordance with a legal document.

<sup>47</sup> From that time, place, or point onward.

<sup>48</sup> Benefit or advantage.

such share and shares to become vested and transmissible interests in such child and children, respectively, as and when he, she, or they should attain their respective ages of twenty one years, and to be paid, transferred, and assigned to such child and children respectively at the said ages or times if such ages and times should happen after the decease of the said Susan Paine, but the share or shares of such younger child or children as should attain that age in the lifetime of the said Susan Paine to be paid to him, her, or them immediately after the decease of the said Susan Paine, or as soon after as the same could conveniently be raised by such sale or sales as aforesaid; and in the said Indenture of release and settlement now in recital is contained a }} proviso that in case any of the said children should happen to depart this life before his, her, or their portion or portions should become vested or }} payable respectively as aforesaid, then the portion thereby provided for every such child so dying should from time to time go and accrue and belong unto the Survivors or Survivor and others or other of the said children and should be equally divided between or amongst them, if more than one, and become vested and payable to him, her, or them at such days and times and in such manner as in or are therein before directed, provided, and }} declared concerning his, her, or their original portion or portions respectively. And whereas the said Matthew Rugeley departed this life in the }} month of April, One thousand eight hundred and five, leaving the said Susan, his wife (formerly Susan Paine) him surviving. And whereas the said Susan Rugeley departed this life on or about the first day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty four, having had five children by her said late husband, who attained their respective ages of twenty one years in her lifetime, (namely) William Paine Rugeley her Eldest Son; the said Henry Rugeley (party }} hereto); the said Ann Manning; the said Susan, the wife of the said William Faux; and Elizabeth, the late wife of the said Thomas Underwood; and also one other child called Roroland Rugeley who died in her lifetime under the age of twenty one years. And whereas the }} said Elizabeth, the late wife of the said Thomas Underwood, departed this life in or about the month of May, One thousand eight hundred and eight, leaving her said husband her surviving. And whereas the said William Paine Rugeley departed this life in or about the }} month of July, One thousand eight hundred and twenty three, intestate,<sup>49</sup> and Letters of Administration of his goods and and chattels<sup>50</sup> have been }} since granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury<sup>51</sup> to the said Henry

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<sup>49</sup> Not having made a will before one dies.

<sup>50</sup> Personal possessions.

<sup>51</sup> A church court under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was responsible for the proving of wills and trials concerning goods bequeathed through a will.



Rugeley (partly hereto), whereby he is become his legal personal }  
 Representative. And whereas the said John Margetts departed this life in the  
 month of July, One thousand seven hundred and ninety five, and  
 was buried at Saint Ives aforesaid on the nineteenth day of the same month  
 leaving the said John Livett, his Co-trustee, him surviving, }  
 who also departed this life in the month of May, One thousand eight hundred  
 and four, and was buried at Heston<sup>52</sup> in the county of Middlesex  
 on the twenty second day of the same month, Intestate, leaving the said Frances,  
 the wife of Joshua Hoare, party hereto, and Mary Ann Livett  
 Spinster, his two daughters and Coheireses at Law him surviving, to whom  
 Letters of Administration of his goods, chattels, and credits were  
 granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the first day of June, One  
 thousand eight hundred and four. And whereas the said  
 Mary Ann Livett departed this life on or about the sixth day of November, One  
 thousand eight hundred and twenty one, Intestate, leaving  
 the said Frances Hoare, her only sister and heiress at Laro,<sup>53</sup> whereby the legal  
 estate and interest of and in the said messuage or tenement, }  
 closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, hereditaments, and premises  
 comprised in the said recited Indenture of Release and Settlement became  
 vested in the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife (in her right), upon the  
 trusts aforesaid. And whereas an Act of Parliament passed  
 in the fifty third year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the third,<sup>54</sup>  
 entitled "An Act for enclosing Lands in the Parish of Little }  
 "Gransden in the County of Cambridge," whereby It is (amongst other things)  
 enacted that William Custance<sup>55</sup> of Cambridge in the County of }  
 Cambridge, Gentleman, and John Burcham<sup>56</sup> of Coningsby in the County of  
 Lincoln, Gentleman, and their Successors to be appointed in manner  
 thereafter mentioned should be and they were thereby appointed  
 Commissioners for dividing, allotting, and inclosing the said lands and }  
 grounds and for carrying the several purposes of the now reciting act and a  
 certain other act therein recited into Execution in manner therein  
 mentioned; and it was thereby further enacted that the said Commissioners  
 should and they were thereby authorized and required to set out,  
 allot, and award unto the Rector of Little Gransden<sup>57</sup> aforesaid for the time being  
 in lieu of and in full compensation and satisfaction for all

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<sup>52</sup> A parish and village in Middlesex, England.

<sup>53</sup> From the Latin "larus:" free, available to move.

<sup>54</sup> King of Great Britain (1760–1820).

<sup>55</sup> A builder, land agent, surveyor, and enclosure commissioner, in the county of Cambridge.

<sup>56</sup> Commissioner by virtue of "An Act of Enclosing Lands in the Parish of Little Gransden in the County of Cambridge."

<sup>57</sup> A member of the clergy in charge of the parish of Little Gransden.

manner of great and small tythes,<sup>58</sup> moduses,<sup>59</sup> payments, or compositions in lieu thereof respectively and all other Ecclesiastical<sup>60</sup> dues and payments }{ whatsoever (except Easter Offerings, mortuaries, and surplice<sup>61</sup> fees) annually arising, renewing, or increasing out of and from the open and common fields, }{ common pastures, and other commonable lands and grounds thereby intended to be divided and inclosed, as also out of and from all and every other the messuages, orchards, gardens, homesteads, home closes, woods, and other ancient inclosures within the parish and liberties of Little Gransden aforesaid, such }{ plot or plots of land or ground parcel of the said open and common fields and other communable lands and ground by the now reciting act intended to be }{ divided and enclosed as should be equal in value to one fifth part of all ~~min~~ lands and grounds in the parish of Little Gransden aforesaid, which were then or at any time within the space of three years not before the passing of the now reciting act had been used as arable or tillage lands or grounds, to

Page 3 [Front]:

One tenth part of the woodlands and to one eighth part of all the residue of the lands and grounds lying within the said Parish of Little }{ }{ Gransden, which were subject and liable to the payment of Tythes in kind, and which should remain after the public and private roads and the Allotments for public pits should have been set out and deducted, and also equal in value to such moduses, compositions, or other payments in lieu of tythes }{ and all other Ecclesiastical Dues and payments whatsoever; and it was by the now reciting act further Enacted that the said Commissioners should then set out, allot, and award unto the several proprietors and owners thereof and persons having right of Common<sup>62</sup> or other interest therein all the then residue and remainder of the lands and grounds thereby directed to be divided and allotted in such quantities shares and proportions as they, the said Commissioners, should abjudge and decree to be a just compensation and satisfaction for and to be equal in their several and respective lands and grounds, right of common, rights of sheepwalk,<sup>63</sup> another their rights and interest therein. And it is by the said act now in recited also provided and further enacted that if any a person had sold or should at any time before the execution of the award of the

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<sup>58</sup> English legal, administrative, or territorial unit for the subdivision of parishes.

<sup>59</sup> A customary method of tithing.

<sup>60</sup> Relating to the Christian Church or its clergy.

<sup>61</sup> Loose white robe worn by clergymen.

<sup>62</sup> Rights held by commoners in respect of registered common land.

<sup>63</sup> A tract of land on which sheep are pastured.

said Commissioners sell his or her right, interest, or property in, over, and upon the lands and grounds to be divided and allotted by virtue of the said act or any acts thereof or any allotment or allotments to be }} made in lieu thereof to any other person, every such sale should be and the same was thereby declared to be valid and legal to all intents and purposes whatsoever, and then and in every such case it should be lawful for the said Commissioners, and they were thereby authorized and required to make an allotment to such vendee or purchaser or to his or her heirs and assigns for and in respect of such right and property so sold. And whereas in pursuance of the said recited act and in part execution of the powers and authorities thereby vested in the said Commissioners, they some time since set out and allotted unto and for the said Susan Rugeley, in lieu of and as a }} compensation for her freehold, open field lands, and rights of common and sheepwalk, and also for and in lieu of a piece of old Inclosure given up by her for the purpose of widening the Gamlingay road (being respectively part of the hereditaments }} comprised in the herein before in part recited indenture of Settlement), the two several Allotments or pieces or parcels of }} land or ground hereinafter particularly mentioned and described and intended to be hereby granted and released, but the award of the said Commissioners hath not yet been made or executed. And whereas in or as of Trinity Term<sup>64</sup> now last past a Fine Sur }} Connzance de droit come ceo etc<sup>65</sup> with proclamations and other requisites for completing and perfecting the same according to the usual course of fines for assurance of lands was only acknowledged and levied by the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife, of the messuage or tenement, outbuildings, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments and other hereditaments hereinafter described and }} intended to be hereby granted and released by the description of "One messuage, three barns, two stables, one curtilage,<sup>66</sup> one garden, }} One Orchard, eighty acres of land, and twenty acres of pasture with the appurtenances in Little Gransden," and in which fine the said William Day the younger (party hereto) was Demandant,<sup>67</sup> and the said Joshua

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<sup>64</sup> The fourth and final term of the legal year, running from May to July, during which the upper courts of England and Wales, and Ireland, sit to hear cases.

<sup>65</sup> A fine of land upon the acknowledgment of the right (of the cognizee) as that which he has by the gift (of his cognizor), wherein the cognizor acknowledges his gift of the land to the plaintiff, the cognizee.

<sup>66</sup> The land surrounding a house or dwelling, including any closely associated buildings and structures, but excluding any associated open fields beyond.

<sup>67</sup> A plaintiff in a legal case.

Hoare and Frances, his wife, were Deforciant<sup>68</sup> but no other uses have yet been declared of the said Fine. And whereas the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife, in execution of the trusts of the said }} recited Indenture of Settlement, and with the privity, consent, and approbation of the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood did on the thirtieth day of August last cause the said messuage or tenement and }} outbuildings, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises hereinafter particularly mentioned and described and intended to be hereby granted and released or otherwise, assured with their appurtenances being part of the hereditaments so comprised in or by means of the said Inclosure, become subject to the said Indenture of Settlement as aforesaid, to be put up to sale by public auction by Mr. Pierson at the auction mart in the City of London in one lot according to certain printed particulars and conditions }} produced at the time of such sale, and at which sale or auction the said Charles Tyler was declared to be the highest bidder for }} and purchaser of the same messuage or tenement and outbuildings, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and }} other hereditaments and premises and the fee simple and inheritance thereof free from all incumbrances whatsoever at or for the price or sum of One thousand three hundred and fifty pounds. Now this Indenture witnesseth that for the purpose of effectuating and carrying into execution the said sale and for and in consideration of the premises and of the sum of One thousand three hundred and fifty pounds of lawful money of Great Britain to the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife, with the privity and consent of the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood, testified by their being parties to and sealing and delivering these presents in hand well and truly paid by the said Charles Tyler at or immediately before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt of which said sum of One thousand three hundred and fifty pounds being in full for the absolute purchase of the messuage or tenement and outbuildings, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises hereinafter mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released or otherwise assured, they, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, and also the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas }} Underwood, do hereby respectively admit and acknowledge, and of and from the same and every part thereof do and each and every of them doth

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<sup>68</sup> A person who wrongfully withholds something from someone by force.

acquit, release, and discharge the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns and every of them for ever by these presents, }}

Page 4 [Front]:

And also for and in consideration of the sum of ten shillings, a price of like lawful money to each of them, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann }} Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood, in hand also well and truly paid by the said Charles Tyler at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the several receipts whereof are hereby respectively acknowledged. They, the said Joshua Hoare and Francis his }} wife, in pursuance and part, performance, and execution of the Trusts reposed in or devolved upon them by, under, or by virtue of the herein before recited }} Indenture of Release and Settlement, and with the privity, consent, and approbation of the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his }} wife, and Thomas Underwood (testified as aforesaid), Have and each of them Hath bargained, sold, released, and conveyed and by these presents Do and }} each of them Doth bargain, sell, release, and convey. And the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood Have and each and even of them Hath granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents Do and each and every of them Doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, ratify, and confirm unto the said Charles Tyler in his actual possession now being by virtue of a Bargain and sale to him thereof made by the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood, in consideration of five shillings a piece, by Indenture bearing date the day next before the day of the date of these presents, for the term of one whole year concerning from the day next before the day of the date of the same Indenture of Bargain and Sale and by force of the }} Statute made for transferring used into possession and to his heirs and assigns All that messuage, farmhouse, or tenement with the Barns, Stables, }} and other outbuildings, yard, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, situate, lying, and being in Little Gransden in the County of Cambridge, late and now in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Free,<sup>69</sup> his undertenants, or assigns. And also all those several Closes, pieces or parcels of old inclosed land or ground adjoining or lying near to the said messuage, farm house, or tenement with the orchard thereto belonging, called or known by the several named, and containing the respective quantities following (that is to say) The

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<sup>69</sup> Unknown person.

Home Close and Orchard containing five acres, three roods,<sup>70</sup> and three perches,<sup>71</sup> or thereabouts; Orgins pasture containing two acres and eighteen perches or thereabouts; another close parcel of Land called Orgins Pasture containing two acres and eight perches or thereabouts; a third Close or parcel of land also called Orgins Pasture containing one acre, one rood, and } twenty nine perches or thereabouts; and the Sill Close containing one acre, ~~an~~ two roods, and twenty four perches or thereabouts; And also all } that allotment piece or parcel of land or ground containing by admeasurement<sup>72</sup> thirty one acres, one rood, and thirty perches (be the same more or less) } situate, lying, and being in Stocking Field<sup>73</sup> in Little Gransden aforesaid, bounded on part of the North by an allotment to Henry Ware Esquire,<sup>74</sup> on part of the East and remaining part of the north by allotments to Surplus Fuller,<sup>75</sup> on further part of the East by the above mentioned Close of old Inclosure called Sill Close, on the remaining part of the East by the Gamlingay Road, and on the South and west by an allotment to the Reverend Thomas } Briggs;<sup>76</sup> and also all that other allotment piece or parcel of land or ground containing by admeasurement thirty nine acres, three roods, and twenty } five perches (be the same more or less) situate, lying, and being in Stocking Field aforesaid, bounded on the north and north East by an allotment to } Thomas Quinton, Esquire,<sup>77</sup> on part of the south East by the parish of Hatley Street George,<sup>78</sup> on the remaining part of the South East and on the south west by the parish of Gamlingay, and on the west by the Gamlingay Road, which said two last mentioned allotments pieces or } } parcels of land were under the authority of the said recited act of parliament set out and allotted unto and for the said Susan Rugeley in lieu of and as a Compensation for the said freehold, open field, lands, and rights of Common and Sheepwalk comprised in the said Indenture of } Settlement and also for and in lieu of a piece of old Inclosure given ~~g~~ up for the purpose of widening the Gamlingay Road, and also all and singular other, the lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever (if any) of them, the

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<sup>70</sup> A measure of land area equal to a quarter of an acre.

<sup>71</sup> A measure of land; a rood (quarter of an acre) contains 40 perches.

<sup>72</sup> Determination and apportionment of shares.

<sup>73</sup> Civil parish West of Little Gransden.

<sup>74</sup> Presumably a Major in the Royal Horse Guards Blue.

<sup>75</sup> Presumably Robert Fuller, whose land bordered that of Susanna Rugeley, which was farmed by his brother, James Fuller.

<sup>76</sup> Rector of Little Gransden parish (1809–1829).

<sup>77</sup> Owner of the Manor of Little Gransden.

<sup>78</sup> Civil parish southwest of Southern Cambridgeshire between the villages of Gamlingay and Croydon.

said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, Henry Rugeley, }  
 Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood, or  
 any of them situate, lying, or being in the parish of Little }  
 Gransden aforesaid. Together with all houses, outhouses, edifices, buildings,  
 barns, stables, cottages, yards, gardens, orchard, backsides, tofts,<sup>79</sup>  
 lands, meadows, pastures, commons, commons of pasture, common of  
 Turbary,<sup>80</sup> Mines, Minerals, Quarries, furles,<sup>81</sup> trees, woods, underwoods }  
 coppiced<sup>82</sup> and the ground and soil thereof, mounds, fences, hedges, ditches,  
 ways, waters, watercourses,<sup>83</sup> liberties, privileges, easements, profits, }  
 advantages, emoluments,<sup>84</sup> rights, members, and appurtenances whatsoever to  
 the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or }  
 ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises belonging or in  
 anywise appertaining or with the same or any of them respectively now or  
 at any time heretofore demised, leased, held, occupied, or enjoyed, or accepted,  
 reputed, deemed taken, or known as part, parcel, or member thereof or  
 appurtenant  
 thereto and the reversion and reversions, remainder, and remainders yearly and  
 other rents, issues, and profits of all and singular the said messuage  
 or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other  
 hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released or intended  
 so to be. And all the estate, right, title, interest, inheritance, use, trust, possession,  
 property, claim, and demand whatsoever, both at Law and in }  
 Equity of them, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, Henry Rugeley, Ann  
 Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas }  
 Underwood, and of each and every or any of them respectively of in, to, or out of  
 the same hereditaments and } } }  
 premises and every or any part or parcel thereof respectively } } } } } }  
 } } } } }

Page 5 [Front]:

To have and to hold the said messuage, farm house or tenement, closes, pieces or  
 parcels of land or ground,  
 allotments, and all and singular other, the hereditaments and premises hereby  
 granted  
 and released or otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be with their  
 and every of their appurtenances, unto the said Charles Tyler, his heirs,

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<sup>79</sup> A site for a dwelling and its outbuildings.

<sup>80</sup> The ground where peat or turf may be dug, particularly for fuel.

<sup>81</sup> Meaning unclear; presumably something that is rolled up, wrapped up, or perhaps secured.

<sup>82</sup> A traditional method of woodland management.

<sup>83</sup> A brook, stream, or artificially constructed water channel.

<sup>84</sup> A salary, fee, or profit from employment or office.

and assigns To the uses and to and for the ends, intents, and purposes and with, under, and subject to the powers, provisoes, agreements, and declarations hereinafter limited, expressed, and declared of and concerning the same. And it is hereby declared and agreed by and between all and every, the said parties to these

presents, to be their true intent and meaning that, as well the grant release and confirmation hereinbefore contained and so hereby made as aforesaid, as also the said fine which hath been so acknowledged and levied by the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife, to the said William Day the younger, of the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises as aforesaid and all and every other fine and fines, conveyances, and assurances in the Law whatsoever heretofore had made, acknowledged, levied, suffered, or executed or at }{ any time or times hereafter to be had made, acknowledged, levied, suffered, or executed of the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or }{ parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises or any of them or any part thereof by or between the said }{ parties to these presents, or any of them or whereinto they or any of them are, is, can, shall, or may be parties or party, privies, or privy, }{ shall respectively operate and enure and be adjudged, deemed construed, and taken to operate and enure, and the said William Day the younger and his heirs and all other person or persons who is or are or shall or may be seized of the same premises or any part thereof shall henceforth stand and be seized of the aforesaid messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground allotments, and other hereditaments and premises with the appurtenances to such uses upon such trusts and to and for such ends, intents, and purposes and with, under, and subject to such powers, provisoes, conditions, agreements, and declarations as the said Charles Tyler shall by any deed or deeds, writing, or writings, with or without }{ power of revocation and new appointment to be, by him sealed and delivered in the presence of and attested by two or more reliable witnesses from time to time direct, limit, or appoint, and for default of and until such direction, limitation, or appointment and so far as every or any such direction, }{ limitation, or appointment if incomplete shall not extend: To the use of the said Charles Tyler and his assigns during his life without impeachment of waste and after the determination of that estate by forfeiture or otherwise in his life time; To the use of the said Charles Cookney and his heirs during the natural life of the said Charles Tyler; In trust for him, the said Charles Tyler and his assigns, and to prevent any wife of the said Charles Tyler from being entitled to dower<sup>85</sup> out of or in the premises or any part thereof; And

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<sup>85</sup> The share of a deceased husband's real estate to which his widow was entitled after his death.



after the determination of the Estate so limited in use to the said Charles Cookney and his heirs during the life of the said Charles Tyler as aforesaid; To the only proper use and behoof of the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, and assigns for ever and to and for no other use, end, intent, or purpose whatsoever. And the said Joshua Hoare for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, and for the said Frances, his wife, both hereby covenant and declare with and to the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees,

and assigns that they, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances, his wife, have not nor hath either of them at any time heretofore made, done, committed, or executed or knowingly or willingly permitted or suffered to be made or done or been party or privy to any act, deed, matter, or thing whatsoever whereby or by reason or means whereof the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises hereinbefore mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released or otherwise assured or any of them or any part or parts thereof respectively are, is, can, shall, or may be impeached, charged, affected, or incumbered in title estate or otherwise howsoever. And the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux, and Thomas Underwood do jointly for themselves, }{ their heirs, executors, and administrators, and each of them, both separately for himself and herself and for his and her respective heirs, executors, and administrators, and the said William Faux both also for the said Susan, his wife, and her heirs, executors, and administrators covenant, promise, grant, and agree with and to the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, and assigns by these presents in manner following (that is to say) That for and notwithstanding any act, deed, matter, or thing whatsoever had, made, done, committed, or suffered to the }{ }{ contrary by them, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his wife, and Thomas Underwood, or by the before named Susan Rugeley, deceased, or any of her ancestors or by any person or persons whomsoever lawfully or equitably claiming by, from, through, under, or in trust for them, her or any of them, they, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, and the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas Underwood, or some of them now are or is at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents lawfully, rightfully, and absolutely seized of and in or well and sufficiently entitled to the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released or otherwise assured or intended so to be, and every of them with the appurtenances of and for a good, sure, perfect, absolute, and indefeasible Estate of Inheritance in

fee simple in possession without any manner of }  
 condition, use, trust, power of revocation, equity of redemption, remainder, or  
 limitation of any use or uses or other restraint, cause,  
 matter, or thing } } } } } } } } } } } whatsoever to alter, charge,  
 defeat, incumber, revoke, or make void the same,

Page 6 [Front]:

And that for and notwithstanding any such act, deed, matter, or thing as  
 aforesaid they, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances  
 his wife, Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and  
 Thomas Underwood, or some of them,  
 now have in themselves respectively good right, full power, and lawful and  
 absolute authority by these presents and the fine so }  
 acknowledged and levied as aforesaid to grant, release, convey, and assure the  
 same messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or  
 ground, allotments, and other hereditament and premise with either  
 appurtenances To the uses hereinbefore limited, expressed, and declared  
 of and concerning the same in manner aforesaid and according to the true intent  
 and meaning of these presents. And also that the said  
 messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments,  
 and other hereditaments and premises hereinbefore granted }  
 and released or expressed and intended so to be with their appurtenances shall  
 and may from time to time and at all times hereafter go  
 and remain to the uses and for the ends, intents, and purposes hereinbefore  
 limited, expressed, and declared of or concerning the same and  
 shall and may be peacefully and quietly held, used, occupied, possessed, and  
 enjoyed and the said issues and profits thereof and of every }  
 past thereof had, received, and taken by the said Charles Tyler, his heir,  
 appointees, and assigns, knowingly, without the lawful let, suit, trouble, }  
 denial, eviction, interruption, hindrance, disturbance, claim, or demand  
 whatsoever of or by them, the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his wife, }  
 Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas  
 Underwood, or any of them or any other person or persons lawfully  
 or equitably claiming or to claim by, from, through, under, or in trust for them or  
 any of them or by, from, through, or under the said Susan  
 Rugeley, deceased, or any of her ancestors and that free and clear And freely  
 clearly and absolutely acquitted, exonerated, and discharged  
 or otherwise by the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan  
 his Wife, and Thomas Underwood, their heirs, executors,  
 or administrators, or some or one of them saved, defended, kept harmless, and  
 indemnified of, from, and against all and all manner of former and }  
 other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, dowers, right, and title of  
 dower uses, trusts, entails, wills, statutes, recognizances, judgements, executions,

rents, arrears of rents, annuities, legacies, sums of money, yearly payments, debts, forfeitures, reentries, cause and causes of forfeiture and reentry, debts of record, debts due to the Kings Majesty, and of, from, and against all other estates titled, troubled, charged debts, and incumberances whatsoever had, made, done, executed, occasioned, or suffered by the said Joshua Hoare and Frances his Wife, or by them, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas Underwood, or any or either of them, or by the said Susan Rugeley, deceased, or any of her Ancestors or by any person or persons whomsoever lawfully or equitably claiming or to claim by, from, through, }} under, or in trust for them, her, or any of them. And further that they, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas Underwood, and their heirs and all and every other person or persons having or claiming or who shall or may have or claim any estate, right, title, or interest whatsoever either at Law or in Equity of, in, to, from, or out of the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotment, and other, the hereditaments and premises hereinbefore granted and released or }} otherwise assured or expressed and intended so to be or any of them or any part thereof by, from, through, under, or in trust for them, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas Underwood, or any of them, or the said Susan Rugeley, deceased, or her Ancestors shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter upon every reasonable request and at the costs and charges of the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, or assigns make, do, acknowledge, levy, suffer, and execute or cause and procure to be made, done, acknowledged, levied, suffered, and executed all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable acts, deeds, fines, conveyances, and assurances in the Law whatsoever for the further, better, more perfectly, and absolutely granting, releasing, conveying, assuring, and confirming of the same messuage or tenement, closes, }} pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments, premises with the appurtenances To the uses hereinbefore limited, expressed, and declared of or concerning the same or otherwise as by the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, or assigns, or his or their counsel in the Law, shall be reasonably devised or advised and required. And Later that they, the said Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning, William Faux and Susan his Wife, and Thomas }} Underwood, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, or some or one of them, shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter upon every reasonable request and at the costs and charges of the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, or assigns produce and show forth or cause

and procure to be produced and shown forth the hereinbefore recited Indentures of Lease, Release, and Settlement of the twenty sixth and twenty seventh days of July, One thousand seven hundred and seventy six, or either of them unto him, the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, or assigns, or his or their Counsel, Solicitor, Attorney, or Agent, or in any of His Majestys Courts of Law or Equity, or at any commission for the Examination of Witnesses or otherwise as occasion may require, for the better evidencing, maintaining, defending, and proving the title of the said Charles Tyler, his heirs, appointees, and assigns, to the said messuage or tenement, closes, pieces or parcels of land or ground, allotments, and other hereditaments and premises hereby granted and released or otherwise assured. In Witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

Joshua Hoare  
Frances Hoare

Henry Rugeley  
Ann Manning

WM Faux  
Susan Faux

Thomas Underwood  
William Day Jun[io]<sup>86</sup>

Page 1 [Back; written in two columns; various hands; pencil note, modern hand: "3-72 gift F. P. Walkup<sup>87</sup> / 3 0500 00814 6246 / paper seal with flourished initials]:

Received the day and year first within written of and from the within named Charles Tyler the sum of One thousand three hundred and fifty pounds, being the Consideration Money within mentioned to be paid by him to us . . .  
£1350

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered by the within named Witness Joshua Hoare  
Joshua Hoare and Frances, his Wife, Henry Rugeley, Ann Manning William Faux and Susan, his wife, Thomas Underwood, and William Day the Younger (being first duly stampd) in the presence of \_\_\_\_\_  
Nevile Day [...] <sup>88</sup>

Witness  
Nevile Day  
Joshua Hoare  
Frances Hoare

<sup>86</sup> Eight red wax seals accompany these signatures. For the first seven names, the seals follow after the first name of first-name initials; for the last name, the seal follows after the last name.

<sup>87</sup> Dr. Fairfax Proudfit Walkup, a professor in CSUF' Theatre Department, who donated the document in March 1972.

<sup>88</sup> Illegible word in the flourish underneath Day's last name.

Dated 17<sup>th</sup> January 1826

Convenance of a Freehold,  
Messuage, Farm, and Lands in the  
Parish of Little Gransden in the  
County of Cambridge. \_ .  
Mr. and Mrs. Hoare and  
Mr. H. Rugeley & others  
\_ to \_  
Charles Tyler, Esquire

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Robert Fleming of Cypress, California, earned an A.A. in History (2019) at Cypress College and a B.A. in History (2021) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in history at CSUF.*

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in History and English (2015) at Rider University in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she was a member of the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu-Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned a Single Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2017) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Jesus Vazquez of Anaheim, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*The primary-source edition published here originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

Andromeda Massé (editor)

*“Su Afectísimo Compadre”:*

*Letters of Business and Family from the Two Californias (1845–1876)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

LH28-4, Box 1.

Early California Letters.

October 6, 1845, to January 16, 1876.

Ten letters (numbered 1 to 10 below).

*Introduction*

The letters edited and translated below are a selection of ten from the eighty-seven letters comprising the Early California Letters Collection of the “Local History Collection” held by CSUF’s University Archives and Special Collections. The age and chain of custody of the collection are unknown, but most of its contents (including several court documents and receipts) concern the descendants and relatives of José Darío Argüello (1753–1828), a prominent soldier, politician, and landowner in Southern California, and their families and business associates. All but two of the ten letters selected are written on variants of Monarch-size paper, approximately 19 cm in width by 26 cm in length. Letter 1 is written on paper that is 16.5 cm by 22 cm, and letter 9 is written on paper that is 21 cm by 33 cm. The paper, either cream (letters 1, 7, 9, and 10) or pale blue (letters 2–6, and 8) and either lined (letters 4–10) or unlined (letters 1–3), is in relatively good condition, with only minor tears, holes, and tripartite folds that do not impede legibility, though letter 3 is substantially more stained than the others. Letters 2, 3, and 6 are written on laid paper; the rest are written on wove paper. Each is written in a cursive hand in either fading black ink (letters 1–4, 6, 7, and 9), blue ink (letters 8 and 10), or pencil (letter 5 and the back of letter 9). The quality of the cursive of each writer varies widely. Each of the letters, save letter 10, also has a summary of its recipient, sender, date, and type of content written in another hand (likely an early archivist) on the back. Letters 4 and 6 have embossed stamps in the upper left corners, though they have since worn down so as to be illegible. No envelopes from the collection, if they were used at all, have survived.

This selection of letters contains eight Spanish-language letters, one English-language letter, and one French-language letter. Each letter is authored by a different person in a different year, and only two pairs (letters 1 and 7 to Santiago Argüello and letters 2 and 6 to José Ramón Argüello) share a recipient. Each letter covers a different topic, though most deal with property, debt, finances, familial obligations, and social relations in mid-nineteenth-century Southern California and northern Baja California. Letter 1 (1845) is correspondence between Thomás

Esténaga OFM, then prior of the Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, and Santiago Argüello, one of the leading men in Mexican San Diego, wherein Esténaga pushes Argüello to enlist the help of “some friend in Los Angeles” to collect on a debt owed to him by José María Covarrubias, who had earlier received a loan from the mission on Argüello’s credit. Letter 2 (1853) is correspondence between William Pinkney Toler (writing as Guillermo) and José Ramón Argüello, wherein Toler requests Argüello come to Northern California to attend his wedding with a Peralta heiress in the coming month and send him an Indigenous child servant from Southern California for the use of his fiancée. Letter 3 (1855) is correspondence between Pío Pico, the final governor of Mexican California, and his brother-in-law José Joaquín Ortega, encouraging Ortega to “religiously” carry out the task of delivering a tithe to a local priest after the coming branding season. Letter 4 (1857) is correspondence between Trinidad Rodríguez, a rancher in northern Baja California, and Luis Argüello, one of Santiago Argüello’s sons, concerning the shipment of mules and mares to one of Argüello’s ranches near San Diego. Letter 5 (1859) is a short receipt written by tax collector Juan Mendoza for back taxes owed by Juan Bandini for mining rights on land owned by the Moreno family in northern Baja California. Letter 6 (1860) is correspondence between Rufus King Porter, a New Englander, Forty-niner, and businessman then operating out of Ensenada, and José Ramón Argüello, who may have then been scouting out land to establish a new settlement in the San Diego backcountry, wherein Porter informs Argüello that he has pawned a ring Argüello had sent him and that he has used the money to send Argüello a shipment of foodstuffs, as requested. Letter 7 (1861) is correspondence between José Matías Moreno III, then almost nine years old, and Santiago Argüello, concerning Moreno’s anxiety and happiness that an important local personage has bestowed upon him the honorable and enigmatic title of “Mr.” Letter 8 (1867) is correspondence between Juan Ávila and his close business partner Adolfo Stokes, wherein Ávila informs Stokes that he will have a shipment of cattle ready for him in the coming days and that he will soon send an update on when and where to receive it. Letter 9 (1870) is an English-language promissory note penned by Adolfo Stokes wherein Stokes promises to pay Los Angeles politician Antonio Coronel two thousand United States Dollars in gold by the end of the coming May. Of note, the back of this letter contains interest calculations written in pencil and the signature of Coronel’s brother Manuel as witness. Letter 10 (1876) is a French-language letter drafted by Bernard Etcheverry, a prominent Francophone Basque shepherd in Santa Barbara County, to a Monsieur Boisseranc (likely also a Francophone Basque), requiring him to return, through Etcheverry’s agent Adolfo Stokes, a ewe and lamb that he had taken from Etcheverry’s property.



Figure 1: Map of locations mentioned in the letters [Andromeda Massé].



The letters published here should be of interest to those studying the transition of Alta California from Mexican to American control, particularly those focusing on the relationships between bilingual Anglo-Americans and their *Californio* associates or on the systems of formal and informal debts, favors, and family ties that bound *Californio* communities across both Californias. They are relevant to transnational studies of communities on the Mexican-American border, studies of internal and international migration to California, multilingualism and everyday language use in the Mexican Cession (as well as linguistic studies of historical Spanish pronunciations and grammatical forms in California), studies of the economic and geographic history of California and its ranchos, and biographical studies of the Argüello family and those who operated alongside them in Southern California. The letters should also be of interest to those studying elite social history in the mid-nineteenth century more broadly, particularly for their glimpses into how newcomers, either by their age (as Moreno) or their recent arrival (as Toler), negotiated their ways into Californian elite society. Beyond elite society, these letters also shed light on the everyday, petty, and often boring lives of their authors, and thus re-humanize a group of people long mythologized by memorial placards and heroic statues.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions, as well as suggestions for illegible words, appear in square brackets. Words that are entirely illegible are denoted by an ellipsis in square brackets. Flourishes are marked by reversed curly brackets: }{ . All non-English letters are reproduced in their original language and style first, followed by a translation into Standard American English.

*Edition: Letter 1, Thomás Esténaga OFM to Santiago Argüello, October 6, 1845, San Gabriel, California*

Front:

V[iva]. J[esús]. M[aría]. y [José].<sup>1</sup>

S[a]n Gabriel<sup>2</sup> 6 de Octubre de 1845

[+] Mi Estimado S[eñ]or D[o]n Santiago Arguillo;<sup>3</sup>

Con el objeto de indagar, si la cantidad de cien pesos que me era deudor el S[eñ]or D[o]n

---

<sup>1</sup> Reference to the biblical Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

<sup>2</sup> Misión San Gabriel Arcángel in present-day Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>3</sup> Santiago Argüello (1792–1862). Son of José Darío Argüello (1753–1828), governor of Baja California (1815–1822) and interim governor of Alta California (1814–1815), and María Ygnacia Moraga y Arbizu (1760–1835). Uncle of José Ramón Argüello (1828–1876), the addressee of letters 2 and 6.

José Maria Cobarrubias,<sup>4</sup> y cedidas por mi asu favor de U[sted]. en aquellos tiempos de [borasca?] estubieren pagados, le apure dias pasados adicho S[eñ]or, desentendiendome dela gracia disper sada en beneficio desu familia de U[sted]. Consta por la contestacion de dicho S[eñ]or, dela cesion hecha en U[sted]. pero no pagada y cubierta la deuda, y su puesto que la deuda este vigente, puede U[sted]. comisionar a algun Amigo en los Angeles<sup>5</sup> para que cobre ensu nombre de U[sted]. dicha cantidad y no quedemos arustrados<sup>6</sup> ambos ados por no correr esta diligencia. Se encargo a U[sted]. mucho, aora que esta ganando el sueldo de Secretario sin tener y aligar la escusa deque no tiene conq[ue] satisfacer, verifique satisfacer completamente, y no mire U[sted] con indiferencia Paselo bien y saludando asu esposa y familia U[sted]. mande asu af[ec]t[í]simo S[eguro]. S[ervidor].<sup>7</sup> q[ue]. [est.o?] B[esa]. S[u]. M[ano].<sup>8</sup>

Fr[ay]. Thomas Estenaga<sup>9</sup>

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Fr[ay] Tomas Estenega

á

Santiago Argüello

Carta

O[c]t[ub]re 6º de 1845

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<sup>4</sup> José María Covarrubias (ca. 1802–1870). Hispanophone Basque from France and early California politician. Delegate to the 1849 Constitutional Convention in Monterey and member of the California State Assembly for Santa Barbara from 1849 to 1862.

<sup>5</sup> Pueblo de los Ángeles, one of the capitals of the Department of the Californias of the Centralist Republic of Mexico. Present-day Los Angeles in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>6</sup> Probably *arrastrados*, “humiliated.”

<sup>7</sup> S. S. is a standard complimentary close in Spanish-language letters.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly *Beata Santa María*, “Blessed Saint Mary,” but more likely *q. b. s. m.*, a standard complimentary close in Spanish-language letters.

<sup>9</sup> Tomás Eleuterio Esténaga OFM (ca. 1790–ca. 1847). Hispanophone Basque Franciscan friar stationed in various California missions from 1820. Buried in the Misión San Gabriel Arcángel.

*Translation: Letter 1, Thomás Esténaga OFM to Santiago Argüello, October 6, 1845, San Gabriel, California*

Front:

Long live Jesus, Mary and Joseph.  
San Gabriel, October 6, 1845

My esteemed Señor Don Santiago Argüello,

In order to find out if the amount of one hundred pesos that Señor Don José María Covarrubias was indebted to me, and which was loaned by me on your credit in those times of [storm?], had been paid, I hurried some days ago to the aforementioned Señor, disregarding the grace dispersed for the benefit of your family. It is confirmed by the response of the said Señor that the loan had been made in your name, but not paid and the debt not covered, and that since the debt is current, you can commission some Friend in Los Angeles to collect the said amount in your name. And let's not both get humiliated for not running this errand. I entrust you with a lot, now that you are earning a secretary's salary. Consequently, without having and using the excuse that you are not able to fulfill [this task], be sure to fulfill it completely, and do not approach it with indifference. Be well and greet your wife and family.

Respond to your most affectionate Sure Servant who [...] kisses your hand.

Fra Thomás Esténaga

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Fra T[h]omás Esténaga to Santiago Argüello  
Letter  
October 6, 1845

*Edition: Letter 2, William (Guillermo) Pinkney Toler to José Ramón Argüello, September 12, 1853, San Leandro, California*

Front:

San Leandro<sup>10</sup> Septiembre 12 de 1853  
S[eño]r. Don José Ramon Arguello<sup>11</sup>

Querido Compadre

Espero que esta le  
encuentre á U[sted]. y toda la familia gozando de la  
mejor salud.

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<sup>10</sup> City in Alameda County, California. Located on the territory of the 1820 Rancho San Antonio and 1842 Rancho San Leandro Mexican land grants.

<sup>11</sup> José Ramón Antonio Francisco Darío Argüello y Ortega (1828–1876). Son of Luis Antonio Argüello (1784–1830), governor of Alta California (1822–1825), and María de Soledad Ortega de Argüello. Nephew of Santiago Argüello (1792–1862), the addressee of letters 1 and 7.

Tengo el gusto de anunciarle, que en el mes que entra, me voy á casar con Doña Maria Antonia Peralta,<sup>12</sup> ija de Don Ygnacio Peralta;<sup>13</sup> y si U[sted]. tiene intencion de venir por aca como pensaba, tendré mucho gusto de verle. Desde su vuelta á San Diego,<sup>14</sup> no me ha vuelto á escribir U[sted].; lo que siento mucho, como yo esperaba Carta de U[sted]., y tambien pudiera darme á pensar que estaba sentido por alguna falta de atencion, lo cual no debiera ser, acordandose U[sted]. que Cuando estuvo en San Francisco,<sup>15</sup> me acababa de quitar mi destino<sup>16</sup> el Gobernador,<sup>17</sup> y no estuve en estado para obsequiarle del modo que queria hacerlo.

Sirvase escribirme una Carta larga con las ultimas noticias de su parte del mundo, lo que yo mismo havia si hubiera algo que escribir ó avisar.

Muchas espresiones de estimacion á mi Comadre,<sup>18</sup> y á toda la familia que todavia se acuerdan de mi. y U[sted]. Compadre, siempre

Back [The conclusion of the letter is followed by a postscript which, in turn, is followed by a vertical column written in a different hand.]:

cuenta con la segura amistad y afeccion de  
Su Afectisimo Compadre  
Que le aprecia.

Guillermo P. Toler<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> (1835–1926). Daughter of Hermenegildo Ygnacio Peralta (1791–1874) and Rafaela Sánchez (1801–1878). Married William (Guillermo) Pinkney Toler (1826–1899) on October 19, 1853.

<sup>13</sup> Hermenegildo Ygnacio Peralta y Alviso (1791–1874). Son of Luis María Peralta y Valenzuela (1759–1851) and María Loreto Alviso y Trejo (1770–1836).

<sup>14</sup> City in San Diego County, in southern California.

<sup>15</sup> City in San Francisco County, in northern California.

<sup>16</sup> That is, “position, office:” Toler was honorably discharged from the U.S. Navy in 1848 and was hired as an assistant to John White Geary (1819–1873), the final *alcade* and first mayor of San Francisco, in 1850.

<sup>17</sup> Presumably a reference to recent events of this time, California Governor Peter Hardeman Burnett (1849–1851), Governor John McDougal (1851–1852), or Governor John Bigler (1852–1856).

<sup>18</sup> Presumably María Ysabel Zacarias Alviso y Pacheco (1828–1885), the wife of this letter’s addressee, José Ramón Argüello, from October 29, 1851, until his death.

<sup>19</sup> William Pinkney Toler (1826–1899). Son of American diplomat Hopeful Henry Toler (ca. 1793–1858) and a Venezuelan woman.

Compadre. He abierto esta Carta para pedirle un gran favor  
 Maria Antonia tiene necesidad de una Indita<sup>20</sup> de dies ó doce  
 años de edad; y si U[sted]. me hiciera el favor de mandarle  
 una, con alguna persona que se encargare de ella, lo agradeceria  
 muchisimo. Aqui hay mucha dificultad para conseguir  
 una, y por eso le hago el encargo, suplicando mucho que  
 me haga ese favor. Si U[sted]. me mande una Carta  
 algunos dias antes que mande la Indita, estaré en el muelle  
 para recibirla y traerla aqui. Si no es mucho el  
 pedir que mande una que ya sepa algo, mucho lo agradeceria.  
 Su Afect[ísi]mo Compadre  
 G. P. T.

Guillermo  
 P. Toler  
 á  
 José Ramon  
 Argüello  
 Carta  
 S[ep]t[iem]bre 12 de 1853

*Translation: Letter 2, William (Guillermo) Pinkney Toler to José Ramón Argüello,  
 September 12, 1853, San Leandro, California*

Front:

San Leandro September 12, 1853  
 Señor Don José Ramón Argüello

Dear Friend

I hope this finds you and the whole family in the best of health.  
 I have the pleasure of announcing that in the coming month I am going to marry  
 Doña María Antonia Peralta, daughter of Ygnacio Peralta; and if you mean to come  
 here as I had thought, I will be very glad to see you.  
 Since your return to San Diego, you have not written me; I am very sorry, as I  
 expected a letter from you, and it also led me to think that you were disappointed  
 for some lack of attention, which you should not be, considering that when you  
 were last in San Francisco, the Governor had just taken my post from me, and I  
 was not in a state to oblige you the way that I wanted to.  
 Please write me a long letter with the latest news from your part of the world,  
 which I myself would have done if there were anything to write or advise about.  
 Many expressions of esteem to my friend [i.e., your wife] and to all the family who  
 still remember me. And you, [my] friend, always

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<sup>20</sup> That is, a young Indigenous girl.

Back [The conclusion of the letter is followed by a postscript which, in turn, is followed by a vertical column written in a different hand.]:

count on the sure friendship and affection of Your Most Affectionate Friend Who treasures you

William P. Toler

[My] Friend. I opened this letter to ask for a big favor. María Antonia needs a young Indigenous girl of ten or twelve years of age; and if you could do me the favor of sending one, with some person who knows how to take care of her, I would be most thankful. It has been very difficult to obtain one here, and for that reason I make this request, begging that you do me this favor. If you send me a letter a couple days before sending the young Indigenous girl, I will be at the dock to receive her and bring her here. If it is not too much to ask that you send one who already knows something, I would be very thankful.

Your Most Affectionate Friend

G. P. T.

Guillermo P. Toler to José Ramón Argüello

Letter

September 12, 1853

*Edition: Letter 3, Pío Pico to José Joaquín Ortega, October 10, 1855, Corunga, California*

Front:

Señor D[on] José Joaq[ui]n Ortega<sup>21</sup>  
Corunga<sup>22</sup> oct[ubre] 10 de 18[--]

Mi apreciable hermano, esta tiene  
Por objeto Recomendarle aU[sted]. entregue al S[eño]r  
Presbitero D[on] Pedro Gavario<sup>23</sup> el parte de Diez  
mo que pueda [?] corresponder [seguir?] el herradero  
de mis bienes que estuve a su cargo, y que  
cuidara U[sted]. religiosom[en]te de aser<sup>24</sup> este mi en

<sup>21</sup> José Joaquín Gerónimo Ortega y López (1801–1865). Son of José María Ortega (ca. 1760–1822) and María Francisca López (ca. 1763–1833). Married to María Casimira Pico y Gutierrez (1804–1894), the sister of this letter's author, Pío de Jesús Pico (1801–1894), from March 4, 1821, until his death.

<sup>22</sup> Alternate name for Rancho Paso de Bartolo (or a piece of property on that site), an 1835 Mexican land grant owned by Pío Pico in present-day Whittier, in Los Angeles County, California. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, Vol. V, 1846–1848* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1886), 390–91n10.

<sup>23</sup> While spelled "Gavario" here, this is Pedro Bagaría (unknown–unknown), a Spanish resident priest officiating at the Misión San Juan Capistrano from November 1853 to October 1856.

<sup>24</sup> Probably *hacer*, "to do."

cargo. Sin otro Asunto [Ordene?] a su  
hermano y Comp[adre] q[ue] b[esa]. S[u]. M[ano].<sup>25</sup>

Pío Pico<sup>26</sup> }}{

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Pío Pico

á

José J. Ortega

Carta

o[c]t[u]bre 10 de 1855

*Translation: Letter 3, Pío Pico to José Joaquín Ortega,  
October 10, 1855, Corunga, California*

Front:

Señor Don José Joaquín Ortega

Corunga, October 10, 18[??]

My appreciable brother, this [letter] has the purpose of recommending that you deliver to Señor Father<sup>27</sup> Don Pedro Bagaría the part of the Tithe that may correspond [...] the branding of those goods of mine that will be in your charge, and that you religiously take care of doing this assignment of mine.

Without any other [matter of?] business to your Brother and Friend, who kisses your hand.

Pío Pico

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Pío Pico to José J. Ortega

Letter

October 10, 1855

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<sup>25</sup> *q. b. s. m.* is a standard complimentary close in Spanish-language letters.

<sup>26</sup> Pío de Jesús Pico (1801–1894). Son of José María Darío Pico y Bastida (ca. 1765–1819) and María Eustaquia Gutiérrez y Arballo (ca. 1773–1846). Appointed governor of Alta California by Mexican President José Joaquín de Herrera in February 1845, a position he held until his ouster by the U.S. Navy in August 1846.

<sup>27</sup> The word used in Spanish is *presbítero*, “priest.”

Sr. D. Luis Argüello  
 Manco de Sonora  
 sobre N.º de 1857

Muy señor mío de mi  
 aprecio de ser lo que bien, señor recibido  
 la de b. Impuesto de su contenido, le digo  
 a b. lo siguiente que estoy con la mejor dis-  
 posición, de verbi a b. como le dicho  
 en la g. tenida g. me trajera mis mulas  
 junto con las Dhas. Seguas, que b. me traía  
 si no es así, como puedo ponerme en el mis-  
 mo la berinto g. estando con ~~esta~~ mu-  
 las le aseguro a b. que lo abraze si b.  
 tiene en este Manco, Dhas. así males,  
 siendo g. sea mis mulas, Dhas Seguas, y no  
 tengo mas que de sí a b. Dispense me  
 b. el que <sup>yo</sup> no puedo hacer me <sup>me</sup> aben, con  
 v. Sin mas asunto, Dis ponga b. de su  
 atento ~~habido~~, Trinidad, Rodríguez




Figure 2: Letter 4, Trinidad Rodríguez to Luis Argüello, November 12, 1857 [front].



Edition: Letter 4, Trinidad Rodríguez to Luis Argüello,  
November 12, 1857, Rancho de Sonora, Baja California

Front:

S[eñ]or D[o]n Luis Argueyo<sup>28</sup>  
Rancho de Sonora<sup>29</sup>  
n[oviem]bre. 12. de 1857

Muy señor mio de mi  
aprecio de Seo<sup>30</sup> lo pase [?] bien, Señor recibido  
la de U[sted]. Ympuesto de su contenido, le digo=  
a U[sted]. la siguiente que estoy con la mejor dis=  
pocicion de Serbir áU[sted]. como le dicho –  
en la q[u]e le mande q[u]e me trajera mis mulas  
Junto con las D[ic]has. Yeguas. que U[sted]. metra la  
isino [?] es así, Yono puedo poner me enel mis=  
mo la [berinato?] q[u]e [étenido?] con D[ic]ha mu=  
las le aseguro a U[sted]. que lo abiare di U[sted].  
tiene en este rancho, D[ic]hos. animales,  
siendo q[u]e Sea, mis mulas, Y las Yeguas, Y no=  
tengo mas que de sirle a U[sted]. Dispenseme=  
U[sted]. el que Yo no puedo his [?] me aberme con=  
U[sted]. Y Sin mas asunto, Sin ponga U[sted]. de Su  
atento [?] Y Serbidor, Trinidad, Rodriguez<sup>31</sup>

[*sign manual*]

Back [two vertical columns, the second written in a different hand]:

S[eñ]or D[o]n Luis, Argueyo  
En el Balle de los Biejos<sup>32</sup>  
Mano [?] [*monograph*]

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<sup>28</sup> Presumably Luis Gonzaga Mariano Argüello y Ortega (1824–1868), son of Santiago Argüello (1792–1862) and María del Pilar Salvadora Ortega y López (ca. 1794–1878).

<sup>29</sup> Mexican land grant in inland northern Baja California, about 80 km (50 mi) southeast of Ensenada, in present-day Ensenada Municipality, Baja California, Mexico. Not to be confused with the Mexican State of Sonora.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *deseo*, “I wish.”

<sup>31</sup> Possibly José Trinidad Rodríguez (ca. 1810–ca. 1900), of Sonora, Baja California. Husband of María Dolores Remedios Valenzuela y Benítez (ca. 1831–1899).

<sup>32</sup> That is, Valle de los Viejos. Settlement in San Diego County on the southwestern edge of the Rancho Cuyamaca land grant, near present-day Alpine, California (possibly where the El Capitan Reservoir is today). See William Ireland, Jr., *Eighth Annual Report of the State Mineralogist. For the Year Ending October 1, 1888* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1888), 521.

Trinidad Rodríguez  
 á  
 Luis Argüello  
 Carta  
 Nov[iembre] 12: de 1857

*Translation: Letter 4, Trinidad Rodríguez to Luis Argüello,  
 November 12, 1857, Rancho de Sonora, Baja California*

Front:

Señor Don Luis Argüello  
 Rancho de Sonora  
 November 12, 1857

My dear sir, I [...]. Sir, [I have] received your [letter?], [I have] enjoined its contents, I tell you the following: that I am in the best disposition to serve you as [you have] said. [...] that I sent you that you might bring me my mules along with the aforementioned mares. That you treat me [as if it is not like that?], I cannot put myself in the same [...] that [...] with said mules[.] I assure you that I will be prepared to say [that] you have the said animals on this ranch, [be that as it may?], my mules, and the mares, I have nothing more than [...] to you. Excuse me for I cannot [...] with you, without further ado, without placing yourself in your [...] and  
 Servant, Trinidad Rodríguez

[*sign manual*]

Back [two vertical columns, the second written in a different hand]:

Señor Don Luis Argüeyo  
 In Valle de los Viejos  
 By the hand of [*monograph*]

Trinidad Rodríguez to Luis Argüello  
 Letter  
 November 12, 1857

*Edition: Letter 5, Juan Mendoza to Juan Bandini,  
 January 12, 1859 [Rancho Guadalupe, Baja California]*

Front:

Recivi del S[eñ]or. Don Juan Ban  
 dini<sup>33</sup> cinco pesos por da[ñ]os del

---

<sup>33</sup> Juan Lorenzo Bruno Bandini (1800–1859). Son of José Bandini (1771–1841) and Ysidora Blancas (unknown–1801). Married to María del Refugio Francisca Lugarda Argüello y Ortega (1817–1891), the daughter of Santiago Argüello (1792–1862), from February 7, 1835, until his death.

canon territorial<sup>34</sup> por el presente año correspondientes al rancho de Guadalupe<sup>35</sup> por cinco sitios de ganado mayor.<sup>36</sup>

Tijuana<sup>37</sup> En[er]o 12 de 1859

Juan Mendoza<sup>38</sup>  
Recaudador

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Juan Mendoza  
á  
Juan Bandini  
Recibo \$5.  
Derechos  
Enero 12 de 1859

*Translation: Letter 5, Juan Mendoza to Juan Bandini, January 12, 1859 [Rancho Guadalupe, Baja California]*

Front:

I received five pesos from Señor Don Juan Bandini for losses incurred by [the nonpayment of] the mining levies for the current year, corresponding to five *sitios* of the Rancho de Guadalupe.

Tijuana, January 12, 1859

Juan Mendoza  
Tax collector

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<sup>34</sup> That is, “levy, fee (on land).” Likely refers to the payment required to secure mineral rights on a piece of land for a certain period, probably one year.

<sup>35</sup> Land grant surrounding the Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte, in the Valle de Guadalupe in inland northern Baja California. Owned by José Matías Moreno y Carrillo (1819–1869), the father of the author of letter 7, at time of writing.

<sup>36</sup> Land survey unit defined as a square five thousand *varas* (one *legua*) on each side, approximately 17.6 km<sup>2</sup> (4340 acres). Five *sitios* comprise one *hacienda*, approximately 87.8 km<sup>2</sup> (21,700 acres).

<sup>37</sup> Rancho Tía Juana, an 1829 Mexican land grant in northern Baja California (present-day Tijuana) owned by Santiago Argüello (1792–1862).

<sup>38</sup> Presumably Juan Mendoza (unknown–1865). Godson by *compadrazgo* of Cave Johnson Coutts (1821–1874) and Juan Bandini’s daughter María Ysidora Bandini y Estudillo (1829–1897). Coutts fatally shot Mendoza in an altercation on February 6, 1865. See María Irene Moyna, “Back at the Rancho: Language Maintenance and Shift among Spanish Speakers in Post-Annexation California (1848–1900),” *Revista Internacional de Linguística Iberoamericana* 7, no. 1 (January 2009): 175.

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Juan Mendoza to Juan Bandini  
 Receipt for \$5 in dues  
 January 12, 1859

*Edition: Letter 6, Rufus King Porter to José Ramón Argüello,  
 June 25, 1860, Sausal de Camacho, Baja California*

Front [containing an indented list and a postscript]:

Sausal de Camacho<sup>39</sup>  
 25 de Junio  
 de 1860  
 A Señor Don  
 Jose R. Argüello<sup>40</sup>

Estimado Amigo

Como  
 U[sted]. dice que tiene mucha necesidad de algunas cosas tomo empeñado el anillo en tres pesos y le mando lo siguiente

1 peso maiz  
 4 reales frijol  
 1 real tabaco de hoja (no hay de otro)  
 4 reales de jabon  
 1½ [reales de] arroz  
 4 [reales de] azucar  
 1½ [reales de] café. que son 3 pesos

Le mando el valor del cuero en harina. Guardo el anillo para U[sted].  
 Su Amigo

---

<sup>39</sup> Port town on the Bay of All Saints in northern Baja California, now in Ensenada Municipality, Baja California, Mexico. Today known as El Sauzal de Rodríguez. See John Ross Brown, *A Sketch of the Settlement and Exploration of Lower California* (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft and Co., 1869), 9.

<sup>40</sup> José Ramón Antonio Francisco Darío Argüello y Ortega (1828–1876). Son of Luis Antonio Argüello (1784–1830), governor of Alta California (1822–1825), and María de Soledad Ortega de Argüello. Argüello may have been surveying the Santa Maria Valley of San Diego County, in southern California, for potential settlement locations with Adolfo Stokes (then the partial owner of the 1843 Rancho Valle de Pamo Mexican land grant that encompassed the valley) at time of writing.

R[ufus] K[ing] Porter<sup>41</sup>

El cuero vale 14 reales y le mando el valor en harina

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

R. K. Porter

á

José R. Argüello

Carta

Junio 25 de 1860

*Translation: Letter 6, Rufus King Porter to José Ramón Argüello, June 25, 1860, Sausal de Camacho, Baja California*

Front [containing an indented list and a postscript]:

Sausal de Camacho

June 25, 1860

To Señor Don José Ramón Argüello

Esteemed Friend,

As you said that you had much need for some things, so I took and pawned the ring for three pesos and sent you the following:

1 peso of rice

4 reals of beans

1 real of leaf tobacco (there was not anything else)

4 reals of ham

1½ reals of rice

4 reals of sugar

1½ reals of coffee,

which altogether is 3 pesos.

I sent the value of the leather in flour. I will keep an eye on the ring for you.  
Your Friend,

Rufus King Porter

The leather was worth 14 reals, and I sent the value in flour.

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

R. K. Porter to José R. Argüello

Letter June 25, 1860

---

<sup>41</sup> Probably Rufus King Porter (1820–1903). Son of artist and inventor Rufus Porter (1792–1884) and Eunice Twombly (ca. 1795–1848), of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Porter moved west shortly before the California Gold Rush, working as a businessman, translator, and legal advisor for Spanish-speaking *Californios*.

Al Excmo. Señor Marqués Don Santiago Argüello, Presidente  
de la Academia de la Lengua de San Diego, S. S. S.  
Guadalupe, en la frontera de la Baja California, Agosto 20 de 1861.  
Excmo. Señor Marqués.

Altamente agradecido á las bondades de V.E. que con prodigalidad  
derrama por donde pasa, me obliga esta vez á tomar la pluma para da-  
ros las gracias, y manifestaros mi mas profundo agradecimiento  
por vuestro generoso cumplimiento. Yo, que desiendo de una es-  
te humilde, y sin haber cursado las cátedras literarias, ni conocido  
las grandes notabilidades que hermosean la república de las letras,  
me veo inesperadamente ennoblecido y elevado al noble rango de  
notabilidad, merced á la bondad generosa de vuestro magnanimo  
corazon. Vuestro Despacho de 20 de Mayo de este año de Gracia  
de 1861, en que, por vuestra voluntad, me habeis condecorado con  
el honroso y noble título de "Mr.", ha llenado mi corazon de gratitud  
y entusiasmo á vuestra noble persona. Sin embargo, Señor Marqués,  
algun temor le queda á mi regocijado corazon, por no comprender  
muy bien lo que significan las dos bellas letras "Emé" "Ere" en la  
forma que V.E. las coloca para titularme "Mr." - Puestas en esa for-  
ma, en la Lengua Castellana, significan: "Mártir"; en la Lengua Fran-  
cesa, significan Monseur ó Monseñor, y en la Lengua Inglesa, sig-  
nifican "Mister". Ahora, pues, Muy Ilustre Marqués, desearia que  
V.E. las interpretara, para saber, si soy "Mártir", "Monseñor" ó "Monse-  
ñor", ó "Mister". Estoy inclinado á creer que por ahora soy "Mártir",  
por que sufro mucho tormento al no poder darle á la "Emé" "Ere"  
la interpretacion debida, y privarme del placer de saber lo que  
soy entre las demás notabilidades. Servase, pues, Muy Noble y Muy

Figure 3: Letter 7, José Matías Moreno III to Santiago Argüello, August 20, 1861 [front].

*Edition: Letter 7, José Matías Moreno III to Santiago Argüello, August 20, 1861, Rancho Guadalupe, Baja California*

Front:

Al Exc[elentísi]mo Señor Marqués<sup>42</sup> Don Santiago Argüello.<sup>43</sup> Presidente de la Academia de la Lengua de San Diego<sup>44</sup> &. &. &. Guadalupe,<sup>45</sup> en la frontera de la Baja California, Agosto 20 de 1861.

Exc[elentísi]mo. Señor Marqués.

Altamente agradecido á las bondades de V[uestra].E[xcelencia]. que con prodigalidad derrama por donde pasa, me obliga esta vez á tomár la pluma para daros las gracias, y manifestaros mi mas profundo agradecimiento por vuestro generoso cumplimiento. Yo, que deciendo de una estirpe humilde, y sin haber Cursado las cátedras literárias, ni conocido las grandes notabilidades que hermocean la república de las létras, me veo inesperadamente ennoblecido y elevado al noble rango de notabilidad, merced á la bondad generosa de vuestro magnanimo corazon. Vuestro Despacho de 20 de Mayo de este año de Gracia<sup>46</sup> de 1861, en que, por vuestra voluntad me habeis condecorado con el honroso y noble titulo de, “Mr.”,<sup>47</sup> ha llenado mi corazon de gratitud y entusiasmo á vuestra noble persona. Sin embargo, Señor Marqués, algun temór le quéda á mi regocijado corazon, por no comprendér muy bien lo que significan las dos bellas létras “Eme” “Erre” en la forma que V[uestra].E[xcelencia]. las coloca para titularme “Mr.”. Puestas en esa forma, en la Lengua Castellana,<sup>48</sup> significan: “Mártir”, en la Lengua Fran

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<sup>42</sup> Argüello held no title equivalent to marquis, though Moreno may be referring to Argüello's large landholdings on either side of the California–Mexico border.

<sup>43</sup> Santiago Argüello (1792–1862). Son of José Darío Argüello (1753–1828), governor of Baja California (1815–1822) and interim governor of Alta California (1814–1815), and María Ygnacia Moraga y Arbizu (1760–1835). Uncle of José Ramón Argüello (1828–1876), the addressee of letters 2 and 6.

<sup>44</sup> Unknown organization. May have been a school or Hispanophone social club in San Diego, or may be a metaphor used by Moreno to represent Argüello's influence in the Hispanophone communities on the California–Mexico border. The first national Academia de la Lengua Española outside of Spain was founded in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1871, but this does not preclude a similar local organization being founded in San Diego a decade prior.

<sup>45</sup> Land grant surrounding the Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte, in the Valle de Guadalupe in inland northern Baja California. Owned by José Matías Moreno y Carrillo (1819–1869), the father of the author of this letter, at time of writing.

<sup>46</sup> That is, in the year of Our Lord.

<sup>47</sup> The rest of the text is slanted, but “Mr.” appears upright.

<sup>48</sup> That is, Spanish.

cesa, significan Monseur ó Monseñor,<sup>49</sup> y<sup>50</sup> en la Lengua Ynglesa, significan “Mister”. Ahora, pues, Muy Ylustre Marqués, desearía que V[uestra].E[xcelencia]. las interpretara, para saber, si soy “Martir”, “Monseur” ó “Monseñor”, ó “Mister”. Estoy inclinado á creer que por ahora soy “Martir”, por que sufro mucho tormento al no poder darle á la “Eme”-“Erre” la interpretacion debida, y privarme del placer de saber lo que soy éntre las demás notabilidades. Sirvase, pues, Muy Noble y Muy

Back [The conclusion of the letter is followed by a vertical column written in a different hand.]:

Ylustre Marqués, el desarrollar, como Presidente de la Academia, toda la Elocuencia de su hermosa y fecunda Lengua, para darme cuanto antes la interpretacion que le pido, y quedaré mas obligado á sus favores. Tengo la honra, Serenisimo Señor Marqués, de ofrecermé á sus nobles pies, como su muy humilde y obediente Servidor.

Mr. Matias Moreno<sup>51</sup>

José M Moreno

al

Ex[celentísi]mo Señor

Marques Don

Santiago

Argüello

Presidente

de la lengua

de San Diego

& & &

Agosto 20. 1861

*Translation: Letter 7, José Matías Moreno III to Santiago Argüello, August 20, 1861, Rancho Guadalupe, Baja California*

Front:

To the Most Excellent Señor Marquis Don Santiago Argüello, President of the Academy of Language of San Diego & cetera & cetera & cetera

<sup>49</sup> That is, *monsieur* and *monsignor*.

<sup>50</sup> Text below is wiped away and overwritten.

<sup>51</sup> Probably José Matías Moreno III (1852–1902). Son of José Matías Moreno y Carrillo (1819–1869), personal secretary to Pío Pico and the son of a Scots whaler named Joseph Matthew Brown (bef. 1799–bef. 1851), and Prudenciana María del Refugio López-Vallejo (1832–1920). Moreno would have been eight years old at time of writing.



Guadalupe, on the border of Baja California, August 20, 1861

Most Excellent Señor Marquis,

Highly grateful to the kindness of Your Excellency, who lavishly pours out wherever you go, who this time obliges me to take up my pen and express my deepest gratitude for your generous compliments. I, who descend from humble stock, and without having attended the literary circles, nor known the great notables who beautify the republic of letters, see myself unexpectedly ennobled and elevated to the noble rank of notability, thanks to the generous kindness of your magnanimous heart. Your Dispatch of the 20th of May of this year of Grace 1861, in which, by your free will, you have decorated me with the honorable and noble title of, "Mr.", has filled my heart with gratitude and enthusiasm for your noble person. However, Señor Marquis, some fear remains in my joyful heart, for not understanding very well what the two beautiful letters "M" and "R" mean in the way that Your Excellency places them to title me "Mr.". When placed like so, in the Castilian language, they mean "Martyr", in the French language, they mean "Monsieur" or "Monsignor", and in the English language, they mean "Mister". Now, then, Very Illustrious Marquis, I would like Your Excellency to interpret them, to know if I am "Martyr", or "Monsieur" or "Monsignor", or "Mister". I am inclined to believe that for now I am a "Martyr", because I suffer much torment by not being able to give the "M"- "R" their proper interpretation, and to deprive myself of the pleasures of knowing what I am among the other notables. Please, then, Very Noble and Very

Back [The conclusion of the letter is followed by a vertical column written in a different hand.]:

Illustrious Marquis, develop, as President of the Academy, all the Eloquence of your beautiful and fertile language, to give me as soon as possible the interpretation I ask of you, and I will be more obliged to your favors. I have the honor, Most Serene Señor Marquis, to offer myself at your noble feet, as your very humble and obedient Servant.

Mr. Matías Moreno

José M Moreno to the Most Excellent Señor Marquis Don Santiago Argüello,  
President of the [Academy of] Language of San Diego, & cetera & cetera & cetera  
August 20, 1861

*Edition: Letter 8, Juan Ávila to Adolfo Stokes,  
July 9, 1867, San Juan Capistrano, California*

Front:

D[on], Adolfo S[tokes],<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Adolfo (or Adolpho) Benjamin Stokes (ca. 1843–1898). Son of English sailor Edward (Eduardo) Stokes (unknown–ca. 1846) and María del Refugio de Jesús Ortega y Pico (1823–1896).

S[an], J[uan], C[a]p[istra]no<sup>53</sup> Julio 9. de 1867.

Querido, Adolfo despues de saludarte te pongo estos cortos renglones para decirte que para el dia 13. de este, bengaz<sup>54</sup> sinfalta á recibir los becerros que tengo que entregarte pues para esta fecha loz tengo, todos juntoz por luego te mando Ábizar<sup>55</sup> con tiempo para que tenga lugar de benir para este dia por tus animalez.  
y no ofreciendose maz manda como gustes á tu aff[ectísi]mo Tio que berte decea

Juan Abila<sup>56</sup>

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Juan Abila  
á  
Adolfo Stokes  
Carta  
Julio 9 de 1867

*Translation: Letter 8, Juan Ávila to Adolfo Stokes, July 9, 1867, San Juan Capistrano, California*

Front:

Don Adolfo Stokes,  
San Juan Capistrano, July 9, 1867

My dear Adolfo, after greeting you, I write you these short lines to tell you that by the 13th of this [month], you must come without fail to receive the calves that I have to deliver to you, because by that date I will have them all together; at that point I will send you a notice in time so that you know where to come on that day for your animals.

And not having anything more to offer, respond as you like to your most affectionate Uncle who wishes to see you,

---

<sup>53</sup> City in present-day Orange County (then part of Los Angeles County), in southern California.

<sup>54</sup> That is, *vengas*, “you may come:” Ávila regularly uses ⟨b⟩ for ⟨v⟩ and ⟨z⟩ for ⟨s⟩. The respective sounds (/b~β/ and /s/) are identical in most North American Spanish dialects.

<sup>55</sup> That is, *avisar*, “to advise.”

<sup>56</sup> Probably Juan Ávila (1812–1889). Son of Antonio Ygnacio Ávila y Urquidez (ca. 1774–1858) and Rosa María Ruiz y Monreal López (1789–1866). Grantee of the 1842 Rancho Niguel Mexican land grant, encompassing present-day Laguna Niguel, Laguna Hills, Laguna Beach, and Aliso Viejo in southern Orange County, in southern California. Ávila is not closely related to Stokes, despite the use of the term “uncle.”

Juan Ávila

Back [vertical column written in a different hand]:

Juan Ávila to Adolfo Stokes

Letter

July 9, 1867

Los Angeles,  
October 22<sup>d</sup> 1870.

\$ 2,000 7/100

On or before the  
31<sup>st</sup> day of May, A. D. 1871, for  
value received, I promise to  
Antonio, F. Coronel, or order,  
the sum of two thousand dollars,  
payable only in Gold coin of the  
United States, with interest thereon  
at the rate of two per cent  
per month, from the first  
day of November, proximo,  
until paid.

(This mortgage, of even date  
herewith, to secure the pay-  
ment of this promissory note,  
is duly stamped with two  
dollars, Internal Revenue stamps.)

A. Stokes

Figure 4: Letter 9, Adolfo Stokes to Antonio F. Coronel, October 22, 1870 [front].

*Edition: Letter 9, Adolfo Stokes to Antonio F. Coronel,  
October 22, 1870, Los Angeles, California*

Front:

Los Angeles.

October 22[nd]. 1870.

\$2000 <sup>00/100</sup>

On or before the  
31st day of May, A[nno].D[omini]. 1871, for  
value recieved [*sic*], I promise to  
Antonio, F, Coronel,<sup>57</sup> on order,  
the sum of Two Thousand Dollars,  
payable only in Gold Coin<sup>58</sup> of The  
United States, with interest thereon,  
at the rate of Two per cent  
per month, from the first  
day of November, proximo,<sup>59</sup>  
until paid.

(The mortgage, of even date  
herewith,<sup>60</sup> to secure the pay=  
=ment of this promissory note,  
is only stamped with Two  
Dollars, Internal Revenue Stamps.<sup>61</sup>)

A[dolfo] Stokes<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Antonio Francisco (or Franco) Coronel y Romero (1817–1894). Son of José Ygnacio Coronel y Salazar (1795–1862) and María Josefa Francisca Romero y Rosel (1802–1871). Former mayor of Los Angeles (1853–1854) and Los Angeles County Assessor (1850–1856). State Treasurer of California (1867–1871) at time of writing.

<sup>58</sup> May be referring either to gold coins minted by the United States Mint, such as the \$10 eagle, the gold one-dollar coin, and the gold three-dollar coin, or to any gold-based representative money produced by the United States, such as gold certificates. Privately-issued coin-like tokens, collectively referred to as “California gold coinage,” were common in California from 1849, but had been demonetized under the Coinage Act of 1864.

<sup>59</sup> That is, the beginning of the next month, in nine days’ time.

<sup>60</sup> That is, having the same date as this letter (October 22, 1870).

<sup>61</sup> Stamp placed on a legal document to indicate that a tax, duty, or fee has been collected as part of the process of making the document legally binding. This particular stamp would have been a Scott #R82a, 1862–1871 U.S. Internal Revenue Stamp, \$2 Mortgage, imperforate, red.

<sup>62</sup> Adolfo (or Adolpho) Benjamin Stokes (ca. 1843–1898). Son of English sailor Edward (Eduardo) Stokes (unknown–ca. 1846) and María del Refugio de Jesús Ortega y Pico (1823–1896).

Back [Following the addressee's name, there are several text fields and vertical columns written in different hands, including a list of numbers in pencil]:

A. F. Coronel

Adolfo Stokes

to

Antonio F Coronel

Promissory

note

2000 <sup>00/100</sup>

october 22[nd]. 1870

sin recurso [without appeal]

Manuel F Coronel<sup>63</sup>

12	9
7	[deletion]
	6
19	15
40	
760	
20	
780	
2780	
5000	
2220	

[...]

6/872

*Edition: Letter 10, Bernard Etcheverry to M. Boisseranc, January 16, 1876, Santa Maria, California*

Front:

S[an]ta Maria<sup>64</sup> 16 Janvier 1876

Monsieur Boisserand<sup>65</sup> ayez la complaisance  
de remettre la brebis avec son agneau  
a la même place que l'avez prise, sinon

---

<sup>63</sup> Manuel Francisco (or Franco) Coronel y Romero (1830–unknown). Brother of Antonio F. Coronel (1817–1894). Presumably acting as a witness for this transaction.

<sup>64</sup> City in Santa Barbara County, in southern California.

<sup>65</sup> Unknown person, probably surnamed Boisseranc. Presumably a Francophone Basque shepherd.

vous serez responsable des dommages et intérêts.

Vous serez<sup>66</sup> que Mr. Adolfo Stokes<sup>67</sup> est enchargé pour tous les animaux m'apartenant pour reclamer.

B[ernard]. Etcheverry.<sup>68</sup>

*Translation: Letter 10, Bernard Etcheverry to M. Boisseranc, January 16, 1876, Santa Maria, California*

Front:

Santa Maria, January 16, 1876

Monsieur Boisseranc, be amicable to bringing the sheep and its lamb back to the same place you took them from, or else you will be responsible for damages and interest.

You will know that Mr. Adolfo Stokes is in charge of claims concerning all the animals that belong to me.

Bernard Etcheverry.

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Andromeda Massé of Walnut, California, earned an A.A. in History (2020) at Mount San Antonio College and a B.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).*

*The primary-source edition published here originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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<sup>66</sup> That is, *saurez*, "you will know."

<sup>67</sup> Adolfo (or Adolpho) Benjamin Stokes (ca. 1843–1898). Son of English sailor Edward (Eduardo) Stokes (unknown–ca. 1846) and María del Refugio de Jesús Ortega y Pico (1823–1896). This letter is likely a copy of the one sent to Boisseranc, intended to alert Stokes to upcoming business.

<sup>68</sup> Bernard Etcheverry (1836–1912). Son of Jean Etcheverry and Marie Elissetche, of Labourd (Lapurdi), in southwestern France. Not to be confused with Bernard Alfred Etcheverry (1881–1954), his son by Louise Earle, after whom Etcheverry Hall at the University of California, Berkeley, is named.

Marcus Arnwine and Anthony Chavez (editors)

*Yankee Doodle Diary:  
Union Soldier Francis Marion Johnson's Recollections  
of the American Civil War (1863)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

Rare File 4.

Francis M. Johnson Diary.

May 21, 1863, to July 22, 1863.

*Introduction*

Francis Marion Johnson's diary is currently housed in California State University Fullerton's (CSUF) University Archives and Special Collections. While the archivists are unsure of how this diary came to be in the possession of CSUF, it is likely this and accompanying materials were donated by relatives or descendants of Francis M. Johnson. The diary itself and its pages are in relatively good condition. The front cover contains the image of a woman. All diary entries are dated and written in cursive on paper. There are an average of 20-22 lines per page with diary entries, except for Page 1 with 19 lines and Page 23 with 9 lines.

Francis M. Johnson, a native of Alton (Madison Co., Illinois), served in the Union (United States) Army during the American Civil War, namely, as Principal Musician of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Regiment, Illinois Infantry. Despite being written in the midst of the war, Johnson did not restrict his writing to military engagements. The diary was his personal account which includes the weather, daily life, troop movements, and interactions with other soldiers and civilians. Notable events include journeying throughout the South with his platoon (most often Corinth, Mississippi), several mentions of renowned Union Generals William Tecumseh Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, and the performance of "Yankee Doodle" for civilians in a schoolhouse (Page 11, June 13<sup>th</sup>). Francis Johnson never really makes it clear as to whom he may be writing as none of the diary entries are addressed to a specific person. Following his discharge from the army, Francis M. Johnson studied at Shurtleff College in Alton, Illinois.

Francis M. Johnson's diary should be of interest to those studying military history, the American Civil War, or the day-to-day life of an enlisted soldier in particular. Johnson's account provides a fresh and personal perspective to a major conflict and turning point for the United States of America (i.e., the American Civil War). Aside from personal events, such as the theft of an ale barrel from a Sutler (Page 9, June 12<sup>th</sup>), there are several instances where Johnson displays racist sentiment through derogatory language occasionally used towards African-Americans. Educators teaching about this topic could utilize this diary to bring the

subject matter to life with a history-from-below approach and connect an ordinary person to the larger historical figures and events.

The transcription below preserves the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original diary. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.



Figure 1: Photograph of Francis M. Johnson (1884), University Archives & Special Collections, CSUF.

*Edition: Francis M. Johnson Diary,  
May 21, 1863, to July 22, 1863*

Frontispiece Page:

IV Varicocele<sup>1</sup> 25 March 1862, picks 4 or 5 days, with  
flux  
[California State University, Fullerton Seal]  
[From the Collection  
of the  
Patrons of the Library]

Half Title [Page]:

[Modern Hand Pencil 573403 Rare File 4]  
Francis M. Johnson

---

<sup>1</sup> Enlargement of the veins within the loose bag of skin that holds the testicles.



Alton<sup>2</sup>  
 Ill[inoi]s.  
 1862---,63,  
 [Modern Hand Pencil: Library  
 Cal State Univ[ersity], Fullerton]

Blank Page

Title Page:

Francis M Johnson's,  
 Note. Book.  
 Alton Ills.  
 March. 5. 1863.  
 [Flourish]

Blank Page

Page 1:

Dairy<sup>3</sup> commencing from the  
 date of leaving home. May 21. 1862.  
**May. 21.st.** I. Cos<sup>4</sup>Andrew.<sup>5</sup> & C. Christy.<sup>6</sup> left  
 home. the 21.<sup>st</sup> for the Reg[imen]t. which  
 was near Corinth Miss[issippi]<sup>7</sup> in Gen[eral]. Grants<sup>8</sup>  
 Army. We went to St[.] Louis.<sup>9</sup> and  
 got aboard of the Steamer South West.  
 in company of several others of the same Reg[imen]t.  
**May 22.** We reached Cape Girardeau.<sup>10</sup> M[iss]o[uri]. I went  
 ashore and visited the fortifications &  
 General Ashmans.<sup>11</sup> devisions were there.  
 and were getting aboard of Transports  
 for the Tennessee River,<sup>12</sup>  
**May 23.** Passed Cairo. Ill[inoi]s.<sup>13</sup> and at 4 P.M.

---

<sup>2</sup> Located in Madison County, Illinois.

<sup>3</sup> Misspelling of "Diary."

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the word "cousins" or "Colonels."

<sup>5</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>7</sup> Located in Alcorn County, Mississippi.

<sup>8</sup> Ulysses S. Grant, U.S. General.

<sup>9</sup> Independent City, Missouri.

<sup>10</sup> Located in Cape Girardeau and Scott Counties, Missouri.

<sup>11</sup> Unknown General.

<sup>12</sup> Largest tributary of the Ohio River, located in the Southeastern United States.

<sup>13</sup> Located in Alexander County, Illinois.

arrived at Paducah. K[entuck]y.<sup>14</sup> Weather Warm.  
**May. 24.** Passed. Fort's Henry<sup>15</sup> & Hymen.<sup>16</sup> Tennessee .  
 where we were formerly camped. A part of  
 Curtisses Cavalry<sup>17</sup> were there and some Ohio  
 Reg[imen]t. The weather was warm & dry.

Page 2:

**May. 25** Passed Savannah Tenn[essee].<sup>18</sup> and reached Pitts[burg]  
 Landing.<sup>19</sup> at 10 AM. three Gun Boats were  
 lying there. also several Reg[imen]ts.  
 At 11 AM we. six in all. started for  
 the Reg[imen]t. which was with the. army near  
 Corinth. We passed by our old camps.  
 and they were desolate looking, in fact the  
 whole Battle ground was, here and there you  
 would see an old Muskett or Bayonett and  
 Belts. Cartridge Boxes<sup>20</sup> & and a broken  
 Artillery Cassion.<sup>21</sup> an Ambulance or Wagon  
 and in numerous places the long thron  
 up ridges of Earth. marking the Burying  
 places of the different Reg[imen]ts. about 12  
 O clock we reached the large Spring by  
 the Shiloh Church where we took a  
 slight dinner. We walked on the  
 ground being hilly. still We came to  
 the Rear Pickett Guard<sup>22</sup> 8 or 9 miles  
 from Corinth. We there helped a teamster<sup>23</sup>  
 out of a bad place with his team. and

Page 3:

When We came to good roads We got on and  
 rode a mile or so. it was a great help  
 to us as We had pretty heavy loads to carry of

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<sup>14</sup> Located in McCracken County, Kentucky.

<sup>15</sup> Constructed in 1861, Tennessee.

<sup>16</sup> Fort Heiman, Kentucky; constructed in 1862.

<sup>17</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Iowa Cavalry, organized by Curtis Horse.

<sup>18</sup> Located in Hardin County, Tennessee.

<sup>19</sup> River landing in Hardin County, Tennessee, on the west bank of the Tennessee River.

<sup>20</sup> Carrying case for ammunition.

<sup>21</sup> A two-wheeled cart designed to carry artillery ammunition.

<sup>22</sup> A unit of soldiers who provide timely warning and screening against an enemy advance.

<sup>23</sup> Person who drove a team, usually of oxen, horses, or mules, pulling a wagon.

things We were taking to the Boys &  
At Sun set we reached Logans.<sup>24</sup> Devision  
and found we had taken the wrong road.  
We walked back about 3 miles to the other  
road and it being dark We made us a  
rail Pen and crawled in and slept.

**May. 26.** We craweld out early next morn the 26<sup>th</sup>  
and started on the road. We reached  
our Reg[imen]t. at 10. A.M. and had a general  
shaking of hands. the boys were all right  
and glad to get the things We brought. We  
found the Reg[imen]t. camped in the front line  
of the Army, about 2 miles from Corinth  
The Reg[imen]t. had been paid the 25<sup>th</sup> so we set  
about and got ours, the Pay Master was  
paying of[f] the 3<sup>rd</sup> Iowa.<sup>25</sup>

**May. 27.** We had to lay on the Coller line<sup>26</sup> all day (the  
Weather warm.) while the 2 Brigade of our 4<sup>th</sup> Dev[ision]

Page 4:

Advanced to build another line of Breast  
works.<sup>27</sup> there was some sharp Cannonading<sup>28</sup>  
and some Infantry fighting. and the  
Picketts kept up a steady firing day &  
night.

**May. 28.** We had orders to move to the New  
Breast works. which We did leaving  
Our tents. they were not quite a mile  
from the Rebel Works and at some  
places were in sight. The Picketts kept  
up a steady firing all day.

**May 29.** A heavy noise like explosions or heavy  
Cannonading was heard in the direction  
of Corinth. which continued for some  
time. We thought it was the Rebels  
and Pope<sup>29</sup> shelling each other as we

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<sup>24</sup> John Alexander Logan, U.S. General.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly 3rd Iowa Infantry Regiment or Cavalry Regiment.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly the term "Collar Line" in reference to Confederate States Army Officer.

<sup>27</sup> Breastwork; temporary fortification at breast height.

<sup>28</sup> Period of continuous heavy gunfire.

<sup>29</sup> John Pope, U.S. General.

had heard the fighting was to commence  
 the 29.<sup>th</sup> The camps were all commotion  
 getting ready. It was not long before  
 We had the news that Corinth was  
 Evacuated and the explosions were the blowing

Page 5:

up of Magazines<sup>30</sup> & the 9.<sup>th</sup> & 12<sup>th</sup> Ill[inoi]s.  
 Reg[imen]ts. In company of a number of  
 Reg[imen]ts. started to catch the retreating  
 Foe. about 8 AM. Our Reg[imen]t. & Devison  
 went as far as the Breast Works of the  
 Reb[el]s. when We were ordered back to camp  
 as sufficient force had been sent out  
 so we turned and went back. the  
 day was verry warm .and the roads  
 verry dusty. All day long prisoners  
 were brought in. in squads of 5 & 6 &.  
**May. 30.<sup>th</sup>** Day verry warm. We the 4<sup>th</sup> devison  
 were on Review today by Gen[eral]. Hurlbut.<sup>31</sup>  
 We were reviewed in the old fields  
 between Our Earth works & the Rebels.  
 The news is that Gen[eral]. Pope and other  
 parts of the Army were still pursuing  
 the Rebels down in Mississippi and  
 had cut of[f] a train of Cars by burning a  
 bridge. prisoners still comming in.  
 We put up our Tents and prepared to  
 camp & dug some wells near an old creek bed

Page 6:

**May. 31.<sup>st</sup>** Warm. Nothing unusial . The Boys are  
 scouting around seeing what is to be  
 seen. No News from Pope.  
**June. 1<sup>st</sup>** Warm I spent my time in rambling  
 around between the two Breast works  
 till Noon about 4 O clock. P.M. We  
 received Orders to march immediatly  
 three days rations, and leave every thing but  
 blankets behind. We were soon on our way.  
 and had searched through the Rebel

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<sup>30</sup> Ammunition storage and feeding device for a repeating firearm.

<sup>31</sup> Stephen Augustus Hurlbut, U.S. General.

Breast works. when we halted for Shermans<sup>32</sup> devision to pass up. And the rain commenced to pour down wetting the boys. I had a good Rubber blanket and kept my back dry. We had to wait near two hours. and the rain falling heavy & fast. We marched through Corinth at dusk through mud & water. the town is on flat ground and is pretty good size. We left Corinth taking the road leading west. We proceeded about 2 miles and halted by the side of the road till morning, twas to[o] dark to proceed farther. about one hundred

Page 7:

Prisoners were marched past for Corinth.

**June. 2,<sup>nd</sup>** We started early this morn. the day being clear. We went into Camp about Noon on the Memphis & Charleston R[ail].R[oad].<sup>33</sup> 7 or 8 miles from Corinth. The day being verry warm. We built us brush houses as the tents had not come up.

**June. 3.<sup>rd</sup>** Verry warm. Orders were sent back for the Tents. Some of the Boys went back and brought up some Grub. A train passed by with troops to repair the R[ail]. Road.

**June 4.<sup>th</sup>** Warm. We had a heavy rain last night the Boys got good & wet. My blanket kept me dry. The Tents & came up to-day. and we went into Camp.

Nothing unusial occurred from this date, till the 10<sup>[th]</sup> except the arrival of Mr. Glenn<sup>34</sup> from Alton to see his Son. which was on the 6.<sup>th</sup> the weather was fine.

**June 10.<sup>th</sup>** We had orders last night eve to be ready to march this morn. Mr. Glenn left

Page 8:

Yesterday evening. I & Andrew send \$45.00 a piece home by him. We started on the march about 9. A.M.

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<sup>32</sup> William Tecumseh Sherman, U.S. General.

<sup>33</sup> Completed in 1857, linking cities on the East Coast with the Mississippi River.

<sup>34</sup> Unknown individual.

the day being a verry warm one. The Country was very hilly. the road running on ridges near the shape of the letter S. We went up one hill that was  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mi[le]. long and on going down on the other side came to the Tuscumbia River.<sup>35</sup> Where We halted for the Bridge to be repaired and eat dinner. About two P.M. We marched on Shermans devision stopped there. a little before sun down we reached the Hatchee<sup>36</sup> river where We Bivouacked,<sup>37</sup> till the afternoon of the 12<sup>th</sup>. The river here runs North westerly and there was a swampy bottom between the hills where we camped. & the river about a 100 yards wide. Our camping ground Occupied two large fields. the road running between them east & west. We were on the east side of the river.

Page 9:

There was a pretty considerable Orchard there and We made stews out of the fruit. We drew plenty of Sugar from the Commissary<sup>38</sup> and it made the apples quite good with hard tack.<sup>39</sup> **June 12,** We again drew rations and after Shermans devision had passed We followed it being near Sun down. In the river bottom We halted, till the teams crossed the Bridge. I walked down to the river to get my Canteen full of water. while there a crowd came rolling a barrel before them to the edge of the river and knocking out the bung<sup>40</sup> began to catch the Ale (it was an ale barel ) in thier tin cups. an Irish man of the 5<sup>th</sup> Ohio

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<sup>35</sup> Tributary of the Hatchie River, in Northern Mississippi and Western Tennessee.

<sup>36</sup> Hatchie River, located in northern Mississippi and southwestern Tennessee.

<sup>37</sup> Term for setting up a temporary encampment.

<sup>38</sup> Store for equipment and provisions.

<sup>39</sup> Hard dry bread or biscuit.

<sup>40</sup> Cork-like stopper for a drain in a container.

Cavalry<sup>41</sup> tried to make the boys pay him for it. which they would not do. as they had stole it from the Sutler of the 5.0. VI.<sup>42</sup> and the Irish man was the ring leader and thought to get pay. He then ran up and told the Sutler who came down in a big hurry, but all the ale was gone. The Irish man tried to lay it on some of the Boys and an old man of the 28<sup>th</sup> Ill[inoi]s. called him a liar and the

Page 10:

Paddy<sup>43</sup> made at him and was received with the old mans Musket across his head. They clinched and the old man was getting the better of him when some Officers passed them. thus ended the Hatchee<sup>44</sup> fight. We went that eve about 3 miles to big muddy river<sup>45</sup> and camped till morn.

**June. 13<sup>th</sup>** We moved on next morn early.

We stopped for a short for the teams to get in line and the 5.0. V.I. Sutler had his shop up selling Ale, Tripe<sup>46</sup> & and had a keg of pretty good Butter setting near the edge of the tent and another fellow got a tin cup full of it by slight. and it made our hard tack eat better. We marched pretty hard all day the heat was excessive and the dust nearly choked us. and water was not to be had. We camped that night at a creek called Clear Spring creek<sup>47</sup> and there was plenty of nice cold Springs. Just before reaching our camping ground we came to an old School house where a number of Citizens had been holding a Union Meeting they gave us a

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<sup>41</sup> Commanded by William H. H. Taylor.

<sup>42</sup> 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

<sup>43</sup> Term for person of Irish descent.

<sup>44</sup> River in Northern Mississippi and Southwestern Tennessee.

<sup>45</sup> Presumably Big Muddy Creek, located south of the Hatchie River.

<sup>46</sup> Edible lining from the stomachs of various farm animals.

<sup>47</sup> Presumably Clear Creek, located west of the Hatchie River in southwestern Tennessee.

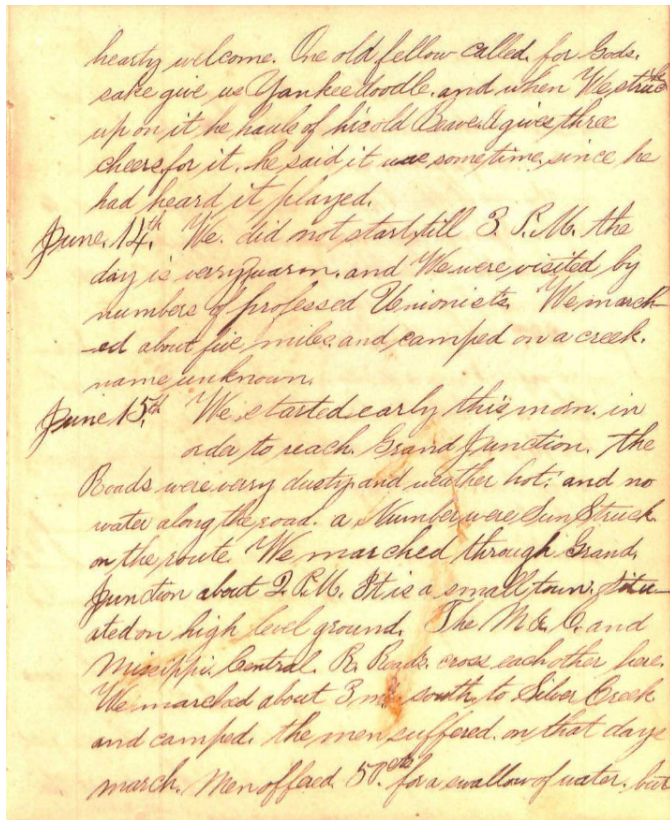


Figure 2: Page 11, Francis M. Johnson Diary.

Page 11:

hearty welcome. One old fellow called for Gods sake give us Yankee doodle.<sup>48</sup> and when we struck up on it he hauls off [f] his old Beave<sup>49</sup> & gives three cheers for it. he said it was some time since he had heard it played.

**June, 14<sup>th</sup>** We did not start till 3. P.M. the day is verry warm. and We were visited by numbers of professed Unionists.<sup>50</sup> We marched about five miles and camped on a creek. name unknown.

**June 15<sup>th</sup>** We started early this morn in order to reach Grand Junction.<sup>51</sup> the Roads were verry dusty and weather hot. and no water along the road. a Number were Sun Struck

<sup>48</sup> Traditional American song.

<sup>49</sup> Possibly a cigarette.

<sup>50</sup> Individuals in border or Southern states opposed to secession.

<sup>51</sup> City on the border of Hardeman and Fayette County, Tennessee.



on the route. We marched through Grand Junction about 2. P.M. It is a small town. situated on high level ground. The Memphis. & Charleston. and Mississippi Central<sup>52</sup> Rail. Roads cross each other here. We marched about 3 miles. south to Silver Creek<sup>53</sup> and camped. the men suffered on that days march. Men offered 50 cents for a swallow of water. but

Page 12:

all were in the same fix. none to be had. Gen[eral] Sherman went on to Lagrange.<sup>54</sup> We stopped on Silver creek till Sunday the 22.<sup>nd</sup> the weather being verry warm, and We had several rains on the eve[ning] of the 17, June the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade<sup>55</sup> went to Holly Springs<sup>56</sup> captured several Niggers, And burned the Rail.Road Bridge and arrived back the eve[ning] of June 19.

**June 22<sup>nd</sup>** We, the 4<sup>th</sup> division marched to Lagrange Tenn[essee] a distance of 6 miles. We got there at 11. A.M. Gen[eral] Sherman had gone on to Moscow<sup>57</sup> 9 miles distant. Lagrange is a pretty nice town situated on a high hill from which you can have a fine view of the Country southwards. The top of the high bluff is level and runs back in the Country. We camped on the Wolfe river<sup>58</sup> at the base of the hill the soil was sandy and was covered with pine & Cypress trees. along the bottom of the river were plenty of Black berries which We got to eat stewing them and milking Cows to mix the milk with them making a nice dish.

Page 13:

On our leaving Our camp near Corinth We had to leave all but two wall tents one for the Officers & one for the Orderly. & his mess.

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<sup>52</sup> Major railroads that can be used to identify main regions of Civil War.

<sup>53</sup> Battle taking place in northern Missouri.

<sup>54</sup> Union Army garrison in Tennessee.

<sup>55</sup> An infantry brigade in the Union Army.

<sup>56</sup> City in Marshall County, Mississippi, roughly twenty miles south of Moscow, Tennessee.

<sup>57</sup> City in Fayette County, Tennessee.

<sup>58</sup> Presumably the Wolf River which cuts through the heart of Memphis, Tennessee.

so We had to go without any shelter but such as We made. We staid in the bottom camp till the 29<sup>th</sup> June living in brush houses made of pine boughs. The weather was verry warm especially there where no wind could stir. Part of the time We had hard fare to eat as We were on hard tack & Pork, and no foraging allowed. On the 26. & 27<sup>th</sup> Squads of Contrabands 20 or more in gangs came in, chased by Blood hounds. & Rebel Cav[alry]. from Holly-Springs and below. and gave out that a large Rebel force were advancing on us and that the Cavalry were driving the Contras, South, Gen[eral]. Hurlbut had the Wagons sent back, North of Lagrange. and We were kept in readiness for them. The night of the 27 We had to lay on our arms all night. on the 29 June. We moved camp on the side of the hill west of town. On the 30.<sup>th</sup> June.

June 30<sup>th</sup> We marched towards Holly Springs, leaving baggage behind. We started about 5 P.M. and marched to Seaman Church by Mt. Cobb. 12 miles in all. We bivouacked in an old field still mown that night it rained. My blanket kept me dry. We marched on to Holly Springs, Va. reaching there at 2 P.M. Here we found Sherman was ahead of us for we heard him cannonading. he was killing some Rebel Cavalry near the town. A Company of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ill. Cav. while advancing ahead, asked a man standing in his way, if any Rebels were ahead. he said no, this was near Cold Water Creek. on our men passing the creek they were fired on from the thicket. one killed and several wounded. our Cav. routed the Rebels. we captured some and with them, this man they had passed a short time before. I heard afterwards he was hung. Sherman went on in Holly Springs and the division camped on Coldwater creek. the news was that the Rebel had fell back to that side 8 miles.

Figure 3: Page 14, Francis M. Johnson Diary.

Page 14:

**June 30.<sup>th</sup>** We marched towards Holly Springs. leaving Baggage behind. We started about 5. PM. and marched to Lamar Church<sup>59</sup> by 10. P.M. 12. miles in all. We Bivouacked in an old field till morn that night it rained my Blanket kept me dry. We march on to **July 1**, Cold Water<sup>60</sup> July 1.<sup>st</sup> reaching there at 2. P.M. Here We found. Sherman was ahead of us for We heard him Cannonading. he was shelling some Reb[el]. Cavalry near the town A. Company of the 4. Ill[inoi]s. Cav[alry]. while advancing ahead. asked a man standing in his doorway, if any Rebe[l]s were ahead. he said no. this was near Cold Water Creek. on our Men nearing the creek they were fired on from the thickets & one killed and several wounded. our Cav[alry]. routed the Rebels. & captured some. and with them this Man they had passed a short time before. I heard afterwards, he was hung. Sherman went on in Holly Springs. and Our devisions Camped on cold water creek. the news was that the Reb[el]s had fell back to Waterford.<sup>61</sup> 8 miles.

Page 15:

**July 2,<sup>nd</sup>** Last eve. two Reg[imen]ts. were ordered to go back to Lagrange to start early in the morn. as the report was that the Rebels were getting in our rear to bum it. (that is a Cav[alry]. force) We started this morn (the 2.) at 2. O clock Our Reg[imen]t. & the 53<sup>rd</sup> Indiana.<sup>62</sup> for Lagrange, while the rest went on to Holly Springs. We reached Lamar Church by Sun rise. distance 7 miles., where We eat breakfast. I had dough nuts Coffee & meat. as our Cook cooked us some dough nuts last night Which eat first rate. We had more privileges on this march than when with

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<sup>59</sup> Reference to Lamar Road, nearly twelve miles from Holly Springs.

<sup>60</sup> Presumably Cold Water River south of Lamar, near Hudsonville, Mississippi.

<sup>61</sup> Town in Marshall County, Mississippi, nearly eight miles south of Holly Springs.

<sup>62</sup> Volunteer infantry regiment in for the Union Army.

devison . as We stopped at every house  
and got water, apples, & Garden stuff. and  
the teamsters confiscated Mules and thereby  
got better teams. We reached Lagrange at 3.  
P. M, and the most tiresome part of our journey  
was in the ascent of the high sand hill, on  
which the town stands. We marched through  
town and camped near the College, east of town.  
We found the 30. Ill[inoi]s. & the 78<sup>th</sup> Ohio. Reg[imen]ts. already there

Page 16:

The 53<sup>rd</sup> Indiana. Reg[imen]t. went on to Grand Junction.  
Our camp this time was on a ridge running  
North & South. it was covered with a young growth  
of Pine trees. these we cut down. and having  
but verry few tents, we used the boughs.<sup>63</sup> & of the Pines  
to make huts out of. for the purpose of keeping  
the dewes. and hot sun off of us. We soon had  
quite a nice camp and also plenty of good water.  
**J[uly]. 4.** On the memorable 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1862.  
a salute was fired at Lagrange & one at the  
Junction and after dinner we marched to  
the public Square. in company with the 30 & 78.  
and listened until near sundown to speeches  
made by L[i]eu[tenant]. Col[onel]. Hunter<sup>64</sup> of the 32<sup>nd</sup> and the Col[onel].  
of the 78.<sup>65</sup> There were a good many Citizens present  
and from apperances they did not much like  
the speeches. the day was verry warm but we were  
shaded by trees and good grass to sit on which was  
verry pleasant. The meeting was broken up at 5.  
PM. and we marched back to camp. where we  
went through the general routine of Camp duties &

Page 17:

**July 6.<sup>th</sup>** The Devison arrived today from Holly Sprin-  
-gs and went into camp in different places  
around town. On the 7.<sup>th</sup> the 30.th. & 78. got on the  
Cars and went back to Jackson,<sup>66</sup> to join there<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Branches of a tree.

<sup>64</sup> Union General and then subsequent Black Codes sympathizer.

<sup>65</sup> Colonel Daniel Ullman.

<sup>66</sup> Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>67</sup> 78<sup>th</sup> Infantry rejoining their division.

devison , and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Iowa Camped on thier old ground. joining us to the North in the afternoon Gen[eral] Lawman's aid<sup>68</sup> rode up and read a dispatch from Richmond<sup>69</sup> stating McClellan<sup>70</sup> was pushing on. and had a position from which he could shell the City &. which dispatch caused a great deal hurrahing &. We remained at Lagrange till the 18. of July. The weather was verry warm and nothing of great interest occureed. excepting one afternoon. Our forage train was run in by a party of Guerillas.<sup>71</sup> which set the whole [...] <sup>72</sup> Camp in a flurry. One thing I will mention we had plenty of Black berries to eat while we were there, and we also had fine times a Swimming. on the night of the 17. it rained pretty hard.

Page 18:

**July. 18.** Our devison left La grange for Memp-his at 2. O clock P.M. it having rained in the forenoon. We reached Moscow at sundown where Gen[eral] Shermans devison was camped. We passed on across Wolfe river, which runs past the town, and camped on the hills west of the river. We were near an Orchard and got plenty of apples. &

**July 19** Shermans devison passed us this forenoon We started at 1. P.M. The day was pretty warm and we made 9 miles by Sundown. and camped at Lafayette.<sup>73</sup> This place is quite a small town.

**July. 20.** We started before daylight this morn. and about noon we passed through Collier-Ville.<sup>74</sup> the day was Sunday, and numbers of people were sitting on the streets to see us

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<sup>68</sup> Conventional term for law enforcement personnel.

<sup>69</sup> Confederate capital, located in Virginia.

<sup>70</sup> Prominent Union Army General.

<sup>71</sup> Unorthodox ambush combat fighters.

<sup>72</sup> Crossed out word, illegible.

<sup>73</sup> Presumably a small town in Fayette County, Tennessee.

<sup>74</sup> Town immediately west of Fayette County, Tennessee.

pass. We marched 15 miles to Germantown<sup>75</sup> and reached it at 5 O clock P.M. in a pretty heavy rain. We camped North of town by some Corn fields, with good green roasting ears in them

Page 19:

These we made suffer as we had stripped them by morning.

**July 21<sup>st</sup>** We marched to Bundys Station,<sup>76</sup> 6 miles from Germantown and 9. from Memphis It rained pretty hard to day while we were on the march.

**July 22.** We started for Memphis about 8 O clock. the heat this day was excessive. and the dust was enough to almost smother us. Along the road were numbers of Orchards full of fruit these we made suffer. The Reg[imen]t. & devisions marched in the City at 3 P. M. I and several others staid out in some of the Orchards getting fruit. We went into town and walked on down to Fort Pickering,<sup>77</sup> where the Reg[imen]t. had stopped for straglers to come up. They soon came up. and we marched on down about a mile and camped. This camp was in the thick woods one half a mile from the river. We staid in this camp about one week. when we moved up towards Memphis. And camped about one quarter

Page 20:

of a mile east of Fort Pickering. this ground was not quite as shady as that which we had just left. The 14<sup>th</sup> Ill[inoi]s. occupied our old grounds.

Here we had a good time. not much duty to do. plenty of Pedlars<sup>78</sup> bringing in melons and other fruits and vegetables in abundance. In fact they troubled our boys so much that they would upset thier loads when

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<sup>75</sup> Town located in Shelby County, Tennessee.

<sup>76</sup> Exact location uncertain.

<sup>77</sup> Fort Pickering in Memphis, Tennessee; originally a Confederate Army fort but eventually taken by the Union Army.

<sup>78</sup> Form of solicitation.

they came in and then play grabs.  
 By the time we left, we had the  
 Peddling Community down on the 32.<sup>nd</sup>  
 It was little we cared though.  
 The weather was pretty warm. and near  
 the whole Reg[imen]t. except those who were on  
 duty would go down to the river and bathe.  
 or roll around under the Trees on the banks.  
 On the 22<sup>nd</sup> day. We the 32<sup>nd</sup>  
 marched out to Wolfe River bridge for  
 the purpose of doing Pickett guard.<sup>79</sup>

Page 21:

and to prevent the Reb[el]s. destroying the  
 Bridge.<sup>80</sup> as they had threatened to do so.  
 We found the 53<sup>rd</sup> Ill[inoi]s. there when  
 we relieved from duty. Thier Band  
 had made use of an old cow Shed.  
 and we of course done the same. but  
 not without causing some fussing.  
 for some of the Reg[imen]t. tried to maintain  
 they had as good right to it as the  
 Musicians. We overruled them though.  
 We remained on Pickett three days.  
 and enjoyed ourselves hugely. swimming  
 and Skiff riding. and stealing or to use  
 the Soldier phrase, we camped potatoes  
 melons &. The only draw back we  
 experienced was our troubles with the  
 musquitoes, which were in abundance  
 as the grounds were marshy.  
 The third night about 2 O clock AM  
 we were around by what we thought at

Page 22:

first to be a volley of musketry.  
 I beat the long roll.<sup>81</sup> the Reg[imen]t formed  
 in Battle line waiting anxiously for the

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<sup>79</sup> A small unit stationed to warn of an enemy advance or potential threat.

<sup>80</sup> On December 14, 1863, the Confederate Army attempted to destroy the railroad bridge stretching across the Wolf River. See "From Western Tennessee: The Late Fight at Wolf River Bridge: Particulars of the Affair," *The New York Times*, December 18, 1863.

<sup>81</sup> Battle drum signal.

Reb[el]s to show themselves. as we supposed they had attacked our out posts. After the lapse of twenty minutes of silence, a messenger was sent out to know the cause of the firing. It turned out to be nothing but the falling down of a large tree. The boys were some what disappointed. and some swearing was indulged in because the Col[onel]. had made such a fool of himself as well as of the rest. but we were all content to lay down again and twas not long until all was quiet again. Several hours had elapsed since the last occurrence. when we were again startled by the report of a gun. We were not long in finding the cause of this disturbance

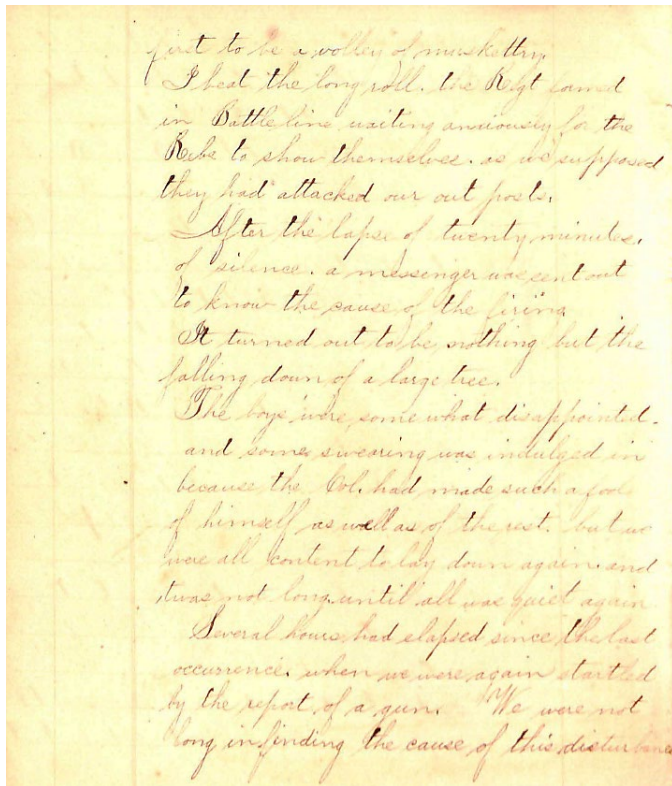


Figure 4: Page 22, Francis M. Johnson Diary.

Page 23:

It seems as though the Col[onel] was not quite at his ease since the first alarm. so he to be



sure that the guards were watchful so as to ward off a surprpise , if one should be attempted, started the rounds. He had passed several of the guards. here I will say that a part of the guard lines extended into a swampy place which was thickly overgrown with timber.

Blank Pages

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Marcus Arnwine of La Palma, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Anthony Chavez of Fontana, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) and his Single-Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science (2019) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

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Melissa B. Garrison and Carlos J. Marin (editors)

*“A dream of the golden past”:  
Experiencing Southern California through Postcards (1906–1924)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC-2021-13.

California Postcards.

September 13, 1906, to July 21, 1924.

Twenty-three postcards (numbered 1 to 23 below).

*Introduction*

The postcards presented below were cataloged by the University Archives and Special Collections at CSUF in 2021. It is unknown when the postcards were donated to the archives, and their provenance prior to donation is unknown. The postcards consist of thick cardstock material in various shades of white and yellow measuring approximately 14 cm x 9 cm, with minor variations in size. Each postcard has a printed image on the front side of the card, along with printed, typed text identifying the subject of the picture. The words “Post Card” are printed on the back of each card, in addition to information about the card’s publisher. With few exceptions, the back of each card also features printed instructions indicating where the recipient’s address, the sender’s address, or a short message should be written. Each card contains handwritten text consisting of the recipient’s address (and occasionally the sender’s address), a message, or both, usually written on the back of the card—although in keeping with United States postal regulations, messages written on postcards prior to October 1907 are located on the front of the card alongside the printed image. Most handwritten text is English cursive, written in either graphite or blue or black ink. Postcards 22 and 23 contain messages in German, written in Sütterlin script. Postcard 23 includes several German transliterations of English words, and the spelling, grammar, and syntax in the messages on both postcards suggest that German may not have been the writers’ first language. The majority of cards are addressed to recipients in California, but other destinations include Michigan, New York, and Oregon. Most cards contain postage stamps, although the postage stamp on Postcard 15 has been partially torn, and adhesive residue suggests that postage stamps on Postcards 4 and 7 were removed entirely. The majority of cards also include stamped postmarks which identify the date and California city from which each card was mailed (and, less often, the date of arrival in the destination city). Postcards 21 and 22 do not contain the recipients’ addresses, nor any postmarks or stamps, suggesting they were not delivered through the U.S. mail. Overall, the postcards are in good condition, aside from minimal wear along the edges. Notable damage

includes a minor tear on Postcard 2, a small tear and bend marks on Postcard 17, and a single light brown stain on the edge of Postcard 23.

The messages on the postcards were written by and addressed to a variety of individuals, with only a few names appearing on multiple cards. Four postcards are addressed to Hazel Graves (Postcards 2, 4, 5, and 6), two to Nora Moore (Postcards 16 and 20), two to Elnora Guild (Postcards 10 and 17), and two to Emma Tobler (Postcards 9 and 14). Several postcards were written to Laura Lowell (Postcards 1, 12, and 13), and one is addressed to her son Bert Lowell (Postcard 11). Although the identities of some individuals are unknown, the senders and recipients of these postcards seem to be primarily women. The messages written on the postcards are short and typically center around the writers' ongoing relationships with recipients. Some writers discuss when they will next see the recipient; others reference past correspondence between the writer and recipient; and some ask the recipient to respond after receiving the postcard. Two postcards contain an invitation for the recipient to visit the writer (Postcards 8 and 22).

The images on the postcards depict a variety of scenes in Southern California. Several postcards highlight bustling Southern California cities, including images of a crowded street and an urban plaza in San Diego (Postcards 1 and 10) and a recreation area in Venice (Postcard 23). Others show pastoral scenes from parks and gardens in the region, such as Hollenbeck Park and West Lake Park in Los Angeles (Postcards 2 and 6) and Busch Gardens and Cawston Ostrich Farm in Pasadena (Postcards 16 and 20). Spanish missions, including the San Juan Capistrano Mission, the San Gabriel Mission, and Mission San Luis Rey, are portrayed on several cards (Postcards 3, 8, 9, and 14). A number of postcards focus on other notable buildings or architecture in Southern California, such as the St. Vincent's College campus and an elegant home located in Los Angeles (postcards 4 and 22), Madame Helena Modjeska's home in Orange County (Postcard 7), an early precursor to the San Gabriel Mission Playhouse (Postcard 18), and the American National Bank in San Diego (Postcard 19). The Pacific Ocean and Southern California's beaches are also represented in the images. Two postcards depict a steamboat in the ocean near Catalina Island (Postcards 5 and 15), and another postcard, apparently created in association with the 1915 opening of the Panama-California Exposition, shows a ship carrying lumber near San Diego, (Postcard 17). Sandy shores in Long Beach (Postcards 11 and 12) and Redondo Beach (Postcard 21) are featured as well. Only one postcard, which depicts a trail on Mount Wilson in the San Gabriel Mountains (Postcard 13), represents the region's mountainous areas.

This collection of postcards will be of particular interest to those studying the history and culture of Southern California, as the images featured on the cards paint a unique picture of the region during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Not only do several postcards depict sites of historical and cultural significance, but when taken as a whole, the collection offers insight into the development of Southern California's regional identity, as well as the tourism

industry, during this time period. Those interested in twentieth-century modes of communication may also appreciate the textual content of the collection, which illustrates the varying uses of postcard communication at this time. In addition, the text in this collection provides an intriguing glimpse into the everyday lives and personal relationships of the authors and recipients. Thus, these postcards may prove useful for anyone seeking to understand the visual, material, or social culture of the early twentieth century in Southern California, as well as the United States more broadly.

For the handwritten contents of the postcards edited below, additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

Edition: Postcard 1, Mrs. A. A. Hawley, San Diego, California, to Mrs. James Lowell [Laura Lowell], Los Angeles, California, September 13, 1906

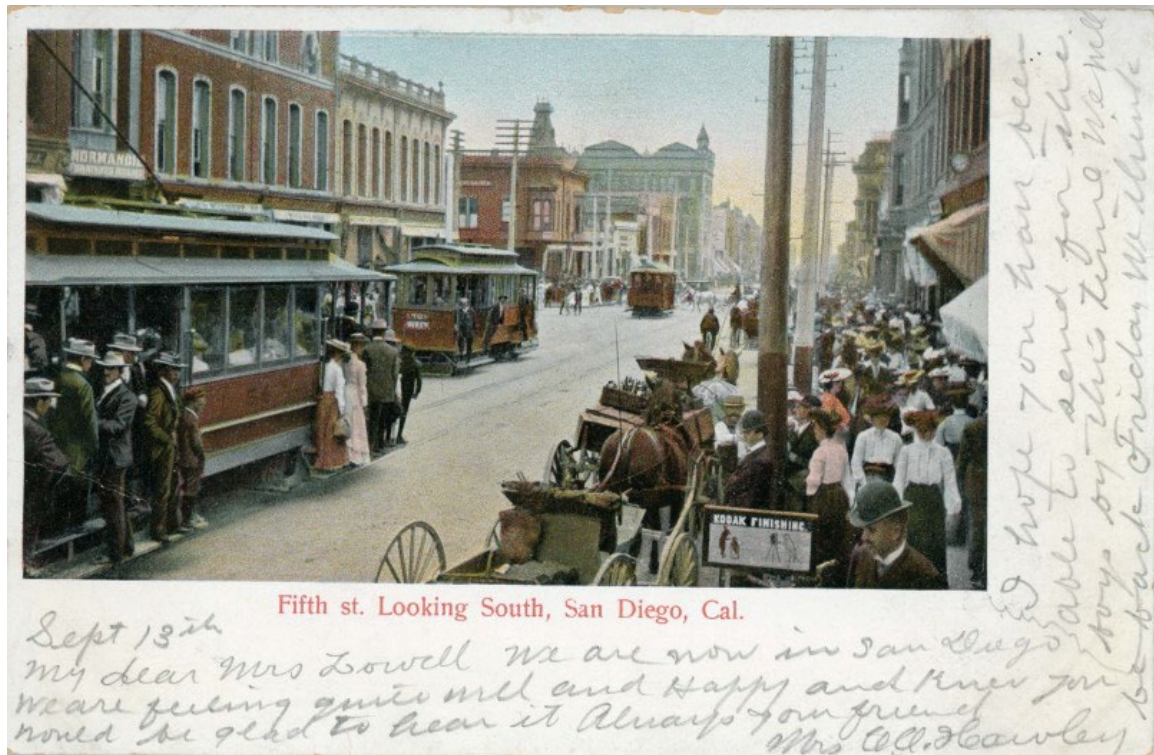


Figure 1: Postcard 1, "Fifth st. Looking South, San Diego, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Fifth st. Looking South, San Diego,<sup>1</sup> Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Crowded city street. Men wearing dark suits and hats, as well as a few women in light-colored dresses and skirts, ride on a streetcar traveling down a grey road, with two more streetcars ahead. Several horse-drawn carriages loaded with goods walk down the side of the road. A large crowd of people walk along the sidewalk next to the road, where a man wearing a grey bowler hat and brown suit stands with a sign that reads "KODAK<sup>2</sup> FINISHING." Two- and three-story grey and brown buildings stand on either side of the street, with more buildings visible in the background.]

[text, handwritten, horizontally and vertically, graphite:]

Sept 13<sup>th</sup>

My dear Mrs Lowell<sup>3</sup> We are now in San Diego  
We are feeling quite well and Happy and Knew you

<sup>1</sup> City in San Diego County, California.

<sup>2</sup> Company founded in 1892; known for their photographic products, particularly film.

<sup>3</sup> Laura A. Lowell, née Helms (1845–unknown); married to James Henry Lowell; mother of Henry Bertrand Lowell.

would be glad to hear it Always your friend  
Mrs A. A. [?] Hawley<sup>4</sup>

I hope you have been  
able to send for the  
boys by this time. We will  
be back Friday We think

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder,<sup>5</sup> Publ[isher]., Los Angeles,<sup>6</sup> Cal. and  
Leipzig.<sup>7</sup> No. 3414. / IN SPACE BELOW MAY BE WRITTEN SENDER'S NAME AND  
ADDRESS (NO OTHER WRITING)

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] THE SPACE ABOVE IS RESERVED FOR  
POSTMARK. / POST CARD.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

[M]rs<sup>8</sup> James Lowell<sup>9</sup>  
826 Hawthorne St — <sup>10</sup>  
Los Angeles  
California

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin,<sup>11</sup> green:] SERIES 1902 /  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] /  
POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmark, black:] LOS ANG[ELES] & SAN DIEGO 1874 / SEP 13 1906 / R. P. O.

---

<sup>4</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Rieder (1868–1949), publisher located at 234 New High Street in Los Angeles, California. “Michael Rieder, American, 1868–1949,” *Photographers’ Identities Catalog*, New York Public Library, [online](#).

<sup>6</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>7</sup> City in Saxony, Germany.

<sup>8</sup> The “M” is printed in red.

<sup>9</sup> Laura A. Lowell, née Helms.

<sup>10</sup> Building, probably no longer standing, on present-day Naomi Street in downtown Los Angeles, California. “Map of the City of Los Angeles Showing Railway Systems,” December 14, 1906, [online](#).

<sup>11</sup> Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), major figure in the North American colonies’ struggle for independence from Britain in the eighteenth century.

*Edition: Postcard 2, Unknown, Long Beach, California,  
to Hazel B. Graves, Plainwell, Michigan,  
September 28, 1906*



Figure 2: Postcard 2, "Scenes in Hollenbeck Park, Los Angeles, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Scenes in Hollenbeck Park,<sup>12</sup> Los Angeles, Cal.

[Three images/colorized historical photographs, arranged as if pasted on the card, with palm leaves in the background: Three vistas of Hollenbeck Park. The first image (on left) features a serene lake with clear blue water surrounded by blue-green trees, bright green grass, and an adjacent concrete path. The second image (on right) shows a white gazebo on a grassy lawn with trees and bushes close by, next to a sidewalk that leads to a lake visible in the background. The third image (center) shows a sidewalk framed by an overhanging willow tree, with small shrubbery growing alongside the path and a lake peeking through the willow leaves.]

[text, handwritten, horizontally, ink/black:]

Forgotton?

BAR.<sup>13</sup>

A dream of the golden past.

<sup>12</sup> Park in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, California.

<sup>13</sup> Presumably the initials of an unknown individual.

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher],. Los Angeles, Cal. No. 3293. Made in Germany.

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD / THIS SIDE IS EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE ADDRESS.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, ink/black:]

Miss Hazel B. Graves.<sup>14</sup>

Plainwell

Michigan

c[are]/o[f] H. S. Shatton<sup>15</sup>

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 / UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] / POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] LONGBEACH,<sup>16</sup> CAL / SEP 28 7-AM 1906 // 1 D [?] [seven wavy lines] // PLAINWELL MICH<sup>17</sup> / OCT [...] 9 AM 1906 / REC[EIVED]

---

<sup>14</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves (1889–1980), daughter of Lewis G. Graves and Florence A. Wheeler.

<sup>15</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>16</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>17</sup> City in Allegan County, Michigan.



*Edition: Postcard 3, Bertha Sauter, Santa Barbara, California,  
to M. Manson, Los Angeles County, California,  
May 8, 1907*



Figure 3: Postcard 3, “The Corridor, San Juan Capistrano Mission, Orange Co., Cal. Founded 1776. “

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] The Corridor, San Juan Capistrano Mission,<sup>18</sup> Orange Co., Cal. Founded 1776.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: San Juan Capistrano Mission. A series of arches made out of pink brick covered in deteriorating white stucco sit opposite a beige stone and stucco wall, creating a long outdoor corridor. The arches cast shadows onto the corridor’s grey stone walkway. Green grass and a couple of small plants lie outside the arches, with additional free-standing arches (possibly a bridge) in the background. The sky in the background is light pink and grey.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, green:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher]., Los Angeles, Cal. No. 8326. Made in Germany. / IN SPACE BELOW MAY BE WRITTEN SENDER’S NAME AND ADDRESS (NO OTHER WRITING)

[text, handwritten, vertically, graphite:]

<sup>18</sup> Spanish mission in San Juan Capistrano, California; founded 1776.

From Bertha Sauter<sup>19</sup>  
220 Palm Ave — <sup>20</sup>  
S[an]ta Barbara<sup>21</sup>

[text, printed, horizontally, green:] THE SPACE ABOVE IS RESERVED FOR  
POSTMARK. / POST CARD

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

[M]iss<sup>22</sup> M. Manson.<sup>23</sup>  
San Fernando<sup>24</sup>  
Box 217 —  
L.A. Co. Cal —

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 /  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] /  
POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] SANTA BARBARA CAL. / MAY 8 10-30A 1907 // [outline of the  
American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

---

<sup>19</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>20</sup> Building in Santa Barbara, California; apparently no longer standing.

<sup>21</sup> City in Santa Barbara County, California.

<sup>22</sup> The “M” is printed in green.

<sup>23</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>24</sup> May refer to the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County, California, or the city of San Fernando located in the Valley.

Edition: Postcard 4, Allen L. K., Los Angeles, California,  
to Hazel Graves, Long Beach, California,  
September 25, 1907



Figure 4: Postcard 4: "St. Vincent's College, Los Angeles, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] St. Vincent's College,<sup>25</sup> Los Angeles, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: St. Vincent's College. A large three-story building made of red bricks with grey, gabled roofs and a tall central tower with a cross in the center. The building has large paned windows, and stairs lead up to a rounded archway marking the entrance. Leafy green trees grow around the base of the building. A dark grey road runs in front of the school, and green leaves from an overhanging tree frame the image. Another building with a gray slanted roof lies in the background.]

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

I am  
a Saint  
now  
so you  
see I  
must  
be, good

---

<sup>25</sup> School campus located at Grand Avenue and Washington Boulevard in Los Angeles, California; has since been demolished.

will  
 probaly [sic]  
 visit  
 home  
 next  
 Saturday  
 write.  
 to  
 Allen  
 K.<sup>26</sup>

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher]., Los Angeles, Cal. and Leipzig. No. 3489. / IN SPACE BELOW MAY BE WRITTEN SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS (NO OTHER WRITING)

[text, handwritten, vertically, graphite:]

ALK<sup>27</sup>  
 Saint Vincent's  
 College

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Place Postage Here / Domestic, Island Possessions, Canadian, Mexican 1 c[ent] / Foreign 2 c[ents] // THE SPACE ABOVE IS RESERVED FOR POSTMARK. // POST CARD.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

1<sup>00</sup>

[M]iss<sup>28</sup> Hazel Graves<sup>29</sup>  
 Long Beach  
 Cal  
 Box 247

[postage stamp: removed, existing remnants]

[postmarks, black:] LOS ANGELES / SEP 25 4 PM / STA[TION]. H<sup>30</sup> // LONGBEA[...] CAL. / SEPT 2[...] 7-A[...] 1907

---

<sup>26</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>27</sup> Allen L. K.; unknown individual.

<sup>28</sup> The "M" is printed in red.

<sup>29</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves (1889-1980).

<sup>30</sup> A post office located in Los Angeles, California. Randy Stehle, "The Development of the Los Angeles Postal System Through August 1909," *La Posta: A Journal of American Postal History* 40, no. 1 (February-March 2009): 9-34.

Edition: Postcard 5, "Dottie," Long Beach, California,  
to Hazel Graves, Ontario, California,  
July 9, 1908



Figure 5: Postcard 5, "The Steamer Cabrillo leaving Avalon, Catalina Island."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] The Steamer Cabrillo<sup>31</sup> leaving Avalon,<sup>32</sup> Catalina Island.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A large steamboat traveling on the ocean. The steamboat has a dark black or brown base and a white upper level, with crowds of people lining the upper decks. Colorful flags in red, yellow, and blue are strung from the masts, and two American flags fly at the bow and stern of the boat. The ship floats on calm green-blue water. The sky above is light blue with sparse white clouds, and a black plume of smoke rising from a smokestack is trailing in the boat's wake.]

[postmarks, black:] ONTARIO<sup>33</sup> CAL. / JUL 9 9-PM 1908 // [outline of the American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher]., Los Angeles, Cal No. 3275. Made in Germany.

<sup>31</sup> S.S. Cabrillo, a passenger steamboat that traveled between Los Angeles and Santa Catalina Island, California, in the first half of the twentieth century.

<sup>32</sup> City on Santa Catalina Island off the coast of mainland Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>33</sup> City in San Bernardino County, California.

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD. / This Side for Correspondence.

[text, handwritten, vertically, ink/black:]

Dearest "Brownie"<sup>34</sup> Was so glad  
to get yor [*sic*] postal, It came in  
with one from "Redlands"<sup>35</sup> also  
a by far welcome letter from  
the same place. Bertha's<sup>36</sup> postal  
came with one from "Marjorie,"<sup>37</sup>  
Isn't that funny.  
Tell B<sup>38</sup> — every time I go to my  
desk that letter from Mis Dupar<sup>39</sup>  
is smiling at me, I cant remember  
to take it down, Papa<sup>40</sup> is at home —  
Love to all all all. "Dottie"<sup>41</sup>

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD. / This Side for Address only.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, ink/black:]

Miss Hazel Graves.<sup>42</sup>

Ontairo. [*sic*]

California.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

250

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 /  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] /  
POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmark, black:] LONGBEACH CAL. / JUL 9 7 AM 1908

---

<sup>34</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves.

<sup>35</sup> City in San Bernardino County, California.

<sup>36</sup> Unknown individual; possibly Bertha Sauter (Postcard 3).

<sup>37</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>38</sup> Unknown individual; possibly the author of Postcard 6; possibly Bertha Sauter (Postcard 3).

<sup>39</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>40</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>41</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>42</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves.

Edition: Postcard 6, B., Pasadena, California,  
to Hazel Graves, Long Beach, California,  
July 21, 1908



Figure 6: Postcard 6, "Lake in West Lake Park. Los Angeles, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] 3583—Lake in West Lake Park.<sup>43</sup> Los Angeles, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: West Lake Park. Several small boats sit on a shimmering blue lake next to a boathouse, which features a slanted gray roof supported by dusty red and white columns and arches. A sidewalk path lined with large rocks borders the lake. The foreground features pink flowers and a large grassy area with a young palm in the middle. Leaves from two trees on either side of the grass frame the image.]

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

July 20, 1908.

Dear Hazel.<sup>44</sup> I received your letter but was away and did not get in time to ans[wer]. write as soon as you get home for I think I will be down soon. B<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Now MacArthur Park, a park in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles, California.

<sup>44</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves.

<sup>45</sup> Unknown individual; possibly the individual mentioned in Postcard 5 and/or the author of Postcard 6; possibly Bertha Sauter (Postcard 3).

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, green:] S<sup>46</sup> / ADOLPH SELIGE PUBLISHING CO.<sup>47</sup>  
ST. LOUIS<sup>48</sup>-LEIPZIG-BERLIN.<sup>49</sup> PRINTED IN GERMANY.

[text, printed, horizontally, green:] POST CARD.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

1<sup>00</sup>

Miss Hazel Graves,<sup>50</sup>

Long Beach,

Calif.

Box 247

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 /  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] /  
POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] PASADENA,<sup>51</sup> CAL. / JUL 21 4<sup>30</sup> PM 1908 // 1 D [?] [seven wavy  
lines]

---

<sup>46</sup> Logo of the Adolph Selige Publishing Co.: the letter "S" on the sail of a boat.

<sup>47</sup> Postcard publishing company.

<sup>48</sup> City in Missouri.

<sup>49</sup> City in Germany.

<sup>50</sup> Hazel B. Gibson, née Graves.

<sup>51</sup> City in the San Gabriel Valley in Los Angeles County, California.



*Edition: Postcard 7, "Ma," Stockton, California,  
to Hattie Carson, Oakland, California,  
October 6, 1908*

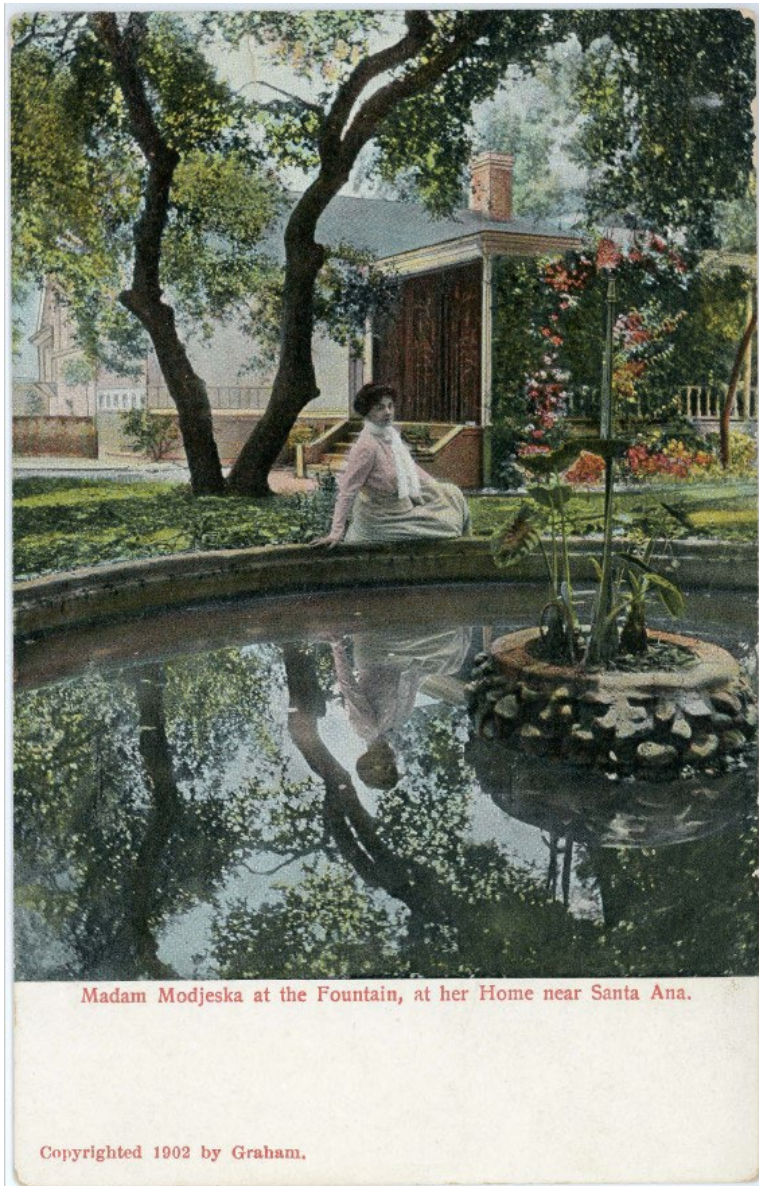


Figure 7: Postcard 7, "Madam Modjeska at the Fountain, at her Home near Santa Ana."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Madam Modjeska<sup>52</sup> at the Fountain, at her Home<sup>53</sup>  
near Santa Ana. / Copyrighted 1902 by Graham.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Madame Helena Modjeska (1840–1909), renowned Polish stage actress.

<sup>53</sup> Home of Madame Helena Modjeska. House and surrounding grounds, known as "Arden," located in present-day Modjeska Canyon, a community in Silverado, California.

<sup>54</sup> Presumably the artist of the image; unknown individual.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A woman sitting on the edge of a large circular fountain. The woman's dark hair is secured in a bun, and she wears a light pink blouse with a white scarf and a long beige skirt. Her likeness is reflected in the still, green water. A green leafy plant sits on a stony pedestal in the center of the water. Behind the woman, a short set of stairs leads to a light-colored home with a grey slanted roof. Pink and yellow flowers are growing on one wall of the house. A large tree is growing out of the lawn surrounding the fountain, and the tree's leaves hang down, framing the top portion of the image.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher]., Los Angeles, Cal. Made in Germany. No. 3302. / IN SPACE BELOW MAY BE WRITTEN SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS (NO OTHER WRITING)

[text, handwritten, vertically, graphite:]

Dear Hattie<sup>55</sup> – Had no time  
to write – We are at Gages [?]  
aut o tre [?] – been to Poolsons  
for dinner – Eden<sup>56</sup> looks fine  
will write soon – Did not  
go to box this m[or]n[in]g to get mail  
Aff[ectionately]  
Ma<sup>57</sup>

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Place Postage Here / Domestic, Island Possessions, Canadian, Mexican 1 c[ent] / Foreign 2 c[ents] // THE SPACE ABOVE IS RESERVED FOR POSTMARK. // POST CARD.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

[M]iss<sup>58</sup> Hattie Carson<sup>59</sup>  
1318\_10th St  
Oakland  
Caliorna<sup>60</sup> [sic]

250

[postage stamp: removed, existing remnants]

[postmarks, black:] STOCKTON<sup>61</sup> CAL. / OCT 6 5-30P 1908 // [outline of the American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

---

<sup>55</sup> Hattie Carson; unknown individual.

<sup>56</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>57</sup> Unknown individual; mother of Hattie Carson.

<sup>58</sup> The "M" is printed in red.

<sup>59</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>60</sup> Oakland, a city in Alameda County, California.

<sup>61</sup> City in San Joaquin County, California.

*Edition: Postcard 8, Unknown, Pasadena, California,  
to M[ary] M. Loughlin, Redlands, California,  
October 24, 1908*



Figure 8: Postcard 8, "San Gabriel Mission, California."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] San Gabriel Mission,<sup>62</sup> California.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: San Gabriel Mission. A white building with a grey slanted roof sits next to a larger beige-colored building featuring Spanish-style architecture. The white building is surrounded by a short white wall with a dark wooden gate, with green shrubbery peeking out over the top of the wall. The larger beige building has dark red roofing with several pillars interspersed, two crosses on the roof, and six arched bell gables near the top of one end of the building. Several small palm trees growing in a strip of grass line a dirt pathway next to the buildings.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, black:] No. Z. 2. Publ[ished]. by Newman Post Card Co.<sup>63</sup> Los Angeles, Cal (Made in Germany)

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] POST CARD. / Founded 1771. Was dedicated to Archangel Gabriel<sup>64</sup> – Is now in very good state of preservation and is located at the western entrance of a lovely valley<sup>65</sup> about nine miles from Los Angeles and four miles

<sup>62</sup> Mission San Gabriel Arcángel, a Spanish mission in San Gabriel, California; founded 1771.

<sup>63</sup> Postcard publishing company in Los Angeles, California.

<sup>64</sup> An archangel recognized in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

<sup>65</sup> The San Gabriel Valley, located east of Los Angeles, California.

from Pasadena; the mission can be reached by electric railway from each of these cities.  
/ Write here.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, ink/black:]

You are ahead of us with  
your snow-capped mountains —  
Indeed a grand sight — Wish  
we might have been with you —  
Come to Pasadena and  
we will do this old mission  
together — Hope you are  
feeling good effects from your sojourn  
in Santa Barbara 9-13 —

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/black:]

[M]<sup>66</sup> Miss M. M. Loughlin<sup>67</sup>  
Redlands  
California  
113 Orange Street<sup>68</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, graphite:]

408-3

200

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 / UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] / POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] PASADENA, CAL. / OCT 24 3-PM 1908 // 1 D [?] [seven wavy lines]

---

<sup>66</sup> The “M” is printed in black.

<sup>67</sup> Likely Mary M. Laughlin, (1864–unknown). Immigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1877.

<sup>68</sup> Building in Redlands, California; no longer standing.

*Edition: Postcard 9, Betsy [Elizabeth Elliott], San Diego, California, to Mrs. G. W. Tobler [Emma Tobler], Brooklyn, New York, February 17, 1909*



Figure 9: Postcard 9: "San Gabriel Mission Bells, San Gabriel, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] San Gabriel Mission Bells, San Gabriel, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: San Gabriel Mission Bells. A cream-colored building with a single rectangular pillar protruding and five arched bell gables near the top. Green bushes with dark ruby red flowers sit at the base of the building, separated from an adjacent sidewalk by a short, white retaining wall. Leaves from a palm tree frame the sidewalk. Far in the distance, the outlines of two telephone poles are backed by an orange and blue sky with scattered white, puffy clouds.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publ[isher]., Los Angeles, Cal.  
No. 3782. MADE IN GERMANY.

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD

[text, handwritten, vertically, on left, ink/black:]

San Diego – Cal.

Feb. 17 – 09.

Dearest Emma<sup>69</sup> –

Well – your little brothers

& I are sight seeing in

this beautiful little southern

city. Ed<sup>70</sup> is here on business

& I’m playing the “Tourist” –

This city is full of them –

all from the East. You – with

your snow, can’t realize how warm

it is here – With love from us both

Your sister – Betsy.<sup>71</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/black:]

Mrs. G. W. Tobler<sup>72</sup>

#2 Willow St.,<sup>73</sup>

Brooklyn<sup>74</sup>

New York.

c[are]/o[f] The Virginia.

[postage stamp, affixed upside-down, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin,  
green:] U.S. POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] SAN DIEGO, CAL. / FEB 17 5-PM 1909 // [outline of the  
American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

---

<sup>69</sup> Emma Tobler, née Elliott (1879–1949), daughter of Joseph Edward Elliott and Annie E. Perry; married to George Wilhelm Tobler.

<sup>70</sup> Likely Edwin Mackey Elliott (1884–1924), son of Joseph Edward Elliott and Annie E. Perry; brother of Emma Tobler, née Elliott; married to Elizabeth Minerva Elliott, née Sears.

<sup>71</sup> Likely Elizabeth Minerva Elliott, née Sears (1886–1939); married to Edwin Mackey Elliott; sister-in-law of Emma Tobler, née Elliott.

<sup>72</sup> Emma Tobler, née Elliott.

<sup>73</sup> Possibly 2 Willow Place, a residential building in Brooklyn, New York; still standing.

<sup>74</sup> Borough in New York City, New York.

Edition: Postcard 10, Maude [Maud Lucy Sanders], National City, California, to Mrs. Joe Guild [Elnora Elizabeth Guild], Eureka, California, March 8, 1909

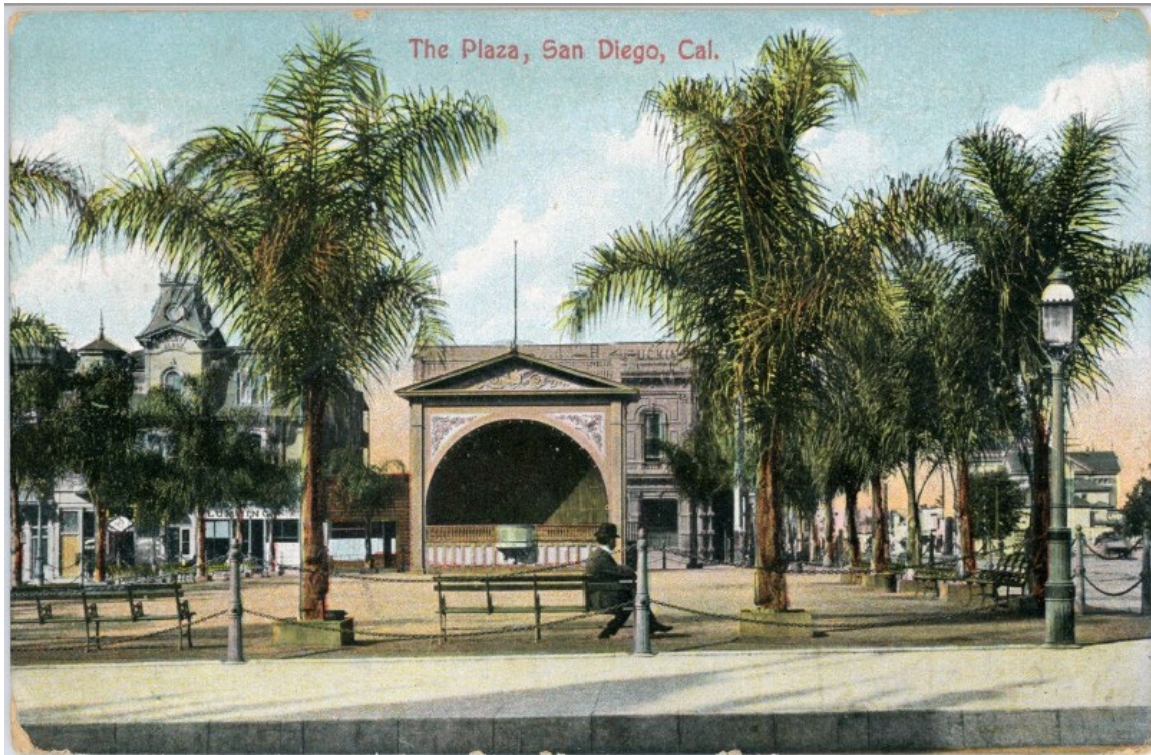


Figure 10: Postcard 10, "The Plaza, San Diego, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] The Plaza,<sup>75</sup> San Diego, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Plaza in San Diego. A white sidewalk sits in the foreground at the bottom of the image. Behind the sidewalk, a man in a dark grey suit and bowler hat sits with his legs crossed on a wooden bench in a large open area. Tall palm trees line the edges of the plaza. An ornate light-brown building with a large arched opening, possibly a stage, stands at the far side of the plaza. Other buildings lie in the background, partially visible through the palm trees.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, black:] No. L. 5. Publ[ished]. by Newman Post Card Co. Los Angeles, Cal (Made in Germany).

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] POST CARD / Write here.

[text, handwritten, vertically, on left, graphite:]

---

<sup>75</sup> Horton Plaza, created in 1870 by Alonzo Erastus Horton (1813–1909); located on the corner of Broadway and Fourth Avenue in San Diego, California. Has since been converted to Horton Plaza Park. Mary Maud Burnham, "San Diego's Horton Plaza," *The Journal of San Diego History* 20, no. 4 (Fall 1974), [online](#).

Dear Sister,<sup>76</sup> I am  
going to write you  
and Jodie<sup>77</sup> soon this  
mooning [*sic*] the sun above  
bright and clear, it  
is gentley [*sic*] raining now  
Had a fine sermon  
this after noon Lots of  
Love—Maude<sup>78</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

[M]rs<sup>79</sup> Joe Guild<sup>80</sup>  
233, Huntoon st<sup>81</sup>  
Eureka<sup>82</sup>  
Cal[ifornia]

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] SERIES 1902 /  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA / 1 [cent] / 1706 FRANKLIN 1790 / 1 [cent] /  
POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] NATIO[...] CAL / M[...] 7 AM 1909 // [seven horizontal bars]

---

<sup>76</sup> Elnora Elizabeth Guild, née Sanders (1883–1965), daughter of Edward Randall Sanders and Sarah Ellen Sturgill; sister of Maud Lucy Sanders; married to Joseph Alexander Guild.

<sup>77</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>78</sup> Maud Lucy Sanders (1885–1909), daughter of Edward Randall Sanders and Sarah Ellen Sturgill; sister of Elnora Elizabeth Guild, née Sanders.

<sup>79</sup> The “M” is printed in black.

<sup>80</sup> Elnora Elizabeth Guild, née Sanders

<sup>81</sup> Single-story home in Eureka, California, built in 1901; still standing.

<sup>82</sup> City in Humboldt County, California.



*Edition: Postcard 11, Joe S. [or G.], Long Beach, California,  
to Bert Lowell, Los Angeles, California,  
August 26, 1909*



Figure 11: Postcard 11, "Wading in the Surf, Long Beach, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Wading in the Surf, Long Beach, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Two women and two young girls wading in the ocean. They are wearing dresses in white, blue, yellow, and red fabrics. Their feet and ankles are submerged, and they are holding up their dresses to avoid the water. Small waves move through the dark green-blue water toward the shore. In the foreground, the image of the beachgoers is reflected in small pools of water that shimmer across dark brown sand. In the background, a pier holding up several flag-adorned buildings extends into the ocean.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] Published by M. Rieder, Los Angeles, Cal.  
No. 3833. Made in Germany.

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD / This Side for Correspondence. / This  
Side for Address only.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, graphite:]

Will be home  
tomorrow

With regards  
Joe. S [or G]<sup>83</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

Mr. Bert Lowell<sup>84</sup>  
~~31.~~ 3111 A Griffith<sup>85</sup>  
Los Angeles  
Cal

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] U.S. POSTAGE /  
ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] LONGBEACH, CAL. / AUG 26 7-AM 1909 // [outline of the  
American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

---

<sup>83</sup> Unknown individual; possibly Joseph Alexander Guild (Postcard 10).

<sup>84</sup> Henry Bertrand Lowell (1878–1928), son of James Henry Lowell and Laura A. Helms.

<sup>85</sup> Building in Los Angeles, California; now vacant commercial land.

*Edition: Postcard 12, M. J. Solomon, Long Beach, California,  
to Mrs. J. Lowell [Laura A. Lowell],  
August 26, 1910*



Figure 12: Postcard 12, "Bath House, at Long Beach, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Bath House at Long Beach, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A crowded, sandy beach. A few people sit on the sand, while large crowds of men and women wearing suits and dresses walk around the beach, some holding umbrellas. A white columned building stands in the background with an American flag flying on the roof. A few smaller buildings sit on either side of the columned building, as well as a long building with an orange vaulted roof.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, brown:] Published by Newman Post Card Co. Los Angeles. San Francisco.

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] NPC Co. / POST CARD / VAN ORNUM COLORPRINT CO<sup>86</sup> LOS ANGELES / THIS SIDE FOR CORRESPONDENCE. / D 16 / Reached via the Salt Lake Route. / THIS SIDE FOR ADDRESS ONLY.

---

<sup>86</sup> Postcard publishing company in Los Angeles, California.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, ink/black:]

Dear Mrs Lowell<sup>87</sup>

a line to say we  
are all fine. hope you  
are the same. We are  
Stopping at the Bay<sup>88</sup>  
will be home monday  
With love M J Solomon<sup>89</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/black:]

Mrs. J. Lowell<sup>90</sup>  
3111 Griffith Ave[nu]e  
Los angles [sic]

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] U.S. POSTAGE /  
ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] LONGBEACH, CAL. / AUG 26 6-PM 1910 // [outline of the  
American flag with thirteen stars and seven stripes]

---

<sup>87</sup> Laura A. Lowell, née Helms.

<sup>88</sup> Unknown location.

<sup>89</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>90</sup> Laura A. Lowell, née Helms.

*Edition: Postcard 13, F. D., Sierra Madre, California,  
to Laura Lowell, Los Angeles, California,  
March 15, 1911*

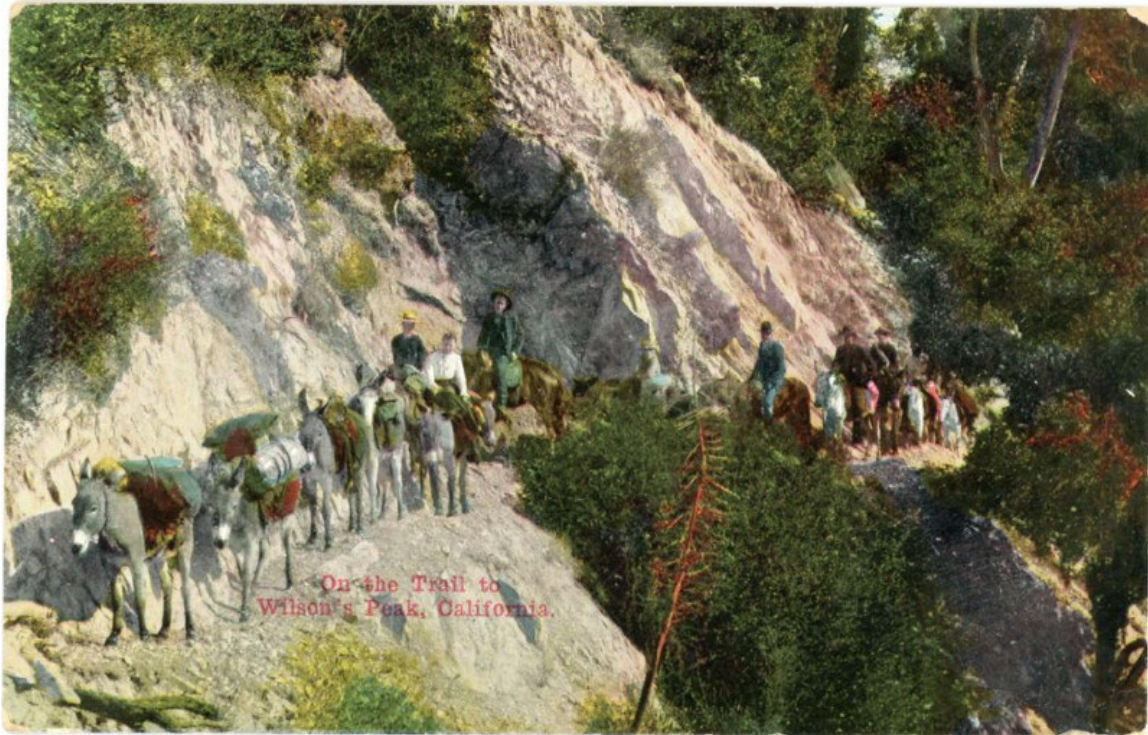


Figure 13: Postcard 13, "On the Trail to Wilson's Peak, California."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] On the Trail to Wilson's Peak,<sup>91</sup> California.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Several mules and horses traveling in a line along a narrow mountain path with steep rocky cliffs on either side. Gray mules laden with bags in muted red, green, and blue tones lead the group, while six people ride on mules and brown horses in the rear. The mountain cliffs are light grey and white with green bushes growing on the surface, and trees with green and red leaves are growing in the background.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, brown:] Published by Newman Post Card Co. Los Angeles. San Francisco.

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] NPC Co. / POST CARD / VAN ORNUM  
COLORPRINT CO LOS ANGELES / THIS SIDE FOR CORRESPONDENCE. / C 104  
/ On the Road of a Thousand Wonders. / THIS SIDE FOR ADDRESS ONLY.

---

<sup>91</sup> Mount Wilson, a mountain peak in the San Gabriel Mountains in Los Angeles County, California.

[text, handwritten, vertically, on left, ink/blue:]

March 15<sup>th</sup>/11

My dear: —

How is every

one this A.m. I was

down Sat[urday] eve & came

home Sun[day] P.m intended

2. come & see you all but

had 2.Visit [?] home sooner

than I expected. Lots of love

& Sympathy dear sister F. D.<sup>92</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/blue:]

Mrs. Laura Lowell<sup>93</sup>

833 East 29<sup>th</sup> St<sup>94</sup>

Los Angeles

Cal.

[postage stamp, affixed upside-down, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin,  
green:] U.S. POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] SIERRA MADRE CAL. / MAR 15 11 AM 1911 // [seven horizontal  
bars]

---

<sup>92</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>93</sup> Laura A. Lowell, née Helms.

<sup>94</sup> Building in Los Angeles, California; apparently no longer standing.

*Edition: Postcard 14, Grace [Elliott], Los Angeles, California,  
to Ms. G. W. Tobler [Emma Tobler], Brooklyn, New York,  
March 16, 1911*



Figure 14: Postcard 14, "Mission San Luis Rey, California – Erected 1798."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] 855 – MISSION SAN LUIS REY,<sup>95</sup> CALIFORNIA –  
ERECTED 1798

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Mission San Luis Rey, a large Spanish-style building. An arched entryway sits at the base of a white stucco wall, which has deteriorated in places to reveal red-orange stone underneath. A white bell tower with arched openings capped by a red-orange domed roof rises up near the entryway. A series of small white arches extends to the left of the entryway, and a white and red wall with a small wooden gate extends to the right. The building sits on bright green grass, and the sky above is orange and blue, with white puffy clouds in the distance.]

Back:

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] POST CARD / THIS SPACE FOR  
CORRESPONDENCE / THIS SPACE FOR ADDRESS ONLY / PUBLISHED BY  
EDWARD H. MITCHELL SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA

[text, handwritten, vertically, on left, ink/blue:]

Just a thought f[rom] [?]  
Los Angeles. Received  
your letter yesterday

<sup>95</sup> Spanish mission in Oceanside, California; founded 1798.

Joseph<sup>96</sup> took 5¢ & went  
to the Picture show  
Had a fine time he  
said.  
Grace<sup>97</sup> —

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/blue:]

Ms. G. W. Tobler<sup>98</sup> —  
2 Willow St.  
Brooklyn, NY.

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] U.S. POSTAGE /  
ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] LOS ANGELES CAL. STAT[ION] C<sup>99</sup>/ MAR 16 3-PM 1911 // 2 C  
[?] [seven wavy lines]

---

<sup>96</sup> Likely Joseph Edward Elliott (1883–1947), son of Joseph Edward Elliott and Annie E. Perry; married to Grace Elliott; brother of Emma Tobler, née Elliott.

<sup>97</sup> Likely Grace Elliott (1881–unknown); married to Joseph Edward Elliott; sister-in-law of Emma Tobler, née Elliott.

<sup>98</sup> Emma Tobler, née Elliott.

<sup>99</sup> A post office located in Los Angeles, California. Randy Stehle, “The Development of the Los Angeles Postal System Through August 1909,” *La Posta: A Journal of American Postal History* 40, no. 1 (February–March 2009): 9–34.



*Edition: Postcard 15, "Lunly," Avalon, California,  
to H. E. Lyman, Harrisburg, Oregon,  
August 13, 1911*



Figure 15: Postcard 15, "Arrival of the Steamer at Avalon, Catalina Island Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, light beige:] Arrival of the Steamer at Avalon, Catalina Island Cal. 717

[Image/historical sepia-toned photograph: A large steamboat docked near shore. Numerous smaller boats float in the water around the docked steamboat, and a few people are swimming nearby. A long wooden dock connects the boat to land, and another wooden dock is visible in the background. A rocky hill with sparse vegetation rises up in the background. In the foreground, a small crowd of people sit and stand on a paved walkway watching the boats, with a light-colored telephone poll standing nearby.]

Back:

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] Post Card / ON THE ROAD OF A THOUSAND WONDERS / Message/ Address / PUBLISHED BY EDWARD H. MITCHELL SAN FRANCISCO CAL.

[text, handwritten, diagonally, on left, graphite:]

Hello  
Papa.<sup>100</sup> I paid  
this [...]is[...]oner Bill.

---

<sup>100</sup> H. E. Lyman; unknown individual.

I am glad you doin [?]  
get any thing else  
to drink but B[utter] milk  
I was am over here  
now. Having  
a dandy  
time.  
Lunly<sup>101</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

Mr. H. E. Lyman<sup>102</sup>  
Harrisburg<sup>103</sup>  
Oregon

[postage stamp: removed, existing remnants]

[postmarks, black:] AVALON CAL. / AUG 13 6-PM 1911 // [presumably seven  
horizontal bars]

---

<sup>101</sup> Unknown individual; presumably the child of H. E. Lyman.

<sup>102</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>103</sup> City in Linn County, Oregon.

*Edition: Postcard 16, "Mayme's," Los Angeles, California,  
to Nora Moore, Banning, California,  
March 19, 1912*



Figure 16: Postcard 16: "Scene in Busch Gardens. Pasadena. Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] Scene in Busch Gardens.<sup>104</sup> Pasadena. Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: Busch Gardens in Pasadena. A white pathway curves through a grassy, scenic landscape. Three large trees with pale trunks grow in the grass next to the path and extend their branches and green leaves up and over the walkway. A small bench is situated further along the path at the edge of the image. In the background, a field of small grassy hills is backed by a large grouping of trees in the distance. The sky above the trees is light pink and gradually fades into blue near the top of the image.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, red:] M. Rieder, Publisher. Los Angeles, California.

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] POST CARD / "THE RIEDER" / F 34 / This Side for Correspondence. / This Side for Address only.

---

<sup>104</sup> Thirty-six-acre gardens outside the home of Adolphus Busch (1839–1913), located in Pasadena, California; open to visitors from 1906 to 1937.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, ink/blue:]

Dear Nora:<sup>105</sup>

You little rasal [sic]  
why dont you write  
to me. How are  
you any way girlie  
Are you still in the  
office. I like my  
work better every day.  
weigh 185 lbs.  
Besure [sic] & write  
soon. Lovingly  
Mayme 'S.<sup>106</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/blue:]

Miss Nora Moore.<sup>107</sup>  
Banning<sup>108</sup>  
Calif

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] U.S. POSTAGE /  
ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] LOS ANGELES, CAL. / MAR 18 6<sup>30</sup> AM 1912 // 2 C [?] [seven  
wavy lines]

---

<sup>105</sup> Nora F. Moore (1886–1975), daughter of Sidney Taylor Moore and Eliza Jane Munch.

<sup>106</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>107</sup> Nora F. Moore.

<sup>108</sup> City in Riverside County, California.

Edition: Postcard 17, C. Hugo Hanoa, San Francisco, California,  
to Eleanora [Elnora] Guild, Sacramento, California,  
February 3, 1913



Figure 17: Postcard 17, "Unloading Lumber, San Diego, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] Unloading Lumber, San Diego, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A ship on water. The ship has a black base with a white upper rim on which the name "MELVILLE DOLLAR"<sup>109</sup> is emblazoned in black lettering. Cables and ropes are strung across the length of the ship. The middle of the ship contains stacks of long, narrow wooden boards which are being unloaded onto small, light brown barges. Small human figures are standing in various places on the ship deck. The green-blue water is calm, and buildings lie on a distant shore in the background. The sky above the ship is orange and blue with scattered clouds.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, green:] 2360 PUBLISHED BY THE BENHAM CO.<sup>110</sup>  
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

[text, printed, horizontally, green:] [swastika symbol featuring the Benham Co. logo  
and the letters:] B Co / POST CARD / This Space for Message / This Space for Address  
/ A 8200

<sup>109</sup> The *Melville Dollar*, a ship operated by the Dollar Steamship Line.

<sup>110</sup> Postcard publishing company (later also known as the Benham Indian Trading Co.) in Los Angeles, California.

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA VIEWS / This is one of a series of 300 San Diego views. Ten or more different views may be obtained by sending one cent each in coin or stamps to Eno & Matteson,<sup>111</sup> San Diego, Cal.

[stamp/seal, printed, bottom center, black:] [a steamship traversing a canal] PANAMA-CALIFORNIA-EXPOSITON SAN DIEGO<sup>112</sup> / 1915/ THE COMPLETION OF THE PANAMA CANAL

[text, handwritten, vertically, on left, ink/black:]

San Fran[cisco]. Feb[ruary]. 3<sup>d</sup>  
Hello there spenart [?].  
Rec[eive]d your card today  
& was glad to hear  
from you. Wrote you  
a letter while we  
were down south  
to Gen. Del.<sup>113</sup> Did you get  
it Feeling fine C. Hugo Hanoa<sup>114</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, ink/black:]

Mrs. Eleanora Guild.<sup>115</sup>  
1410 1/2 Jay st.,<sup>116</sup>  
Sacramento,  
Calif.<sup>117</sup>

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] U.S. POSTAGE / ONE CENT

[postmarks, black:] SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. / FEB 3 9-PM 1913 // WORLD'S PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION 1915 2 C [?] [seven horizontal lines]

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<sup>111</sup> Postcard publishing company in San Diego, California.

<sup>112</sup> An exposition held in San Diego, California, from 1915 to 1917 in honor of the opening of the Panama Canal.

<sup>113</sup> Unknown location

<sup>114</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>115</sup> Elnora Elizabeth Guild, née Sanders

<sup>116</sup> Building in Sacramento, California; apparently no longer standing.

<sup>117</sup> City in Sacramento County, California.

Edition: Postcard 18, Wilhelmina Bennett, San Gabriel,  
to Helen Bennett, Sutherlin, Oregon,  
November 27, 1915

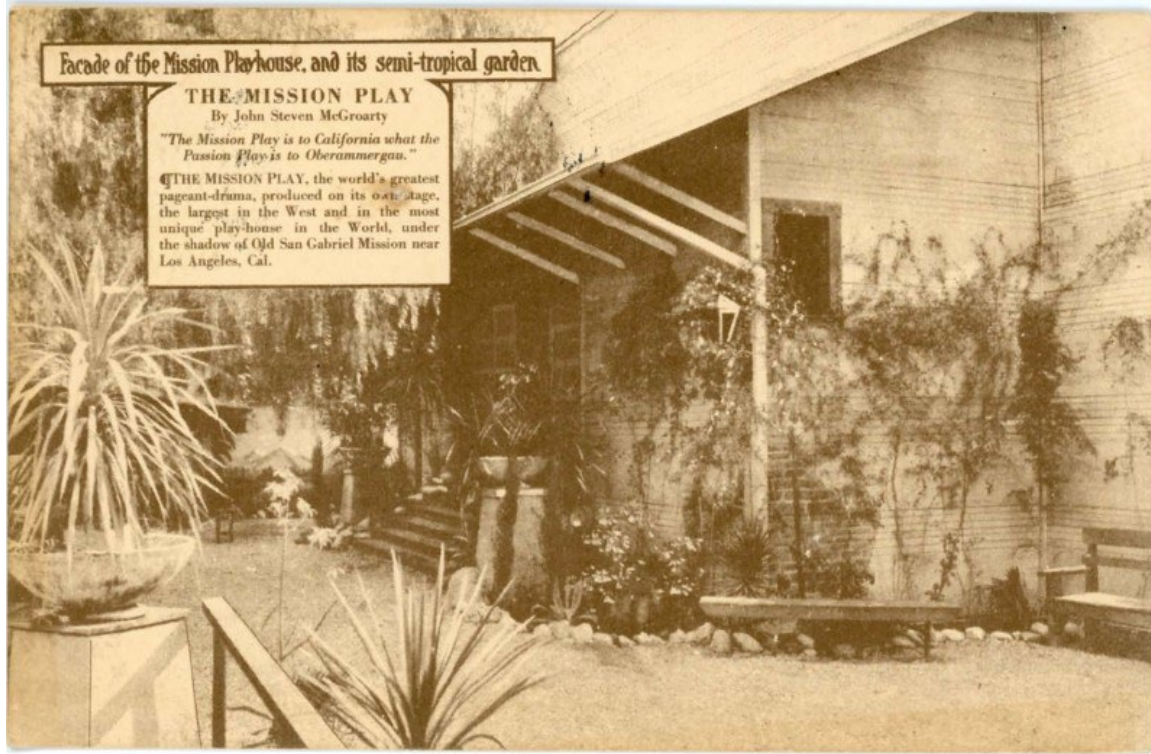


Figure 18: Postcard 18, "Facade of the Mission Playhouse, and its semi-tropical garden."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] Facade of the Mission Playhouse,<sup>118</sup> and its semi-tropical garden / THE MISSION PLAY<sup>119</sup> By John Steven McGroarty<sup>120</sup> / "The Mission Play is to California what the Passion Play<sup>121</sup> is to Oberammergau."<sup>122</sup> / THE MISSION PLAY, the world's greatest pageant-drama, produced on its own stage, the largest in the West and in the most unique play-house in the World, under the shadow of Old San Gabriel Mission near Los Angeles, Cal.

[Image/historical sepia-toned photograph: Facade of the Mission Playhouse. A building with a slanted roof surrounded by a variety of plants. Thin, leafy vines are growing on the outer walls of the building. A short flight of stairs leads to the door of

<sup>118</sup> The original venue for *The Mission Play* upon its debut in 1912. Located in San Gabriel, California, near the San Gabriel Mission. Demolished at an unknown date. The present San Gabriel Mission Playhouse opened in 1927. "Mission Playhouse #1, San Gabriel, CA," *Pacific Coast Architecture Database*, University of Washington, [online](#).

<sup>119</sup> A pageant written by John Steven McGroarty that premiered in 1912, depicting the history of California's Spanish missions.

<sup>120</sup> (1862–1944), California congressman, poet, and author of the *The Mission Play*.

<sup>121</sup> A play staged decennially (since 1634) in Oberammergau, Germany, about the end of Jesus Christ's life.

<sup>122</sup> Village in Bavaria, Germany.

the building, with two short pillars at the foot of the stairs holding up plants in shallow white pots. Another potted plant sits on a pillar in the foreground. A dirt path lined with rocks goes past the building, and a wooden bench sits next to the wall of the building.]

Back:

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] POST CARD / CORRESPONDENCE / ADDRESS ONLY / UNOGRAPH PROCESS<sup>123</sup> THE UNION LITHOGRAPH CO.<sup>124</sup> LOS ANGELES

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, graphite:]

Dear Helen<sup>125</sup>

We are at the

Mission Play. It is

just fine!! I

certainly wish you

folks could see

it.

Lovingly,

Wilhelmina

Bennett<sup>126</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

Miss. Helen Bennett<sup>127</sup>

Sutherlin,<sup>128</sup>

Oregon

<sup>100</sup>

[text, handwritten, vertically, on right, graphite:]

# 12

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington,<sup>129</sup> green:] U.S. POSTAGE / 1 CENT 1

[postmarks, black:] [SAN GA]BRIEL, CAL. / 4-PM NOV 27 1915 // [eight horizontal bars]

---

<sup>123</sup> Possibly a printing process used by the Union Lithograph Co.

<sup>124</sup> Printing company in Los Angeles, California.

<sup>125</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>126</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>127</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>128</sup> City in Douglas County, Oregon.

<sup>129</sup> (1732-1799), U.S. President (1789-1797).



*Edition: Postcard 19, Janise Powell, San Diego, California,  
to Mrs. Madison Powell [Eva Powell], Terminal, California,  
January 4, 1917*

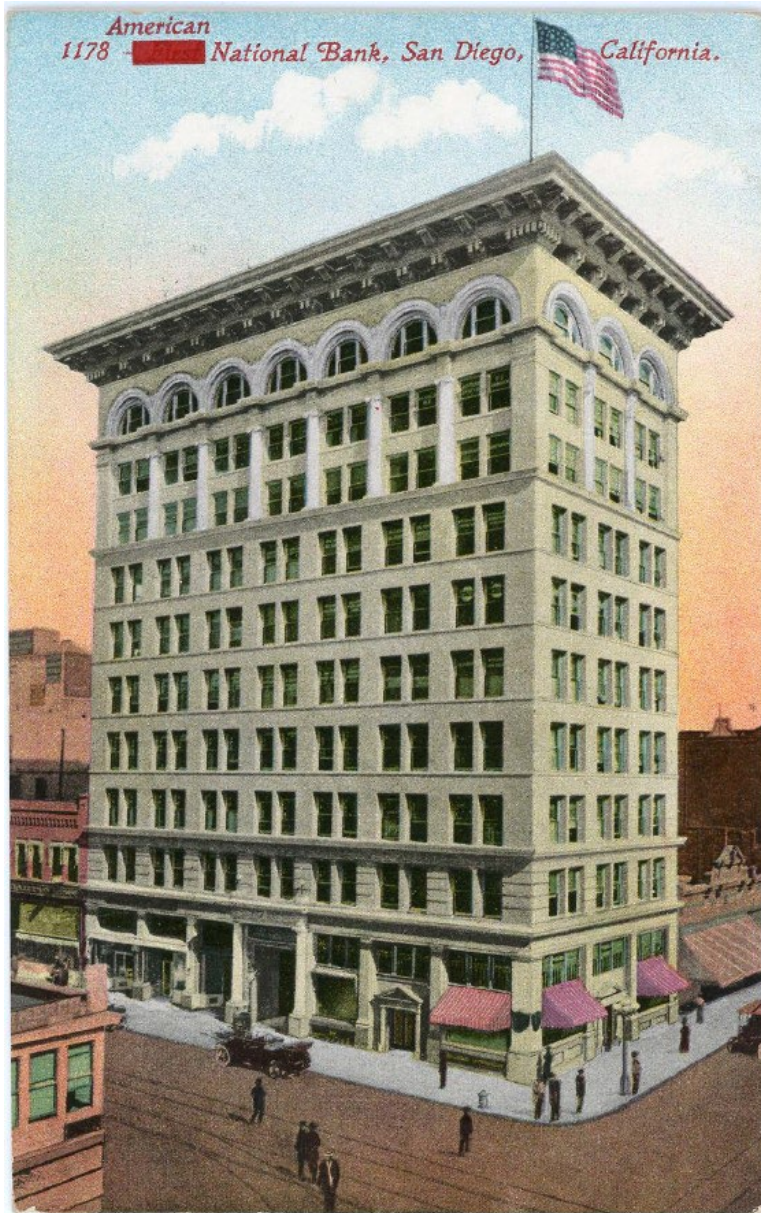


Figure 19: Postcard 19: "American National Bank, San Diego, California."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, red:] 1178—~~First~~ American National Bank,<sup>130</sup> San Diego, California.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: American National Bank building in San Diego, a ten-story windowed building constructed out of cream-colored stone. The

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<sup>130</sup> Building located at 1007 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue in San Diego, California, occupied by American National Bank; has since been converted into apartments.

ground floor of the building has several doors, and three red awnings cover lower-level windows. An American flag sits on the roof. A few people are standing on the street corner at the foot of the building, and two early twentieth-century cars are parked on the street. Several smaller buildings surround the bank. The sky behind the bank is pink and blue with scattered clouds.]

Back:

[text, printed, horizontally, brown:] Post Card / THIS SPACE FOR CORRESPONDENCE / THIS SPACE FOR ADDRESS ONLY / PUBLISHED BY EDW. H. MITCHELL, SAN FRANCISCO

[text, handwritten, horizontally/last line vertically, on left, graphite:]

Dear Eva<sup>131</sup> – Your pretty  
card of good wishes rec[eived] –  
Thank you for remembering  
me so nicly. [*sic*] I am sending  
a handy little callender [*sic*]  
just to make you think  
of me as the days go  
speeding by, and may  
each day it records  
be a happy one to you  
H<sup>132</sup> – and I have moved  
up nearer the Highs –  
and Lola<sup>133</sup> and her little  
boys are still in the  
suburbs – Hope you and  
M<sup>134</sup> are both better now,  
love to him too.  
1046 – 26 St<sup>135</sup> San Diego.  
Janise [?] Powell.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> Eva Belle Powell, née Greenfield (1863–1951), daughter of Nathaniel Greenfield and Maria Jane Sheaffer; married to Madison Powell.

<sup>132</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>133</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>134</sup> Madison Powell (1860–1942), son of David Powell and Catharine Gates; married to Eva Belle Powell, née Greenfield.

<sup>135</sup> Residential building in San Diego, California; apparently still standing.

<sup>136</sup> Unknown individual.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

Mrs Madison Powell.<sup>137</sup>

Terminal<sup>138</sup>

Calif –

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, green:] U.S. POSTAGE /  
1 CENT 1

[postmarks, black:] SAN DIEGO, CAL. / JAN 4 2<sup>30</sup> PM 1917 // [seven wavy lines]

---

<sup>137</sup> Eva Belle Powell, née Greenfield.

<sup>138</sup> Artificial island in Los Angeles County, California, located east of San Pedro.

*Edition: Postcard 20, Evelyn, Los Angeles, California,  
to Nora Moore, Banning, California,  
January 5, 1917*



Figure 20: Postcard 20, "The Park, Cawston Ostrich Farm, South Pasadena, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, yellow:] THE PARK, CAWSTON OSTRICH FARM,<sup>139</sup>  
SOUTH PASADENA, CAL.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A small pond surrounded by greenery. The pond is dark green with light green leaves and algae floating on the surface. A large pile of light grey and pink stones sits in the center of the pond, with more stones forming a border around the pond's edge. Plants in a variety of shades of green surround the pond, some with large leaves and others with long thin stems. A few blue, white, and pink flowers adorn some of the plants. Large leafy trees make up the background of the image.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, black:] Pub[lished]. by Benham Indian Trading Co.,<sup>140</sup>  
Los Angeles, Cal.

<sup>139</sup> A park-like farm boasting live ostriches, operated by Edwin Cawston in South Pasadena, California, from 1886 to 1935.

<sup>140</sup> A company operated by James W. Benham and Paul A. Brizard that primarily sold Native American goods. Located at 421 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California, with additional locations in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Phoenix, Arizona; and New York City. Kathleen L. Howard, "Benham, Barnes, Brizard, and the Curio: A Study in Early Arizona Entrepreneurship, 1895-1908," *The Journal of Arizona History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 12-13.

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] [swastika symbol featuring the Benham Indian Trading Co. logo and the letters:] B I T Co / POST CARD / [winged angel, blowing a trumpet with a pending banner, featuring the words:] NEUNER CO.<sup>141</sup> CALITYPE PROCESS<sup>142</sup> / POST CARD / MADE IN CALIFORNIA / THIS SPACE FOR MESSAGE / THIS SPACE FOR ADDRESS

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, graphite:]

Jan. 5, 1917

Dear pal:—

Was in hopes of writing  
a letter before this but could  
not get to it but hope to  
soon. Thanks so much  
for the presents you sent  
the picture sure is fine  
of you and the h[an]dk[er]ch[ie]f.  
I am using for a daily  
do you mind, thought it was,  
to nice for a h[an]dk[er]c[hie]f. Hoping  
you enjoyed your Xmas & New Years.  
Love from Evelyn.<sup>143</sup>

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on right, graphite:]

Miss. Nora Moore<sup>144</sup>

Box 103

Banning

Cal.

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of George Washington, green:] U.S. POSTAGE / 1 CENT 1

[postmarks, black:] LOS ANGELES, CAL. / JAN 5 9-PM 1917 // 2 C [?] [seven wavy lines]

---

<sup>141</sup> Presumably a printing company located in Los Angeles, California.

<sup>142</sup> A photographic process developed in the nineteenth century, possibly used to produce a black-and-white image on the front of the postcard, which would have then been colorized.

<sup>143</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>144</sup> Nora F. Moore.

Edition: Postcard 21, "Grandma,"  
to Agnes,  
1917



Figure 21: Postcard 21, "Gathering Moonstones at Redondo Beach, Cal."

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] 450 Gathering Moonstones<sup>145</sup> at Redondo Beach,<sup>146</sup> Cal. / 7447

[Image/colorized historical photograph: People on a beach. Men are dressed in brown suits, while women are wearing long skirts and blouses in muted reds, yellows, and greens, and a few small children wear white clothing. Some individuals are sitting or leaning over, examining small brown stones piled up on the sandy shore. A small black or brown dog stands with a group of people on the shore. A few people are wading in the light turquoise ocean. A long pier can be seen extending into the ocean in the background beneath a turquoise sky with scattered white clouds.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, black:] Pub[lished]. by the M. Kashower Co.,<sup>147</sup> Los Angeles, Cal.

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] [garland-adorned circle featuring the M. Kashower Co. logo and the letters:] M K / POST CARD / For Correspondence / For Address Only / PLACE POSTAGE STAMP HERE

<sup>145</sup> Hecatolite, an opalescent feldspar gemstone.

<sup>146</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>147</sup> Postcard publisher in Los Angeles, California.

[text, handwritten, horizontally, on left, graphite:]

Agnes<sup>148</sup> this is where  
we were picking &  
diging [*sic*] for moonstone  
moon stone Beach<sup>149</sup> dont  
that little girl with  
pail look like little  
Pauline.<sup>150</sup> Keep this card  
till I come  
Grandma<sup>151</sup>

236-2 1917 DS 2-05 1.00

[no postage stamp]

[no postmark; presumably mailed/conveyed in an envelope or by other means]

---

<sup>148</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>149</sup> Moonstone Beach located in Redondo Beach, California, known for the gemstones found on shore during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

<sup>150</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>151</sup> Unknown individual; presumably Agnes's (i.e., the addressee's) grandmother.

Edition: Postcard 22, Emma Fetzshe, Los Angeles, to Unknown, July 26, 1922



Figure 22: Postcard 22, "A Beautiful Home in the Hills of Los Angeles, Cal." [with text on the back].



Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] A Beautiful Home n the Hills of Los Angeles, Cal.

[Image/colorized historical photograph: A large white house with a terracotta roof. The house has two stories with large paned windows, which are accented by small decorative columns. A concrete and/or paved pathway leads to two flights of stairs at the home's entrance. The path is lined with grass, as well as green, yellow, and pink flowers and shrubbery. Leaves from nearby trees frame the image and several large trees stand behind the house. Green mountains rise up in the background.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, green:] Published by California Postcard Co.,<sup>152</sup> Los Angeles, Cal.

[text, printed, horizontally, green:] 23925 / Post Card / PLACE STAMP HERE

[text, handwritten in Sütterlin script, horizontally, in two columns, graphite:]

Los Angeles 26. J. [Juli ?] 1922.

Liebe Freundien

Zu Ihren Geburtstag

sagen wir unßeren herz-

lichen Glückwünsche

möchen Sie noch recht

viele erleben mit Gesundheit.

Hoffendlich sind Sie Alle

recht frölich beieinander

u[nd] denken auch an mich wenn

es Ihnen gut geht,

es wirde uns freuen wenn

Sie uns mal wieder Überraschten

mit Ihren Besuche, ich habe mich

recht gefreut als ich Mrs. Holstien<sup>153</sup>

wieder gesehen habe. Hoffendlich

sind Sie Alle gesund was ich auch

von uns sagen kann, es ist auch ziemlich

heiß hier viele Grüße an Alle von

Ihrer Freundien Emma Zets[c]he.<sup>154</sup>

[English translation: Los Angeles, J. [July?] 26, 1922 / Dear friend, for your birthday, we relate our heartfelt well-wishes. May you experience a good many more in health. Hopefully, you are all quite happily together and think of me if you are faring well. It would delight us if you would surprise us once again with your visit. I was quite pleased when I saw Mrs. Holstien<sup>155</sup> again. Hopefully you are all healthy, which is something I can say for ourselves. It is quite hot here, too. Many regards to all from your friend, Emma Zets[c]he<sup>156</sup>]

[no postage stamp]

[no postmark; presumably mailed/conveyed in an envelope or by other means]

<sup>152</sup> A postcard publishing company in Los Angeles, California.

<sup>153</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>154</sup> Possibly Clotilde Emma Shirk, née Zetsche (1888-1944) or her mother, Amalie Emma Zetsche, née Friedrich (1862-1925).

<sup>155</sup> Unknown individual.

<sup>156</sup> Possibly Clotilde Emma Shirk, née Zetsche, or her mother, Amalie Emma Zetsche, née Friedrich.

Edition: Postcard 23, "Ma" [Augusta Renter], Santa Monica, California, to Freida Renter, Redlands, California, July 21, 1924



Figure 23: Postcard 23, "Ship Cafe and Amusement Zone, Venice, Calif." [with text on the back].

Front:

[text, printed, horizontally, black:] 397: – Ship Cafe and Amusement Zone,<sup>157</sup> Venice,<sup>158</sup> Calif.

[Image/black-and-white historical photograph with some yellow coloring: Ship Cafe and Amusement Zone in Venice. The bow of a white ship juts diagonally into the left side of the image, with the name “SHIP CAFE” emblazoned on the side in grey letters. An ornate, domed ticket booth labeled “PARKES” with an American flag flying on top sits in the foreground, and crowds of people walk nearby. Behind the ticket booth, a lighted sign reading “CATERPILLAR” hangs over an amusement ride. A white rectangular building behind the ride has the words “OVER THE FALLS” painted on the side of the building and displayed in lighted letters on top. A triangular teepee structure and a large roller coaster sit in the distance in the background of the image.]

Back:

[text, printed, vertically, on left, blue:] Pub[lished]. by the M. Kashower Co., Los Angeles, Cal.

[text, printed, vertically, center, blue:] MADE IN USA

[text, printed, horizontally, blue:] [garland-adorned circle featuring the M. Kashower Co. logo and the letters:] M K / POST CARD / THIS SPACE FOR WRITING / THIS SIDE IS FOR THE ADDRESS

[text, handwritten in Sütterlin script, vertically/last line horizontally upside-down, on left, graphite:]

O Frieda<sup>159</sup> dier [dear] ich wolte  
 du konntes die Braut  
 gester gesehen haben das wars  
 wehrt und letzte  
 Nacht wenn sie alle  
 Heim gehen. ich möchte  
 nicht dabei sein für  
 Farm aber so schön  
 kühl, so gut bei [good bye]! Ma.<sup>160</sup>  
 Monde

---

<sup>157</sup> The Venice Amusement Pier, a recreation area in Venice, California, containing amusement rides, a restaurant called *The Ship Café*, and other attractions; destroyed by a fire 1920 and subsequently rebuilt. Jeffrey Stanton, “Venice Amusement Pier,” revised April 6, 1998, [online](#).

<sup>158</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California, from 1905 to 1926; now a neighborhood in the city of Los Angeles.

<sup>159</sup> Frieda Renter (1888–1969), daughter of Fred and Augusta Renter.

<sup>160</sup> Presumably Augusta Renter (1859–1953), born in Germany; married to Fred Renter; mother of Frieda Renter.

[English translation: O Frieda<sup>161</sup> “dear,” I wish you could have seen the bride yesterday. It was worth it, and last night, when they all went home! I do not want to join for [the] farm. But [it is?] so nicely cool. So, “good bye!” Ma.<sup>162</sup> Monde]

[text, handwritten, horizontally upside-down, on right, graphite:]

Freida Renter<sup>163</sup>

25 East Fern<sup>164</sup>

Redlands

Calif[ornia]

[postage stamp, featuring a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, green:] UNITED STATES  
POSTAGE / FRANKLIN / 1 CENT 1

[postmarks, black:] SANTA MONICA,<sup>165</sup> CALIF. / JUL 21 5-PM 1924 // OCEAN  
PARK STA[TION].<sup>166</sup> [seven horizontal lines]

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Melissa B. Garrison of Torrance, California, earned a B.A. in American Studies (2016) at Brigham Young University. She is currently pursuing an M.A. in American Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Carlos J. Marin of Whittier, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*The primary-source edition published here originated in the “History and Editing” course offered by CSUF’s History Department.*

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<sup>161</sup> Frieda Renter.

<sup>162</sup> Presumably Augusta Renter.

<sup>163</sup> Frieda Renter.

<sup>164</sup> Home built in 1904; still standing.

<sup>165</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>166</sup> Presumably a post office located in either Santa Monica, California, or Redlands, California.

Sergio Daniel Sifuentes (editor)

*La Independencia, an Original Orange County Colonia:  
Recollections by Nellie Pando Rocha (1982)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Orange County Colonias.

O.H. 3851.

Oral Interview with Nellie Pando Rocha, conducted by Lucy McDonald,  
June 23, 1982, [Independencia,] California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF's Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled "Orange County Colonias." The interview with Nellie Pando Rocha was conducted by Lucy McDonald, on June 23, 1982, in [Independencia,] California. The interview is 1 hour, 2 minutes, and 27 seconds long, and it is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2022 by Sergio Daniel Sifuentes.

Nellie Pando Rocha was born in El Paso, Texas, in 1916. In 1924, she and her family arrived in Independencia, a *colonia* community situated between Anaheim and Stanton. Due to Mexican migrants settling in Orange County after the 1910–1920 Mexican Revolution, Independencia was designated to serve as a neighborhood for the growing Mexican and Mexican American population in 1923. *Colonia* Independencia constitutes one of the original and last surviving Orange County *colonias* still recognized as an unincorporated municipality. During the Depression, Nellie decided to drop out of school (while in ninth grade) to work and help support her family. Recalling her time at Anaheim Union High School, Nellie points to her school's discriminatory policies. Despite being composed of a majority Mexican-origin student body, Spanish was only spoken on rare occasions. Nellie describes Independencia during the Depression years and the great flood of 1938, one of the largest floods in Southern California history that impacted Orange, Riverside, and Los Angeles County. Her husband served in World War II, and they purchased their first home in the community for \$600. Nellie portrays how women in the community worked picking or sorting walnuts, strawberries, chilies, and oranges. She characterizes the community as it was during the 1930s, mentioning businesses and various entertainments such as movies. The church was a central part of the Orange County *colonias*. According to Nellie, church celebrations and various social events were at the heart of community life. Nellie discussed the different roles of men and women in the community and the double standard imposed on women. Nellie also explains

what she believes the Mexican American community contributed to Orange County, emphasizing labor in agriculture and the city's infrastructure. Nellie also discusses her children and mentions their professions.

Nellie Pando Rocha's story reveals the dynamics of community life in the historic Orange County *colonias*. Told from the perspective of a Mexican American woman, this oral history provides insight into the way women experienced and interpreted daily life in the Orange County *colonias*, shedding light on the everyday politics of social interaction and participation within the community. Her story also depicts how the Mexican American community became affected by historical events, such as the Great Depression, World War II, and the Vietnam War. Nellie Pando Rocha was a committed member of the community and a beloved mother. Her story would be of interest to historians of the American West, California history, Orange County history, and the Latinx diaspora. Scholars in ethnic studies, especially those specializing in Chicanx and Latinx Studies, will find immense value in this oral history. Finally, community activists currently residing in the *colonias* and advocating against their incorporation by the city of Anaheim, should also tap this and similar oral histories as they serve as counter-narratives and counter-mappings of the Southern California landscape.

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Sergio Daniel Sifuentes of Jurupa Valley, California, earned three A.A. degrees (2017) at Riverside City College and a B.A. in History and Spanish Linguistics (2020) at the University of California, Riverside. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with concentrations in Chicana/o Studies and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the recipient of the 2022/2023 Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship. He is a first-generation Chicanx college student.*

*The primary-source edition published here originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

### *Copyright Advisory*

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### *Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 3851)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Nellie Pando Rocha [NP]

INTERVIEWER: Lucy McDonald [LM]

DATE: June 23, 1982

LOCATION: [Independencia,] California

PROJECT: Orange County Colonias

TRANSCRIBER: Sergio Daniel Sifuentes

- LM: This is an interview with Nellie Prado here in her home. Could you please tell me where you were born?
- NP: Nellie Pando.
- LM: Where's that at?
- NP: I mean my initial name. Nellie—
- LM: —Prado—
- NP: —No. Pando, P-a-n-d-o.
- LM: Pando! (pauses) Okay, Nellie Pando Rocha is your full name?
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: Okay. Could you please tell me where you were born?
- NP: I was born in, um, El Paso, Texas, in a little town called Val Verde.<sup>1</sup>
- LM: Mm-hm. Were your parents— where were your parents from?
- NP: My parents were from the state of Chihuahua.<sup>2</sup> And in a little town called Guadalupe.<sup>3</sup>
- LM: Uh, could you tell me the year you were born?
- NP: I was born August the 31<sup>st</sup>, 1916.
- LM: What year did you arrive here in Independencia?<sup>4</sup>
- NP: We arrived here, um, October—I don't ex—I don't remember the, the day, but I remember the month.
- LM: Year?
- NP: Nineteen twenty-four. Uh-huh.
- LM: Do you happen to know what the reasons for choosing this area was? As your home. Did you have family here already?
- NP: No.
- LM: No relatives? No.
- NP: Well, we had an uncle living in Anaheim<sup>5</sup> at that time and, um, that's where my parents settled, in Anaheim. Uh-huh.
- LM: And then they— when did they move right here into Independencia? Was it nineteen twenty-four?
- NP: Nineteen twenty-four. Uh-huh.
- LM: And you didn't know anybody in the community when you first moved here?
- NP: You mean here?
- LM: Right here. In Independencia.

---

<sup>1</sup> Presumably an incorporated town within El Paso, Texas.

<sup>2</sup> A state in Mexico.

<sup>3</sup> A city in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonia* settlement, established in 1923, remains unincorporated in Orange County, California.

<sup>5</sup> A city in California.

- NP: Uh, yes. We knew, um, let's see, there were the Castillos<sup>6</sup> living here at that time. And then, uh— (pauses) a few months, I think, then, uh, the Nieto family moved in also.
- LM: Hm.
- NP: And then there were the Albanez. Oh, and then Cesario Rodarte.
- LM: Oh, so you knew quite a few people when you moved in?
- NP: Ye-yeah. Mm-hm.
- LM: Oh. Did you attend school here in the community?
- NP: Yes, I did.
- LM: And what grade?
- NP: As I told you I'm not very good on dates. I, I think was in the seventh grade.
- LM: Mm-hm.
- NP: Um. (pauses)
- LM: Could you, uh, describe what the school was like when you first started going to school? Here—
- NP: —Here?
- LM: In Independencia, yeah.
- NP: It was, it was, three rooms. And, um, what I recall is that, um, my room that I was in was fifth, sixth, seventh, and eigh—eighth grade. And, uh, I remember my, my teacher was a school principal at that time, Mr. (inaudible).
- LM: Okay.
- NP: Um-hm.
- LM: What kind of activities did you have at school that the parents could participate in, too, with the students? Like, was there a PTA<sup>7</sup> like there is nowadays?
- NP: (pauses) Not that— there wasn't. At least, at least, I recall my, my parents— we were raised by my, my grandmother. Um, my mother died when I was very young. And, um, (pauses) at least my grandmother wasn't at— not that I recall, that there was any.
- LM: Were the majority of the students in the classroom, uh, *mexicanos*?
- NP: We were all Mexican.
- LM: All Mexicans. And, uh, did all these Mexicans speak English when they were at school?
- NP: Yes, we did, and we were supposed to—
- LM: Mm-hm.
- NP: —at that time, uh, we were told that, uh, it was one of the school rules that we were to speak—
- LM: Yeah, I've heard that, no—you weren't allowed to speak Spanish.

---

<sup>6</sup> Presumably a family who lived near Nellie's family home. As a general rule, unknown individuals are not annotated in this edition.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably "Parent Teacher Association."



- NP: No, we were never allowed to speak Spanish. Most, all of us – did – spoke it, but were –
- LM: How about when, when you were out in the playground? Did you speak Spanish then, or it was just English, too?
- NP: Well, some of the kids would, would speak Spanish, I remember. But I, but I probably was very obedient in school, and I, I know that I, I, I, um, spoke English all the time. I was interested in, in learning.
- LM: Could the teachers speak Spanish at all? Say, like, you get a new student in school that understands no English at all, could the teachers communicate with the student? Could they speak a little bit of Spanish whatsoever? Or was it just strictly English?
- NP: (pauses) Well, English. I don't recall none of the teachers speaking Spanish. (knocking on the door)
- NN: Grandma –<sup>8</sup>
- NP: I don't think they spoke Spanish. Not that I recall. I remember myself, uh, taking some of the, some of the children that were starting school and, uh –
- NN: Nellie –
- LM: So how did they handle a student who had just arrived and couldn't speak any English at all? Do you remember what, how they handled that situation? Or was the child just left by himself so he can learn the language?
- NP: I think so, because I don't recall teachers speaking Spanish.
- LM: Up to what grade did you go to school here?
- NP: Just, I went to school here we used to walk up Magnolia,<sup>9</sup> there was Magnolia No. 1 (inaudible).
- LM: There was Magnolia No. 1 and Magnolia No. 2,<sup>10</sup> right?
- NP: Uh-huh, and then, they built the school here, and it was called Magnolia No. 2.
- LM: Nice.
- NP: And then, they, um, then, um, we, we all attended school.
- LM: Up to what grade did you attend school?
- NP: I, I was in the seventh grade.
- LM: Was that your last year of school?
- NP: No, two years. Eighth and ninth grade. But the activities were like, like, um, I remember when we graduated, the commencement exercises were at No. 1. And then, like, uh, what's the big test? They would divide up who was to be salutatorian and valedictorian. And I remember of course, being disappointed when another girl from here Sophi, Sophia Chaidez – I missed it by just one, just one sentence. I was disappointed. But, um, she

---

<sup>8</sup> Unidentified individual present during the interview.

<sup>9</sup> Presumably early names of the schools in the Magnolia School District.

<sup>10</sup> Magnolia No. 2 was the school for Hispanic students, while Magnolia No. 1 was for white students. In 1955, the district integrated Magnolia No. 2.

- was the valedictorian at that time. And, in other words they, um, divided us for the graduation exercise. But it was held at Magnolia No. 2.
- LM: Oh, so when you graduated from high school, it was right here in Magnolia.
- NP: When I graduated to what?
- LM: When you graduated from—
- NP: From grade/primary school you mean?
- LM: Oh, from grade school?
- NP: Uh-huh. At that time it was up to eighth grade. It wasn't like now, junior high and, and at least it wasn't when I attended school. It was only up to eighth grade, and, we graduated and then, um, we go to high school. And I attended Anaheim Union High School<sup>11</sup> for about a year and maybe over a year and then, uh, and then there was the Depression.<sup>12</sup> And then we started, uh, we started going out to work, and then it was hard for me to come to school. I didn't.
- LM: So, uh, did—what effect did the Depression have on your lives? Was, was everything—
- NP: On me, it's the fact that, um, probably, uh, uh, I would have been able to keep on with school, um, than, uh, a life with work. And then, my father was working for the Gas Company at that time, and he was, he was laid off. And then he started—in fact we used to live six months here and six months in Coachella Valley.<sup>13</sup>
- LM: Oh.
- NP: And we used to, uh, not only Coachella Valley, Bakersfield,<sup>14</sup> and San Jose,<sup>15</sup> and—
- LM: What affect did it have on the community in general? The whole community? What effects did the Depression have on the community that were visible? Did a lot of people start going back to Mexico with the Depression?
- NP: Um, no. Although, we were left here, it was like a personal thing with me at the time 'cause my, my father's parents, my father's, um, mother.
- LM: Mm-hm.
- NP: Was living with us at the time and then, um, my father's brother also. And he would sort of take care of her, and my father did, too. It was important that they had a living quarter that, uh, my father and grandparents built, um, for them. And, um, we got my father's consent and without him, um, telling my father anything he, um, uh, then several people, uh, were, they left for Mexico. Maybe there was—on account of death—someone dying,

---

<sup>11</sup> Established in 1898, currently goes by Anaheim High after a 1957 name change.

<sup>12</sup> Presumably the Great Depression.

<sup>13</sup> Located in the Colorado Desert of Riverside County in California.

<sup>14</sup> City in central California.

<sup>15</sup> City in northern California's Bay Area.

but I mean I don't know. The rest of the, rest of— there were some families here that did go to Mexico. I remember, I was, uh, I think that it was like, uh, they were given free consultation and voluntarily— they had to sign that they were leaving the United States and, uh, going back to Mexico.

LM: Oh, didn't know that.

NP: And my, um, as I say, my, uh, uncle and, uh, signed up my grandma and she was a very old lady at that time. And, of course, my father was very upset but there was nothing he could do—I, I know there were some families, but I don't remember how many or that there were some that left maybe there was a family problem. The hardships, they were very—you know, but we, we didn't have any, really any hardship during the Depression. My grandfather used to work for, um, several, uh, ranchers here through Gilbert Street. And they would share him.

LM: Oh.

NP: He would work, um, one week with, with, with, one and then another. Uh, I think with Mr. Long, that I recall, and Mr. Siever and Mr. Smith.<sup>16</sup> And, um, I know one had at the dairy, at that time. So, uh, we didn't, uh, suffer too much.

[00:12:50]

LM: Well, since we're talking about the thirties, let's talk about— see what you can remember about the, the orange picker strike that was in 1937.<sup>17</sup> What affect did it have on the community? Did they get involved in the strike?

NP: I don't remember that part because my (pauses)—

LM: What about the, the Long Beach earthquake<sup>18</sup> that was in 1933?

NP: Oh, well the Long Beach earthquake, uh, we were, we were there at that time. And, um, well it didn't affect us too much, I don't think. We didn't, we didn't, there wasn't an emergency here where people, uh, had to leave the vicinity. Although, that we were told that we were supposed to. And then, uh, um, what I recall is that, uh, um, the, the, the, um, store keeper here, um, at the time Mr. (inaudible), uh, people would rush up there and get something and with all the excitement and, and everything well, um, he would say afterwards you know that, um, some, some of them came and some of them didn't but we, we didn't actually have to leave the community.

LM: What about the great flood<sup>19</sup> that happened here in 1938?

NP: We were—

LM: —Describe it.

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<sup>16</sup> Presumably of Smith Ranch in Irvine, California.

<sup>17</sup> Presumably 1936 Orange County agricultural strikes by agricultural workers.

<sup>18</sup> March 10, 1933, earthquake in Long Beach, California.

<sup>19</sup> 1938, one of the largest floods in Southern California history, affecting Orange, Riverside, and Los Angeles County.

- NP: Oh, we were not here at that time. But I was talking to, um, to a cousin of mine, and she says that, um, all she remembers is that this big roaring noise and then, uh, all this water coming down, but, eh, it didn't affect the people so much. We were not here at that time –
- LM: – Was that when you were working somewhere up north?
- NP: Yeah, we were in in Indio at the time.
- LM: Oh, I see. Let's talk about *estilo de vida*,<sup>20</sup> style of living. School. We already talked about your school. How about your, uh, what kind of jobs were there in the community?
- NP: Oh, we, um, we used to, uh, some of the girls here in the vicinity were, uh, orange pickers and sorters and used to work at Anaheim, uh, Packing House<sup>21</sup> and, um, would pick strawberries and walnuts and, uh, um, let's see.
- LM: What was the salary? Do you happen to, happen to remember?
- NP: Salary –
- LM: And the hours and the working conditions?
- NP: Well, we, we, we used to all, I know we used to sort chilis, and, and, um, uh, it was called at that time, we were working at the *secadora*,<sup>22</sup> where they dry all the chiles.
- LM: Uh-huh.
- NP: And, uh –
- LM: All this work was right here in the community?
- NP: Not here. We used to go out to, uh, like to, like picking strawberries. We, we, we would be in (aircraft sounds) like, in a strawberry, uh, uh, places where they have now.
- LM: Yeah, let's talk about the jobs that were available right here in the community in Independencia.
- NP: Independencia.
- LM: Uh-huh.
- NP: There weren't any jobs within, here, here in our vicinity, no.
- LM: Not in the orange groves or surrounding the community?
- NP: Oh yeah, but, I mean, I thought you meant within our vicinity, here.
- LM: Yeah.
- NP: Yeah, I recall my brothers picking oranges and my father, and, uh, my father's (inaudible), but I recall not steady. Most of the work that my father and grandparent – my grandfather, he was a rancher. He worked for all these, uh, ranchers and, and, then he does fumigating work also. You know, fumigating the orange, the orange groves.

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<sup>20</sup> Spanish for “lifestyle.”

<sup>21</sup> Established 1919.

<sup>22</sup> Spanish for “dryer.”

- LM: Did you ever work at a job within the community right here? Pick out in the – picking oranges or packing oranges or picking walnuts?
- NP: Yeah, we picked walnuts, but I mean not, not here in our vicinity and our community.
- LM: What were –
- NP: This was always the four streets as we see now. With the exceptions of people that have, like, some of us, we demolish our own homes. And, and, uh, like these two homes are broken – were, you know, they were, um, built, people moved in.
- LM: Yeah, but the areas that you worked in were nearby –
- NP: Nearby, yes.
- LM: – or fairly, fairly close.
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: Do you remember what the working conditions were like? The hours that a person would have to work at a job, say, picking oranges.
- NP: Well, they were maybe seven to five or, or later. It was mostly piece-work, you know, like, uh, picking oranges for the men. We used to – and, uh, how about, uh, in the Packing House, I can tell you that I didn't, I never did that kind of job. Mo – Most, I remember, most of the girls here, and girls here from our vicinity, we, we were all orange pickers.
- LM: Mm-hm. Let's – can you describe the area? What it was like when you first moved in, the houses, what the streets were like –
- NP: Oh, when we first –
- LM: – yeah, when you first m –
- NP: It was nothing but, uh, empty, empty lots at the time.
- LM: Really? Not many houses?
- NP: Dusty and, eh, the few houses there, there, like this family that I recall, they lived in tents. It was a tent. And, like the, the Nietos also, their first place was a tent, and then they started. Uh, my, my, my people – they, I remember, they hired a carpenter from La Jolla,<sup>23</sup> and I remember our home was, uh, two rooms, and then they, they started adding up.
- LM: Were the names of the streets still the same as they are today?
- NP: Yes.
- LM: Haven't changed?
- NP: They haven't changed.
- LM: When did you have your streets paved do you happen to remember what year it was? Was it a long time after you moved in?
- NP: Well Gilbert<sup>24</sup> was paved, I remember.
- LM: Mm-hm. Yeah, it was a pretty main street. How about Garza<sup>25</sup> and –

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<sup>23</sup> Presumably La Jolla *colonia*, near Placentia, California.

<sup>24</sup> Presumably Gilbert Street near Anaheim, California.

<sup>25</sup> Presumably Garza Avenue near Anaheim, California.

- NP: But that came later, uh, this my best –
- LM: That-s fine.
- NP: – but I’m not really good at dates.
- LM: That’s all, you know, yeah. Did most of these houses, did the people have gardens in the back?
- NP: Yeah.
- LM: What kind – of – did they grow fruit?
- NP: Well, my grandfather would, uh, he would grow sugarcanes.
- LM: Sugarcane?
- NP: Mm-hm. And, uh, he, he, would at that time, um, we didn’t have a little church here yet, but we would – there, but they had, um, a big *fiesta*, you know, for the church in La Jolla, and my grandfather would cut all his sugarcane and, uh, he would sell it over there, and, of course, it was something that our vicinity looked forward to.
- LM: Yeah.
- NP: And then then we had, uh, um, or, uh, we had, uh, fruit trees, Name it, and we had it.
- LM: Did you plant – have – tomato plants –
- NP: Uh, yes. Mm-hm.
- LM: Chili plants –
- NP: Chili plants and all that.
- LM: Did you have gardens, flower gardens?
- NP: Oh yes, my grandmother had the garden. Uh, uh, we didn’t have any lawns, it was, it was all flowers.
- LM: What kind of animals did you have in your yard? Did you have chickens?
- NP: Yeah, we had chickens. Mm-hm. And, um –
- LM: *Puercos*?<sup>26</sup>
- NP: Well, um, that I recall my grandfather butchered two pigs only. I recall and, uh, but other than that it was just chickens and, uh, uh, rabbits.
- LM: Rabbits? Okay, uh, do you remember when you got indoor bathrooms, electricity, gas, when you had all the conveniences you have now? (laughs)
- NP: That’s what I mean. I’m not really good at dates, but I guess it was, uh, maybe –
- LM: Oh, it doesn’t matter. What I was going to ask you, I don’t know if you’ll remember this, but do you remember what the rent was like when you first moved into the community? I know you were young at the time but –
- NP: – We never rented –
- LM: Oh, okay well do you remember how much the property was to purchase?
- NP: Well, my, my grandfather paid six hundred –
- LM: Oh, for –
- NP: – for this lot.

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<sup>26</sup> Spanish for “pigs.”

- LM: For the one you're on now?
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: That's a good size lot.
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: Do you know if he bought it from another *mexicano* or —
- NP: No.
- LM: an American?
- NP: No, it was, he bought it from a Mr. Stanton. I think it was. It was like a company.
- LM: Mm-hm. Within the community were there, were there any kind of, uh, businesses? Stores, for example?
- NP: Yes. We had, um, the first, uh, store, I recall, was owned by, um, Mr. Chaidez. It was, uh, he had (inaudible) quarters, and then he had a store and, and the pool, uh, like, um, like a — recreation —
- LM: A pool hall?
- NP: No, a pool hall — I guess it could be like a pool hall, and at the same time it served as, um, like entertainment. And this, um, company would come and show movies and people would, uh, um, would attend. You know, and, um, like, um, dances also, they were held there, too.
- LM: Do you happen to remember the name of the company that used to come in and show the movies?
- NP: No.
- LM: Were there any restaurants in, within, nearby the community or in the community?
- NP: No.
- LM: What about — which was the closest hospital to the community?
- NP: Orange County Hospital.<sup>27</sup>
- LM: Is that where everybody would go in case of an emergency?
- NP: Mm-hm. Yes. Mm-hm. It was probably Orange County Hospital (inaudible).
- LM: I was going to ask you about the stores that were right here next to the community. In the stores did, they sell Mexican products like, say, chiles, *tortillas*?
- NP: Yeah, but (inaudible), and well, what I recall, there was another little store and then, um, his bigger store, and then after the Chaidez moved away, they, they went to Mexico. They sold that and went to Mexico. Then Mr. Guevara came in. And then, later on, Mr. and Mrs. Trujillo. They were the ones that had the store — up until the time that all these, uh, uh, places were condemned. And then they sold out, and ever since then there hasn't been any, any, any store here in the community.

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<sup>27</sup> Presumably Orange County Global Medical Center, Santa Ana, California.

LM: So, usually there were two stores right next to the community on Katella?<sup>28</sup>

NP: At that time, when we first moved here, for a while there was only two stores, and then there was only one.

LM: What type of transportation was used in the community? Or where did you have to go to catch a bus or –

NP: The streetcar.

LM: – streetcar?

NP: Mm-hm.

LM: Where did you pick the streetcar up?

NP: At, uh, on Gilbert near, near Chapman.<sup>29</sup> Mm-hm. – We would take a streetcar into Santa Ana<sup>30</sup> and into Los Angeles.<sup>31</sup>

[00:26:25]

LM: Do you remember how expensive it was?

NP: – And there was a big day – Oh I don't remember how much we used to pay. I'm sorry.

LM: No, That's alright. Did many of the people who lived in the community have their own vehicles?

NP: Yes, most of them did. Mm-hm.

LM: Let's talk about the authority within the community. Was there someone who was in charge, say, like a sheriff of the community? Or how did it work? When you had a problem did you have to call the sheriff?<sup>32</sup>

NP: Yes. Mm-hm.

LM: To come on in?

NP: Mm-hm.

LM: Do you feel there is much more crime now in the community than there was when you first arrived here?

NP: Naturally, yes. In – when – during our first years of – there wasn't as much, you know. But then I think it's all over now.

LM: What about gangs? Is there gangs now or was there gangs –

NP: – No. – That's one thing, there never were gangs around here. Well, there's some of the kids that got in trouble – but –

LM: As you were a child do you remember there being any, uh, any singers, any poets in the community – artistic people I should say, painters?

NP: Hm, no.

LM: What about, uh, the women – did they, uh, spend time, uh, knitting, crocheting, sewing? You know, the hobbies?

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<sup>28</sup> Katella Street in Anaheim.

<sup>29</sup> Chapman Avenue near orange, California.

<sup>30</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>31</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>32</sup> Presumably the Orange County Sheriff's Department.



- NP: Oh yes, most, most of them, there was a thing in those days like, young girls when they were young, we were taught embroidery, crocheting. It's like I tell my granddaughters now it's like, we didn't have time to be bored, you know, with nothing to do. And mostly, I remember – that I recall, women didn't go off to work. It was only the young girls at that time that would, um, uh, pack oranges, and, uh, or we would pick strawberries, or work wherever. No, it was the, the Mexican tradition, you know, when we grew up, we would help out –
- LM: – Yeah. Do you think many of the women now they still crochet, knit? – Or has this tradition, kind of, died off?
- NP: You know, I think a lot of women still do. I mean, I still do. Not as much, you know.
- LM: What about your daughter? Do you have any daughters?
- NP: Yeah. I have one daughter.
- LM: Does she, dos she crochet?
- NP: No. – My, my, um, daughter is a very thorough person. But, you know, that's one thing that she never did learn, how to crochet, but she won't take (inaudible). She's, she's. she's a good, um, dress maker –
- LM: Artistic in her own way.
- NP: – yeah, uh-huh. She's a wonderful cook.
- LM: That's a talent, too!
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: Let's talk about the church, the role of the church. Was it very important in the community?
- NP: Oh yes. Mm-hm. Definitely.
- LM: Uh-huh.
- NP: That was part of our, of our, entertainment. Making the *jamaicas*<sup>33</sup> –
- LM: – Describe them for me. –
- NP: For the benefit of the – Well, there were several, uh, um, *jueces*.<sup>34</sup> And they used to say games and Bingo and, um, then, uh, they – some of the ladies would bring, um, their, um, well, things they made, hand-made, you know, like, uh, um, put them up for sale. And then they would, several, uh, women would, uh, would, uh, make, um, *tamales* or, or, um, well, usually *enchiladas*, and all that and then sell. And my aunt, uh, um, *se necesita elotes*,<sup>35</sup> um, in those *jamaicas*, and they would – she would – some of the ladies would sell (inaudible) supposed to be for the benefit of the church. And then, they would have, um, a band, you know, and there was dancing. And, uh, there was, uh, mostly, the social life at that time was parties in the people's homes and, then, dances –

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<sup>33</sup> Mexican hibiscus beverage.

<sup>34</sup> Spanish for “judges.”

<sup>35</sup> Spanish for “we need corn.”

- LM: How did you celebrate, uh, baptis—baptisms, first communions, weddings?
- NP: Well—
- LM: — Generally the same way?—
- NP: — The same way—
- LM: — When everybody united in one person's home?
- NP: Mm-hm. Yes.
- LM: What kind of entertainment would you have? What kind of music would you listen to?
- NP: It was usually Mexican music.
- LM: Can you remember what the name of the church was?
- NP: Uh, Sacred Heart.<sup>36</sup>
- LM: Uh-huh. Is that the same name it has today?
- NP: Yes.
- LM: And is it still in the same location?
- NP: Yes, only it's, uh, the old church is, uh, is a building that they use now for, uh, like, uh, where people go. And then they, then they built a new church.
- LM: Do— Would you happen to remember what the Father's name of the church was, within the time you—
- NP: — Um, Father Brown.<sup>37</sup>—
- LM: — Father Brown?
- NP: He was a priest. And, and, and then, then they would have catechism classes also.
- LM: What would you— Did the people still practice the tradition of having a *velorio*<sup>38</sup> or wake within the community?
- NP: At the house, no— yes. Well, at that time—
- LM: — When you were young—
- NP: — most all the wakes were at home, but not anymore.
- LM: I see. What kind of organizations were there in the—in the church? Was there like a women's club?—
- NP: Yes! We would, we would—we had, uh, um,— we belonged to this, uh, club—
- LM: — Women's club?—
- NP: Usually, uh, um— Well, women getting together and, uh, usually was, uh, activities for the church— And then there was, uh, well in the meetings, there was, um, uh, getting ready for the month of, um, May, where, um, little girls would go and offer flowers. And then, uh, in June was for the, for the boys. They would offer flowers. Mostly, the— At that time, the activity was around the church—

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<sup>36</sup> Presumably Sacred Heart Mission, Anaheim, California.

<sup>37</sup> Presumably the priest of Sacred Heart Mission.

<sup>38</sup> Spanish for a "wake."

- LM: Was there a club for men within the Church? Like, now a days, I know they have the Knights of Columbus.<sup>39</sup> Was there such an organization then?
- NP: No.
- LM: And these women's clubs, would they be in charge of—
- NP: Well, that came later, but then I married and, and, and moved. I remember there was a, uh, we had an organization hall in (inaudible). And teachers would come, and they would, we would have classes in English for the people, for the older people. Some attended and some didn't, but, and then, there was dancing also, there, and like families. I was—I didn't dance at that time, uh, and, let's see, that must have been around nineteen—well, during the Charleston<sup>40</sup> and—
- LM: —Oh—
- NP: —I remember the older girls also dancing. And, and, uh, our parents dancing also. It was just like a family thing, you know?
- LM: This women's organization, would they take care of, uh, decorating the church? Like for, uh, weddings, first communions? Is that their function?
- NP: Um, no, not really. It was just getting together and, uh, and, uh, we used to pay our dues that they would use for the church activities. And, you know, I was, um, uh, we all had our turns cleaning the church. And, um, like we used to decorate it for a, uh, every woman had their day to decorate the altar. And, and, and take flowers and, uh, and, uh, we're just small girls I say. I thought they did too, where they wear a yellow or, uh, white dress. and we would, uh, um, say the rosary, and we would, uh, take the flow—flowers to the altar.
- LM: I think. Yes? How did, uh, they celebrate, in the community, *Navidad*,<sup>41</sup> *la semana santa*,<sup>42</sup> *el doce de diciembre*?<sup>43</sup>
- NP: Well, the twelfth of December they always got the *mariachi* music. It would come and serenade the, the Virgin.<sup>44</sup>
- LM: Alright. How about Christmas?
- NP: And, uh—Well—Nothing that I recall that was unusual for Christmas other than the people were very, in those days, when we—we never had a Christmas tree or anything like that. It was just—But later on, you know, like when I grew up and married, and had my ch—my kids, well then, I did have, and all the vicinity, the Christmas trees, and pretty much just now. But, during at least when I was growing up we never had any tree, at least we didn't, I don't recall if any of the families did or not, but we didn't.

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<sup>39</sup> Established in 1882, a global Catholic fraternal service order.

<sup>40</sup> Popular 1920's jazz dance.

<sup>41</sup> Spanish for "Christmas."

<sup>42</sup> Spanish for the "Holy Week" celebration during the last week of Lent.

<sup>43</sup> Spanish for the twelfth of December celebration dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

<sup>44</sup> The Virgin of Guadalupe.

LM: What about *la Semana Santa*? Or Easter?

NP: Yeah, there was, um, the regular, uh, uh, church. You know, we were, we were told we were not supposed to eat meat, weren't supposed to sell, we weren't supposed to go to dances, and we weren't supposed to participate in anything until, until it, uh, was over. And then I recall it, like on Saturday, that, uh, *Sabado de Gloria*,<sup>45</sup> most of the people would go, go after holy water and then, we would get to see our dates. Because then we knew that, uh, right after that we would attend dances. So, we could, uh, but I recall that, during all that time we, we used to fast. We didn't used to, um, have breakfast (inaudible), like a, like a sacrifice, you know. Then we were supposed to give up something for Lent also. So, I recall in those days, we, well, we, let's put it we were more religious background –

[00:39:09]

LM: –Do you think the customs of celebrating these, these specific dates has changed, in comparison to how we celebrate it today?

NP: Well, um, some, but yet here in the vicinity, um, there's still, uh—I don't recall but, um, for all the time I was growing up they would give the *posadas*<sup>46</sup> to the people going out in sort of a procession, like with candles, and there was singing, passing everybody's house and sing, and they were supposed to let them in and give them sweet bread or hot chocolate or whatever.

LM: Yeah this was a custom that is in practice nowadays.

NP: I don't think so. They used to do that here (inaudible).

LM: Yeah. Did the community ever celebrate sixteenth of September<sup>47</sup> or *Cinco de Mayo*?<sup>48</sup>

NP: (Train horn and dog barking) Well not really let's see.—Yes they would, they would, they would make, um, let's see—But that was within the convent area several girls that were chosen from different towns would go out and the girls were, would sell tickets, and vote, and the ones who sold more were the ones that probably—this, uh, and, and one time one of my cousins was one of the ones that was the queen for the sixteenth of September. And, uh, one of the controversy, I recall, well, we ended up—she was the one who won against the girls standing. She gave it up, I think. But, they, I remember our vicinity doing a lot for her making, um, um, uh, *jamaicas* and *fiestas*, you know, to raise, uh, uh—to sell votes.

LM: Do you feel the relationship within the community members has changed?

NP: –Oh yes.—

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<sup>45</sup> Spanish for the “Great Saturday” celebration, Easter Eve.

<sup>46</sup> Religious celebration between December 16 and 24, celebrated in Latin America and parts of the United States.

<sup>47</sup> Mexican Independence Day.

<sup>48</sup> “May the fifth” celebration of the 1862 Battle of Puebla in Mexico.

- LM: Are you as close as you used to be?
- NP: No, definitely not.
- LM: Do people still have *compadres* and *comadres*?<sup>49</sup> Do they believe in that tradition, practicing?
- NP: They still do. Mm-hm.
- LM: Let's talk about the role of the women. Do you feel it's changed a lot?
- NP: Well, um, I know it has with me—(laughs, pauses). Um, let's see, uh, I, um—I think that most of my married life, um, doing housework. And, uh, I always thought that, uh, I didn't believe in the old-fashioned way of the, of the women not going out to work. I thought that, like I did, I had my father that I, I had my father for eighteen years when he went blind and that was one of the reasons I came back. And, uh, then after, when my girl was fourteen, I started working again.
- LM: What was a general attitude of the men in the community as to— their wives going out and working outside the house, having a job, did they, did they accept the fact that their women wanted to go out to work and—?
- NP: Some, um, I don't think there were very many, at that time, I recall, you know, like, um, with my generation probably yes, but when I was growing up no.
- LM: So generally, most of the women stayed home?
- NP: Mm-hm. I don't recall, like my—No, I don't recall anybody in my family that I, that are closer—It was usually the young girls at that time. That would, uh, women that, uh, usually stayed home.
- NP: What about when a woman was going to have a baby, was— did she usually go to the hospital or did some women give birth at home?
- NP: Well, um, some, uh,— as I say, my mother passed away when I was about nine years old and, uh, my younger brother was about a year and seven months. So, uh, I remember the, I remember, let's see, my younger brother was born at home, and I, I remember, the child prior to him, they had to rush my mother to the hospital in an emergency.
- LM: When your brother was born at home, was there a doctor to deliver the baby or a midwife or—
- NP: —Yes. It was, uh, at that time was, um—a doctor, from Stanton,<sup>50</sup> he was the one that, uh, and then, in the earlier days in the vicinity was Dr. Gents that I remember from Anaheim. Mm-hm, and, mostly, the women used to have their babies at home. And, at that time when I was growing up—
- LM: Uh-huh, and doctors would come and deliver the babies while the women had them at home or— did somebody?
- NP: Yes.
- LM: So, the women in the community know how to give—

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<sup>49</sup> Spanish for “godfather” and “godmother,” also a term of reverence and friendship.

<sup>50</sup> City in present-day northern Orange County, California.

[00:45:00]

NP: No, mostly, what I recall, so I mean personally what I experienced back then, they had doctors.

LM: Let's talk about the role of man. Who was the disciplinary in the house? Was it – When you were growing up, it must have been your father since your mother passed away, or your grandmother raised you.

NP: My grandmother.

LM: Uh-huh. What about with your children? was it you or your husband who was the disciplinary?

NP: Both of us.

LM: Both of us? You shared the responsibility?

NP: But, mostly, it was my husband. You know, like, um, well, it was like, "I don't know. Go, ask your father."

LM: Do you feel that there was a double standard in, in bringing up your children, say like, with your daughters and your sons? Did your daughters – Did your sons have more freedom than your daughters?

NP: Oh yes. Mm-hm.

LM: And –

NP: – but I didn't let her date until she was about sixteen. And I remember the problems I had – as I'd said, I, with my father, with him, he, he would get really upset and said that, uh, that wasn't the way he raised me but, like, I, so my father –

LM: See, that's what I was looking for. So, you were raised different when you were a young girl, when you left, when you would go out, you would have to have an escort, right? You weren't allowed to date, you would have to bring another person –

NP: – No, well no, we never did, uh, um, at that time, um, our, we used – we would go to dances. There was like, um, in Santa Ana (inaudible) hall and then to the, uh, let's see American Legion<sup>51</sup> here on, um, in Anaheim. But always, our, um, our, um, our mother or some, uh, um –

LM: Elderly pe –

NP: Mm-hm.

LM: – would have to accom – that's right. Uh-hu. As far as a man, he wouldn't have to have an escort somebody who, to accompany him right? Who would go out on? –

NP: – Oh yeah –

LM: See, that's what a double standard is. Did these double standards still exist when you were bringing up your children?

NP: No. I, I, um, – as I said I had problems with my father concerning my girl but, like, I would tell my father – "It's a changing world." And then he said, "Well, I didn't, I didn't raise you like that." I said, but, look, I said, well, it's

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<sup>51</sup> Wartime veterans service organization.

- true. We would, uh, they would let us go to a show or to the dance—one thing we didn't, um, as I said our mo—our mothers went with us to the dance, but they would let us go during the day, to the show, you know. And from there we would, of course, we would meet our boyfriends and go with them, but we—like I said with my father, I said, “Well, we would have to be sneaking around.” Like I, my father, I said, “and this is the best way. At least I know, um, the young man that, uh, who she, who she is with and where she's at.” And, I said, “and did you know where, what I did?” No, I mean, the boys we used to go out with, the boys would pick us up on the street, and that's the way it was.
- LM: What would the men do for entertainment in the evenings after a day's work? Is there a bar they could go to? A pool hall?
- NP: A pool hall, at that time. Mr., um, (inaudible) was the one that had the pool hall. And they, they, um. And of course, there was—It wasn't supposed to be, it was against the rules but there were *jugadas*,<sup>52</sup> that the men would play poker, you know—
- LM: Oh.
- NP: For money. It wasn't right but they did. (laughs)
- LM: (laughs) Yeah.
- NP: And of course, the women didn't like it and there were problems concerning that, you know, but the men would get together and playing poker, and they would play for money, for the poker games.
- [00:49:27]
- LM: Let's talk about dating when you were young?
- NP: Okay.
- LM: How did men and women meet? Was it usually at dances?—
- NP: —At dances. —
- LM: —and *fiestas*?—
- NP: —and *fiestas*.
- LM: And, uh, what was—What did a man have to do to ask for a women's hand in marriage? What was the procedure? Would you just go up to the girl's fa—parents and ask for her hand in marriage or how did he do it?
- NP: Uh. Well when I—Personally?—
- LM: —Mm-hm.
- NP: Okay. Um, my in-laws sent this other, this man, a very close friend of theirs. And, uh, my father and brother came (inaudible). There was some days for the priest, for the priest to come. And, uh, and right after that, well, the unity, you weren't supposed to see your boyfriend until the wedding.
- LM: Oh.
- NP: And, uh, as I said, we have to sneak around.

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<sup>52</sup> Spanish for “games.”

- LM: Yeah. What was the age that most women got married at and the age that most men got married at?
- NP: At that—Well, it all depends on the person. Well, I, I didn't get married until I was about twenty-three—And, as I recall some of my friends, um, were married when they were young.
- LM: Did they usually marry men from the community or outside of the community?
- NP: Mostly within the community.
- LM: Do you remember if there were divorces when you were young?
- NP: Well, um, no. I don't recall anybody getting a divorce. There weren't as many.
- LM: Yeah.—Let's talk about politics a little. Can, um,—What political party do you think most of the, um, community members belong to?
- NP: There was a few that, that, ever voted I guess. I don't think in those early years there was much voting. There wasn't, well, our parents didn't have, weren't educated, really—
- LM: —Okay. Now, speaking your generation here—
- NP: My generation well, uh, well mostly, uh, there was a lot of Democrats.
- LM: Do you think a majority of the people that live here in the community now that are your age considered themselves American, Mexican, or, maybe, Chicanos, even?
- NP: Well, I think that, we all think that, well, personally, well, me, I don't know but I'm Mexican. And I consider myself—I, I, I wasn't raised in Mexico but I always felt that, well, I always feel I'm more Mexican.
- LM: That's right. Since we're talking about political politics and—Let's talk about historical events for a little bit. Can you remember what it was like during World War II and the *pachucos*<sup>53</sup> at that time?—
- NP: —Oh yes—
- LM: Can you just kind of describe the effects of these movements?
- NP: Well, one, one, I recall, one time we were having a dance and the dance during our, um, uh, this Americanization hall that they had built here and some other, um, young men came—from the other towns, not, not folks from here. And, and, of course, they, uh, it was, it was, it was, terrible I remember. And, uh, they would come, they would come in and have chains and they would just pick a fight and, of course, the people here had to defend themselves.
- LM: What about World War II, and what effect did it have on your life personally?
- NP: Uh, not, not, not very.

[00:54:27]

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<sup>53</sup> A youth of Mexican origin dressed in a zoot suit.



- LM: Did any men in the community go off to war? Any family members?
- NP: Well, uh, my, my husband, he was drafted, and he was, uh, but he was, but he didn't go to—
- LM: —But he was in the service during World War II?
- NP: Oh yes. Mm-hm. Yeah.
- LM: How about, uh, Korean War<sup>54</sup> in the fifties?
- NP: Well, no that didn't affect me, uh—My son was small at that time.
- LM: Okay since your son was young during the Korean War, how about when the war in Vietnam<sup>55</sup> in the sixties? How did that effect your life?
- NP: It didn't—
- LM: —Your sons weren't drafted or anything?—
- NP: No. It wasn't—I think he was at that time, he was, um, getting apprenticeship in plumbing. —
- LM: —Oh—
- NP: And I just, uh—
- LM: Wha—What was the general feeling in the community when they heard that President Kennedy had been assassinated? Do you recall what?—
- NP: Well,—we all felt, uh, very bad naturally. We knew that he always try and help the poor. And, um, well I'm not only, I work in the, as I said, I always used to do housework and, I recall that my lady that Democratic that they showed racial, racial pride, well of course they showed.
- LM: Do you feel that most of the voting members of the community went out and voted for President Kennedy?<sup>56</sup>
- NP: I think so.
- LM: Well, I'm going to change the subject now. I was going to talk about the superstition and beliefs in the community. Do you think there's still a lot of, uh, superstition for the people that live here? That was brought over with them?
- NP: Well, I used to see—well mostly the people now, they are, most of the early settlers are gone away or passed away. And, as the present, uh, most, like sometimes when I go to church in, um, uh, which I haven't for quite a while (inaudible) my husband and living by myself. And, um, but there's a lot of, uh, annuals, you know, Mexicans called *braceros*.
- LM: What about *leyendas*<sup>57</sup> like *la Llorona*?<sup>58</sup> Is that something that still exists in the community?
- NP: I don't think so. Well, personally me I, I, I, um, all like witchcraft and all that, we was aware about it—

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<sup>54</sup> Korean War (1950–1953) between North and South Korea.

<sup>55</sup> Vietnam War (1955–1975).

<sup>56</sup> John F. Kennedy, U.S. President (1961–1963).

<sup>57</sup> Spanish for “extraordinary tales.”

<sup>58</sup> Mexican legend of a mythical vengeful mother.

- LM: – what about stories like short – like *leyendas* – *la Llorona*, did you ever hear of *la Llorona* when you were a child?
- NP: Yeah –
- LM: Did you pass this story on to your children when they were little?
- NP: No, but, but I had an uncle. He would, he would tell us, uh, all these stories and we would sit around, you know, in the evening and, he knew a lot of riddles, stuff like that. But with my children, no.
- LM: I was going to ask you to kind of finish off the interview, uh, what do you feel that the major contribution that Mexicans made to Orange County is?
- NP: Well, uh, it's been all the labor that's done all the work, really.
- LM: That's true –
- NP: Like my husband, he's for a number of years in construction. In fact, he worked during all that time that they were building, um, uh, Disneyland.<sup>59</sup> –
- LM: –OH! –
- NP: And, like, now my, my son-in-law is a plumber. And, uh, he's very, uh – Well, I think that a lot of the work done here, the buildings and all of that that's mostly, uh – Well that's all the Mexican men – Well, it's all the Mexican labor.
- LM: Labor?
- NP: Mm-hm.
- LM: What professions do your children have if you don't mind me asking?
- NP: Oh my son's a plumber. Uh, that's not a profession, but I mean –
- LM: – That's a trade? –
- NP: It's a trade.
- LM: Your daughter's a housewife?
- NP: My daughter is a housewife and, uh, her husband, um, is a plumber also.
- LM: Oh. This, I know you might find a little personal but I was going to ask you, uh, what was the happiest moment in your life? Or, I should say what was what was the saddest moment in your life and then what was the happiest moment in your life?
- NP: The saddest was when they told me my father was going to get blind. He was only forty-four years old. And, uh, the happiest is when my children were born.
- LM: (laughs). Would you happen to have any photos of the community?
- NP: I have a school picture.
- LM: That would be great, if we could see it. Any documents? Or, would you be willing to let us use this photo to make a copy of it?
- NP: That's fine.

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<sup>59</sup> Theme park in Anaheim, California.

- LM: That's great. Do you have any *tejidos*<sup>60</sup> or any, any artwork, or, things like that that we can probably use to include in our exhibit? Everything will be returned to you.
- NP: I, I, I, most of the stuff, let's see, all that I have would be old.
- LM: Well, that's fine.
- NP: Most of the stuff –
- LM: – Maybe you could just, I can give you time to look for it. I'm going to be in the community, I could call you, and I can stop by.
- NP: Okay.
- LM: That'd be great.
- NP: Let me see if I could find it. Most of the stuff, I remember, I, I, I gave away, you know, and that kind of thing. You were supposed to, it wasn't, uh.
- LM: Mm-hm. So, can I take this picture with me to make a copy of it and I can return it to you? That would be great. And I want to thank you for your time.
- NP: Okay. Well, I said I feel like (inaudible).
- LM: Do you happen to know if any other people? If they would be interested in being interviewed?
- NP: You know who you could interview? Mrs. Rosa Guerrero.<sup>61</sup>
- LM: I interviewed her already.
- NP: Yes, because she's one of the old timers and, uh, well the ones that are, that are closer than mine. There's a Mrs. Rubio, but she came here in 1935.
- LM: Rubio?
- NP: Mh-hm.
- LM: Would you happen to have her phone number?

[01:02:27]

END OF INTERVIEW

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<sup>60</sup> Spanish for “knitted materials.”

<sup>61</sup> Possibly another interviewee in the Orange County *colonias* project.

Mitchell Granger, Wesley Ha, and Isaiah Colton Thompson (editors)

*“You either were a follower of Martin Luther King or [...] of Malcolm X”:  
Joseph Milton’s Memories of the Civil Rights Era, U.S. South, and Vietnam*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Grassroots Politics.

O.H. 4902.

Oral Interview with Joseph Milton, conducted by Cambri Hughes,

October 25, 2011, [Los Angeles,] California.

*Introduction*

The oral history transcribed below belongs to a collection held in CSUF’s Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH), titled “Grassroots Politics.” The interview with Joseph Milton was conducted by Cambri Hughes, on October 25, 2011, in [Los Angeles,] California. This interview is 1 hour, 5 minutes, and 50 seconds long, and is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see “Copyright Advisory” below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2022 by Mitchell Granger, Wesley Ha, and Isaiah Colton Thompson.

Joseph Milton was born on June 3, 1945, in Pontiac, Michigan. At the time of the interview, he is the last remaining of ten siblings. Milton was raised in Pontiac during his early childhood years. Coming from what Milton describes as a poor upbringing, he provides insight into the everyday realities of racially divided Mississippi. In 1963 he moved to McComb, Mississippi, to live with his grandparents and finish high school. In the winter of 1963, he joined the military. During the Vietnam War, he served in the 101st Airborne Division. Immediately after completing his military service, Milton pursued higher education at Oakland Community College in Michigan. He later earned a degree in marketing from Walsh College, also located in Michigan. The interview features Milton’s recollections of his early childhood, his years in high school, his time in the military, and his experience in college. The focus of the interview includes Milton’s memories of the Civil Rights movement and his perspective of living in the South as an African-American during the 1960s. He recalls experiences of discrimination. For example, he was denied service in a restaurant despite wearing his military service uniform, and he was racially profiled by a police officer for riding in a vehicle with his white girlfriend. Milton’s story adds to the many layers of American life in the 1960s and provokes thoughts of reorienting past social dilemmas to better reflect on present issues.

Milton’s narrative offers a unique perspective on the Civil Rights era, the American South, and the U.S. military. His early travels throughout America showcase interregional prejudice beyond southern states. His recollections also

depict efforts of the U.S. to “shield” itself from social division, which may have influenced Milton’s own lack of involvement in the Civil Rights movement. The interview further provides insight on interracial relations during the 1960s, the influence of racial quotas in schools and employment, and the social experience between blacks and Jews. Milton’s narrative situates the Civil Rights movement as one group or organization among many social organizations. He provides a diverse perspective of the 1960s that includes but also goes beyond the subject of the Civil Rights movement. According to Milton, the 1960s were a time of Malcolm and King, Love Children hippies and Detroit riots, Motown music and country western hits. Milton’s depiction of American history is a rich cultural narrative that details the landscape of prejudice, pain, pride, and progress. From Michigan to Oklahoma, from Vietnam to California, Milton describes the American plight based on his own family and experience, offering his perspective on the broader American nation. Milton’s interview is especially relevant for those researching the history of the Civil Rights era, social movements of the 1960s, racial discrimination in and beyond the U.S. South, and the U.S. military during Vietnam. The interview is also relevant for researchers of media and digital history.

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Mitchell Granger of Pine City, Minnesota, earned a B.A. in History (2022) at the University of Wisconsin-Superior. He is currently pursuing an M.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).*

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Wesley Ha of Temple City, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*ABOUT THE EDITOR: Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.”*

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*Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 4902)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Joseph Milton [JM]

INTERVIEWER: Cambri Hughes [CH]

DATE: October 25, 2011

LOCATION: [Los Angeles,] California

PROJECT: Grassroots Politics

TRANSCRIBERS: Mitchell Granger, Wesley Ha, and Isaiah Colton Thompson

CH: Alright, interview with Joseph Milton on October 25th at 3:30pm. Okay, um, when and where were you born?

JM: I was born in, uh, June the 3rd, 1945, in Pontiac, Michigan.<sup>1</sup>

CH: Okay, and, um, what was your childhood like there?

JM: I come out of a family of, uh, twelve. Um, my father, uh, was a, um—for lack of a better word—a garbage man. Worked, uh, for the city. And my mother, uh, prepared, um, salads at, uh, hospitals—St. Joseph Hospital.<sup>2</sup>

CH: Okay, and, um, you had a lot of siblings—how was that? (laughs)

JM: Yes, there were, um, actually about—there were ten of us. I—when I said twelve that includes my mom and dad, but there was ten of us. And currently, I'm the only one that's living out of that ten. And, uh, we range from, um, professionally from, uh, uh, registered nurses from my sisters, attorneys from my brother, and sales, uh, to, uh, incarceration, to drug use. So, it's a—from gay—so, it's, uh, the whole American plight within my family.

CH: Great. And, um, you said you also lived in Mississippi.

JM: I lived in Mississippi (clock chimes).<sup>3</sup> I went to high school in Mississippi. Uh, when I was a senior, um, 1963, I went, uh, and—January—and I graduated, um, in June of 1963, in a place called McComb, Mississippi.<sup>4</sup> And it was a population of, uh, in McComb—the area that I lived in, uh, it was called Bear Town, Mississippi,<sup>5</sup> but now they call it, uh, South McComb,<sup>6</sup> and there were probably about, oh, I would say, maybe thirty-five-hundred people in that, in that city.

CH: Okay.

JM: Little small town.

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<sup>1</sup> Pontiac, Michigan, located twenty miles northwest from Detroit, Michigan.

<sup>2</sup> St. Joseph Hospital, founded in 1920 in California.

<sup>3</sup> Clock chimes every fifteen minutes in the background.

<sup>4</sup> McComb, Mississippi, located eighty miles south of Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>5</sup> Bear Town, located in southwest McComb, Mississippi.

<sup>6</sup> South McComb appears as Bear Town on current maps.

CH: Alright. Awesome. So, growing up, Mississippi's obviously one of the southern-type states. What was that like growing up as an African-American?

JM: It was extremely different from coming from Pontiac, Michigan, uh, from, uh, very industrial city that, uh, was more so di – the diversity was more so European, uh, blacks, and very few Hispanics. Uh, going to Mississippi, at that time in 1963, it was segregated. So, uh, I left a, um, uh, inte – integrated, uh, high school, uh, where I'd grown up, uh, with, uh, whites and other diversities and going to school, and then going to a school in Mississippi where it was all black. And, uh, there was real, uh, extreme, um, divisions between the races, uh, in, uh, Mississippi at that time when I went to high school. I mean, for – as, um, the, you know, the drinking water situation,<sup>7</sup> for going to the movies, or just little things people don't think about – going to the cleaners, uh, or going to a jewelry store. Uh, everything had a different perspective for a black and for a white. It was completely different. So, uh, I was, um, school pretty much – I was going there to, uh, live with my grandmother. My grandmother, my grandfather – my grandfather was, uh, approaching his, uh, uh, hundred years old. And my grandmother was, uh, uh, late in age also. So I was going more so to assist them. Been a senior in high school, uh, to kinda live there. And also, there was reasons why I went there, just to get out of the real turbulent situations there in Pontiac, Michigan, um, growing in the inner city. Uh, they felt that it was best for me, based on my behavior at that time, to go and live with my grandmother to get out of a city environment to live sort of, um, in a farm, farm community area.

CH: Oh, okay, and you said that your grandpa was reaching a hundred, so did he live through any slave era or anything?

JM: He's a Choctaw Indian.<sup>8</sup>

CH: Okay.

JM: And, um, and I don't know – Indians were treated differently, uh, you know, the Choctaw Indians is probably *the* more, the largest tribe that, uh, in Mississippi. You had, uh, Choctaw, uh, Chickasaw,<sup>9</sup> and, uh – And I can't think – there's a couple other, other ones, uh, that were in that area. But, uh, they, they could sort of tend – or blacks tend to have, uh, uh, moved, uh, in conjunction with the Indians. They sort of cohabited together, so I don't know – they were never in slavery, you know, as far as the

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<sup>7</sup> The segregated South featured separate drinking fountains for whites and blacks.

<sup>8</sup> Choctaw Native Americans originally migrated from the Mexican region and settled in the Mississippi River Valley.

<sup>9</sup> Chickasaw Native Americans resided in Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and southern Kentucky.

Indians. They were never in slavery, but they were indigenous people, and they were, they were not white.

CH: (mu-hm).

JM: And so, they also didn't meet the same guidelines—not as severe as blacks—but not the same guidelines as whites. So there was a—there's a class distinction (dogs barking).

CH: (um-hm).

JM: Yeah.

CH: So, you said the jewelry stores and the cleaners and—

JM: In the cleaners, uh, if you—just for simply—if you had some new clothes to take to the cleaners, there was, uh, uh, a separate, uh, uh, window for blacks, and there was a separate windows, uh, for whites.

CH: (um-hm).

JM: Or if you went to a grocery store—and a lot of times we take things for granted—but if we were in a grocery store and I was first in line, (screen door or window closing) if you walked in as a white person, you automatically would, uh, uh, be ahead of me, even if I was being waiting on. I would have to wait until that person was served. And, um, those were things that you sort of took for granted, eh, you know, with slavery, you know, being x-number of years in the United States for, you know, three-hundreds of years in the United States. You, you grew up and, and that was a norm. It was not out of ordinary because it, it is something that had continued for so many years. You didn't know any different.<sup>10</sup> But, uh—and, and you didn't think of it as being—in terms of the Civil Rights<sup>11</sup>—you didn't think it was something that was intolerable, because when you lived in your own community you didn't have contact with whites. And, so, uh, you had your own interreactions in your own community. It was only when you went outside of your community that there were s—different rules on how you had to act and how you had to talk when you were interreacting with a white person. You couldn't look a white woman in her eyes, or you couldn't, uh, look directly in a white man's eye with any kind of defiance, or if there were any type of disagreement. Uh, there was, um, acceptance—part of the rule—of being struct, you know, when you had those type of encounterings. But, uh, you know, and these are things that people don't understand how that could be, but when, again, you have three-hundred years of something that is the norm, you, you don't think of it as being out of the ordinary if it's something that you grow with—grow up in. So, you know, so, I, I, you know, I lived within the Civil Rights, you know, during that period of time. I wasn't, uh, one of the ones that were, uh, protesting,

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<sup>10</sup> Dogs stop barking.

<sup>11</sup> Movement in the United States from 1954 to 1968 to abolish racial segregation and discrimination.



uh, I wasn't, uh—I had a certain amount of disdain for certain things, but I wasn't vocal, or I wasn't, uh, you know, putting myself out in any situation where I would stand out as, uh, you know, why I wouldn't accept something. But, uh, you knew that, uh, certain things were different and wrong, especially coming from a, an environment, you know, from the Pon—from the North, you know, where certain—a lot of things were tolerated, or a lot of things were—when I say tolerated—a lot of things were accepted that were not accepted in the South.<sup>12</sup>

CH: And, um, as you just said that you weren't an activist, is there a reason that you weren't going out there?

JM: It was, uh—1963 was when I was, when I was there, and there was, uh, really no, uh, outward movement other than what was going on in, uh, other parts of the South like Alabama, and Atlanta, and Georgia, Tennessee—areas where you would more so associate, uh, uh, Martin Luther King<sup>13</sup> at that time, uh, uh—activities would going over there. It wasn't until, uh, 1963—the year I graduated, and I went, uh, back to Pontiac, Michigan where a lot of things were changing, and then where you had, uh, uh, a lot of, um, volunteers from all over the United States were coming into the South. And ironically, they came into McComb, Mississippi, and a lot of it was to try to get blacks organize, uh, to vote.<sup>14</sup> And, um, uh, I think it was in 1964—year later—where, uh, I believe the Civil Rights Act<sup>15</sup> was signed at that particular time. But, uh, lot of whites were coming into the South at that time organizing and getting marches and protests and things like that.

[00:10:15]

JM: Uh, but for me, 1963, you know, I came home, I worked, and I ended up going into the military. And so, uh, when I was in the military, a lot of different things were happening. At that time, you were even, you were either coming out of two different, um, uh, uh, uh, concepts, or you supported two different groups. You either—you were supporting, uh, uh, Martin Luther King, who was, uh, um, preaching, uh, non-violence, or you were following behind Malcolm X,<sup>16</sup> uh, who was basically saying an eye for an eye.<sup>17</sup> And, uh, at that particular time, when I was in 63, and those

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<sup>12</sup> Northern states did not legally enforce segregation; Southern states did.

<sup>13</sup> A prominent leader of the Civil Rights movement.

<sup>14</sup> The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) had guaranteed the right to vote to African American men. Exercising this right, though, was prevented by a myriad of state and local legal barriers until the Voting Rights Act (1965).

<sup>15</sup> The Civil Rights Act, signed into law by U.S. President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964.

<sup>16</sup> A prominent leader during the Civil Rights era.

<sup>17</sup> Malcom X advocated for black self-defense against white supremacy. See his speech "Message to the Grass Roots," delivered November 10, 1963.

that were around that particular time, um, Martin Luther King was not a very popular, um, uh, individual. He wasn't accepted, um, uh, out—you know, he was more so accepted than Malcom X—but, uh, there was a lot of disdain for him in the South. So, in the military you were s—you were shielded, you know, from a lot of the different activities. Except I had, uh, the—my first experience I had was in 1964, uh, when I was in the military. I went to a place called, um, a Fort Sill, uh, Oklahoma.<sup>18</sup> The city is Lorman, Oklahoma.<sup>19</sup> And I went to a radio telephone operating school in the military,<sup>20</sup> uh, and I, and it was very few blacks that were in the radio telephone operating training. And so, you know, candidly, all my associates and friends, they were white, and we were in this group. And, um, we went downtown in Lorman, Mississippi just one evening after working the whole week in the training and whatever. We went down to, to a bar or something to that affect, and I was refused, um, uh, service, and it was the first time ever. But I had never attempted to go to any kind of establishment when I was in Mississippi because I knew that's what the rules were. But being naïve and growing up watching cowboys and being in the West, I never, uh, thought that it was segregated, also with the cowboys and the Indians. I th—I just never associated the West with segregation or with the same rules that applied because they always associated the word the "South," and I never looked at, uh, the Midwest states, uh, like Oklahoma, uh, Arizona, uh, going all into that area, that it was segregated also—which it was. And so that was my, actually my first real, uh, slap in the face, and I was in uniform—I was in uniform. So, that, uh, sure had, um, impact on me, even though, you know, the, the guys I was with, we all kind of walked out of there together. But we were at that age, I think we were, uh nineteen years old—nineteen maybe, some of us may have been twenty—but nineteen years old. And so, that was my really, um, going against—trying to ge—not thinking I was going against the system, but trying to go against the system. But, uh, that was one of the experiences I had, you know, growing up during that period of time. So, I sort of lived during that civil unrest, but I, I wasn't a, a vocal protester. Um, but, um, when I went to college—when I came out of the military, uh, in 19, uh, 66, uh, it was at the height of, uh, the, the civil unrest, even though they had, uh, signed, um, the Voting, uh, Act,<sup>21</sup> and they also had already signed the, uh, Civil Rights Act. At that same time, there was a, a lot of dissention on the campuses

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<sup>18</sup> Fort Sill, Army post southwest of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; established in 1869.

<sup>19</sup> Presumably Lawton, Oklahoma.

<sup>20</sup> Training for military signalers who relay information from the battle field to commanders about supply levels, locations, and so forth.

<sup>21</sup> The Voting Rights Act, signed into law by U.S. President Lyndon Johnson on August 2, 1965.

with, uh, Vietnam.<sup>22</sup> And so, then that I came home, I'm—uh, I was a wounded vet, uh, veteran from Vietnam. When I came home, uh, I came home a, among a lot of protest. But after being home for, um, less than two weeks, I entered college. And, uh, during that period in college, uh, was when, uh, you either were a follower of Martin Luther King or you were a follower of Malcom X. Myself, I was a follower of more so of Malcom X, and that, uh, uh, uh, the, the nonviolence side of it wasn't seeming to work, and, and, and there was, like I said, there was two different camps. And at that same—in fa—in fact, and as history went on, Martin Luther King was actually making a change. And he came out at that particular time, uh, and joined Malcom X and other, uh, African-American leaders, and, and the protest of the Vietnam War. And, at that time, when he did that, there was a real, uh, strong rejection of Martin Luther King when he came out and made the speech about, uh, uh, the Vietnam War,<sup>23</sup> and saying, pretty much, if there's injustice here, uh, these same injustices must apply also to other areas of land. You know, we're United States, we're, uh, involved, and, um, and it was just not very, uh, long after that—he was assassinated.<sup>24</sup> But he was, uh—it's ironic now—we, we, we celebrate, uh, his, um, birthday,<sup>25</sup> and, but a lot of people don't understand and realize that, um, he was very vilified and hated here in the United States. And, and, uh, states like Arizona, Nevada, and there was other states that were really, uh, set against even having a holiday for him. I mean, uh, uh, but now (clock chimes) a lot of people don't understand that, and, and they sort of think that he was always a popular individual and, and very well liked. But, uh, those are, those are some of the things outwardly that I experienced, but there were other subtle things that I experienced, um, you know, when I was in college. I was, um, a Student Government President,<sup>26</sup> uh, when I was in college. And, um, and I've always sort of been outward going. And I was—it was one evening and I was there with a young lady, and we were riding in a car, and she was a *blonde*. And we were sitting there, riding in a car, and we were in a place called Bloomfield Hills, Michigan.<sup>27</sup> And it's a very, um, real nice area, and she lived in that area. And we were just going to school together, and, uh, and we were stopped, and uh, and, and, and

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<sup>22</sup> College students protested the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (1955–1975).

<sup>23</sup> On April 4, 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his speech titled “Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence” at Riverside Church in New York, New York.

<sup>24</sup> On April 4, 1968, exactly one year after his “Beyond Vietnam” speech, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

<sup>25</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. was born on January 15, 1929. The U.S. nationally celebrates King's legacy on the third Monday in January.

<sup>26</sup> The highest-ranking student official in a student union.

<sup>27</sup> A small town in Oakland County, Michigan. It is twenty miles from central Detroit, Michigan.

the only reason we were stopped was that the police officer asked her, "Is everything okay?" And that was the only reason he stopped us, just to ask her if she was okay. And so – and that was in Michigan – so, the, I jus – and I say that to point out that, um, the, the, the, the differences, or the things that were happening in the South was actually happening all over. It was just more, uh, prominent in the South, and lot of the, the protests and a lot of the – and I say fighting, uh, killing, or burning of, uh, churches and et cetera, et cetera, and all those things – it was just happening in the South. But, uh, the, the, the tensions was actually all over, you know. It was everywhere. So, those are some of the things, you know, in terms of, um, talking about the Civil Rights. But, um, you know, and, and, and I gather, you know – in fact, I get a chance to talk to some of the guys that I went to high school with, there in McComb, Mississippi, and many of them were involved in the Civil Rights. They were going out as organizers, uh, community organizers, going in and trying to get the adults or the elderly and all of 'em sign up for voting and things like that. And it happened in '63 – the same summer that I ended up leaving and coming back to Michigan and working in, uh, in the plant. And, uh, eventually, that, uh, December, right before Christmas, I entered into the military. And I joined the military at that time to go and, you know, be a part of the war. And, at that time, I, I looked at that as being very positive, uh, but, through that experience, you know, it, it changed my philosophy, you know, a lot in terms of war, um, and it changed my outlook in terms of wha – what I wanted in life, because I came out of – you asked me earlier, you know, in terms of my background, you know, and I kind of, uh, um, stated what jobs my father had, my mother had. Uh, my father, uh, never made, um, no more – I believe it was thirty-five-hundred – four thousand dollars a year, you know, to feed a family of, uh, of ten, you know, ten siblings.

[00:20:07]

JM: And, uh, again, my mother – and, uh, she, uh, identified herself, um, not knowing all the details of what she identified herself as, as a dietitian with know, uh, education. I think my mom had a seventh-grade education. My dad had a sixth-grade education. And – but because she was working with the salads and putting salads together, uh, she, she would say she was a dietitian. But anybody would go into detail would say, you know, that's not what she was. And I, and I say that, um, because, um, uh, income level of less than five thousand dollars between the two of them and raising the family of ten – we came out of a very poor situation. And, um, it wasn't uncommon, uh, for us, you know, t – all of our clothes were secondhand. And for us going shopping with – knowing that when I, we were going shopping, I knew automatically that it was going to be, um (pauses), at a secondhand store. And that was, that was going shopping. And it was

nothing out of the ordinary. It wasn't nothing disgraceful. Uh, it was a happy moment, you know, for – to be going shopping, to get some clothes, and things like that. So that's kind of, uh, the, the background that I gr – I grew out of. But at the same time, um, during the Civil Rights, and during that period of time, one of the things that was really heightened and that was really stressed is education. And I think, uh, you know, through those struggles that a lot of people went through during that period of time, there was always a outward expression that, uh, things were done for the youth in order for them to go on and to, uh, f – futher and better themselves. And the only way they could do that was through education. And so, uh, a lot of that had – w – that was positive, you know, the movement itself was positive, especially for blacks during that period of time, because, uh, a lot of, um, opportunities were made available. Um, there were a lot of things that were established, uh, for lack of a better word, there was – it became a bad word – it was quotas. And a lot of the businesses, uh, lot of the, uh, companies had to have a certain percentage, including the government, uh, so many blacks that were hired (slams hand on table). And so many blacks had to be in certain positions, and things like that. In order for a company to, uh – say for General Motors,<sup>28</sup> for example – in order for them to bid on any type of government contracts, they would had to have had so many blacks in their organization in order to bid. A lot of those things are – it's been regressive in that a lot of that now is, is no longer a factor, even in the colleges. The colleges in terms of their, um, uh, uh, acceptance for students and making sure they had certain amount of diversity on the campuses – had to, uh, uh, accept and allow so many, uh, diverse students on their campuses. And, and lot of that's no longer true anymore. And, um, and some of it's, it's, you know, had some very good reason, you know. Uh, you, you had two people that, uh, were, were equal in ability and, and et cetera, and could have s – been even on the same, uh, financial, uh, uh, uh, level, and it, it, it did favor, you know, a, uh, minority over that other person. And then, and, and, and there were some, um, uh, situations that, that, that came about where s – lot of, lot of people were penalized for being white in, in terms of, uh, being able to get the same jobs and things like that. So, there were some things that, uh, there were inequities. And then there were situations where they put, uh, minorities in positions where they did not qualify, and, uh, and they stood out like a sore thumb. And, bu – just because somebody wanted to make sure they just got a quota, a number, and not go through the, uh, finer detail of making sure they got the qualified people to be in the position just to say I got ten percent. And at, and my, you know, the, that – and so there was a lot of things that came up that m –

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<sup>28</sup> The General Motors Company, an American automotive manufacturer; headquarters located in Detroit, Michigan.

that, you know, that, that are reasons why things, you know, were, were scrutinized—and, so, from that side of it. But, you know, the, the Civil Rights part of it, um, you know, being black, you sort of looked at things differently. And I say, “look at things differently,” uh, from the perspective of those that were not educated, uh, for those that were in situations where, uh, their plight seems to them that they didn’t have a chance. They, they, they looked at opportunities to take things, like the riots I had mentioned earlier to you—about the riots in, in Detroit.<sup>29</sup> Um, I was in college at that time, and I kind of mentioned that, you know, I had a real diverse family. I had one brother who was actively involved in the, the looting and the rioting in Detroit, where they went in and they took clothes and, and they took, um, uh, televisions. I mean, uh, rea—wha—people don’t realize when things like that happen, uh, there’s so much chaos, you still have a element that will go in and try to take a opportunity to go in to take, uh, whatever jewelry, whatever clothing, whatever values there are that, that’s not under guard, and take it. And it’s all under that canopy of civil unrest. And, uh, that’s why, um, things really got out of hand in Katrina.<sup>30</sup> Uh, when they had the flood there, uh, people were saying, “well, how come the National Guard<sup>31</sup> came in, and that they had loaded guns,” and things like that. It’s, it’s, it’s from experience to protect property. Because there were a lot of people—even during the flood waters they showed on TV—you know, water would come up to one guy’s, uh, neck, and he’s got a TV on top of his head, you know. And, y—y—and, but the thought process is so different for people that are, um, uh, I, uh, I sometimes just use the word uneducated, uh, and, and just don’t have the same thinking process. And, and that was what was happening during the Civil Rights. You had a group of people, and, and, and particular blacks who had been denied, uh, for, um, years—hundreds of years—um, the same certain rights that other people had. And, and, and it, it, it, it was, uh, a boiling point and more visible on TV that these things were going on. But, if you left that area, and you were in Michigan, even though those things wasn’t happening there, in the evening time people were going home and they were—TV became even more popular then, you know. Although you didn’t have the coverage like you have now. You had more, I would say, truthful, clear, uh, coverage of what was going on there, because they didn’t have the buttons, you know, to erase or to filter out what was going—like the technology now. They could—if you said, uh, uh, uh, a profanity, they can blot it out before it even got on the

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<sup>29</sup> This is the first time that Joseph Milton mentions the Detroit riots in this interview. The Detroit riots occurred in 1967.

<sup>30</sup> Hurricane Katrina hit the U.S. coast from the Gulf of Mexico in 2005. It was one of the most devastating storms in U.S. history.

<sup>31</sup> U.S. state-based military force; part of the reserve component of the U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force.

screen. But back then, with the technology for TV, it was more so live. And that was the same thing that caused the war to come to an end with Vietnam – was that they had all of what was happening on the fields, far as, uh, the, uh, mutilated bodies, the death, the, the coffins and all these different things going around TV. Now, with the wars that are current and happening now, um, uh, they don't show those things. They filter all these things out, and, and it's not, uh, uh, because they don't wanna show the gruesome, uh, bodies or anything like that, but it changes minds when people see those things actually rad up. It changes – and it creates movements, uh, for people to see things like that. And, so now, the evi – our government, uh, censor infor – you know, information coming back to us, unless, you know, what happened here recently with, uh, (sniffs), uh, uh, Gaddafi,<sup>32</sup> but that was for our benefit for others to (claps) see the evidence that, you know, this person is dead. But, uh, you know, you don't see bodies of, uh, uh, soldiers or, you know, you may see a coffin – and even they try to erase that. They don't want you to even see a coffin. But, uh, but actually see a wounded or shot, uh, American or anything like that, you know, you won't see that. They filter that out. And, and it's because of the Civil, uh, uh, Rights era, when all these things were going on. I mean, prior to all of that, you know, the lynchings and things that went on in the South – it wasn't televised. There may be a picture of it.

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JM: And you, you had more opportunity to censor a picture or hold a picture than you did in censoring, uh, the actual, uh, uh, televised events during that period of time. So, those, those are the things that, you know, that kinda stands out in my mind, you know, from what happened back then in the sixties. And from what happened back in the sixties – what did America, uh, or, uh, or the media learn from what happened back there. And now I, y – y – I, you can clearly see the things and the changes, you know. But, you know, uh, but for someone that just came along with, um, um, oh, say a cell phone, and the cell phone was, uh, you know, just a little small, uh, three by – three inches by six inches. And this is what they know, and they're very comfortable with it, and, and they're able to do, do, uh, a tech scene, and things like that. It's because it's something that they grew up with. But then if you give them the cell phone that I had when it first came out, and it was a big box that you carried around with you, and it was just phenomenal to have this big, large box. And this big box was, uh, as, as large as a shoebox. And this was – the mobile phone you had in your car, but you had the same feeling of, uh, what the technology was like that a person has when the new iPhone come out. And you had the same feeling

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<sup>32</sup> Muammar Gaddafi, the de-facto leader of Libya until his death in 2011.

how (clock chimes) advanced the technology is at that particular time. And now if you take—and you go back and you see where that shoe boxes become this little small cell, you're able—and, and you lived it, and you talked with it—you can see the differences and you can see, you know, the vantages, uh, all the different, uh, capabilities, and, and from where it came from. And that's the same thing of living through the Civil Rights period of time. You know, all the things that, you know, that was new and that was happening, and, and that was occurring, and to where we are now, you can see all the changes that have taken place, you know, right now. But for a person that had never seen that before, and—they missed a lot. Eh, they missed a lot. They—there's a lot that they don't know about. And so, they just, you know, it's an iPhone. Oh yeah, I remember I had another phone. Yeah, but it doesn't go so far back to where it was a shoe box. And so, they can't relate to it. And that's the same thing with the Civil Rights—is that there's been such progress that, um, I look at, you know, things being totally different now than where it was back then. And then, yet, even now you still have people saying, you know, “we got a long ways to go here,” you know, “things are still not right,” you know. And that's a part, I guess, for myself—is getting older—is that I seen so much changes. And I know things are, you know, I'm no dummy, I know things are not exactly, you know, right on even keel or even par, but I've seen so much progress, uh, it's just, like, phenomenal. And, you know, for a young person now, uh, he may be on campus, you know, for the first time, or he may be a sophomore, or junior on college campuses, and he sees certain little small injustices, whatever (sniffs), and he still has that same, uh, drive that things are not right—things are not, you know, and—which is good, which is good, you know. And so, it was a great period, a great era, um, during that period of time, because it was a time of protest. Um, I'm an ex-hippie. There was a lot of movements that came out of, uh, uh, and that was going on at the same time with the Civil Rights era. There were a lot of protesters, and there were a lot of movement, and, uh, they were, you know, the—there was a group. They were called hippies. There was a group that was with—in the hippies. They were called, uh, Love, Love Children,<sup>33</sup> and, and, and, and growing up during that whole period of time, and interreacting with those periods, you never bec—you never thinking about what history's gonna look at, or the past, or anything like that. But, um, that's, that's my take on the Civil Rights, you know. I kinda wish, and I don't know where I would have been or what my life would have been if I was actually (sniffs) involved in the organizing. If I had had not been in the military, where pretty much, you know, I was a part of an organization, and I didn't—and, and, and, and in

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<sup>33</sup> The Love Children, presumably a group within the wider hippie movement, which gained a national following during the 1967 “Summer of Love,” the same year as the Detroit riots.



the military you're filtered from a lot of the civil unrest that's going on outside around you. And, um, the military when I went in it – when I was in the military – um, it was integrated, you know. Uh, and they integrated, uh, in the fifties I think – '51 or '52 – just, uh, right after the Korean War.<sup>34</sup> During the Korean War they integrated, both by the time – and that was in fifties, so I was in, you know, say another sixteen years later, and, um, and, and I was part of the 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne,<sup>35</sup> and we were paratroopers, and it was more of a family, you know, very small group. It was more of a family, and, uh, and with the Vietnam War it – and, and, it, and I'm kinda rambling because there was so many different things that were happening that, based on your experience, it, it brought you closer together, you know, like the war. The war, uh, specially the Vietnam War, was a defining moment because those individuals who were in the Vietnam War, they automatically had a much closer relationship because they were immediately in another different, uh, uh, uh, a part of the world. And the only person that they could depend on are the individuals that they were with. So, they, you know, and, and, and so you, you became a lot closer in your interreactions. Uh, I never forget, uh, I was in – when I was in Vietnam, um, I had a record that came – well actually it was, it was, you know, they have now a little CD players and things like that. It used to be little portable record players, and, uh, I had a record, uh, that, uh, somebody had sent me for some Motown,<sup>36</sup> being from Detroit. And, uh, my, um, bunk mate, or a tent mate – I guess we live in tents at that time. He was from Montana. And, um, and he – my, one of my favorite singers right now is a guy named George Jones,<sup>37</sup> and George Jones is a country-and-western singer. And he was like the premier country-and-western singer. I mean, uh, over Travis,<sup>38</sup> or any of these guys that they name right now, and he wouldn't let me play any of the Motown record. That one record I had on his record, because he had the record player, 'cause it only had to be country and western. But we were very, very good friends, very good friends. And, so, one day he said to me – and he was from Montana – and he said to me,

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<sup>34</sup> July 26, 1948, Executive Order 9981 called for the desegregation of the American forces. The order was signed by President Harry S. Truman.

<sup>35</sup> The 101st Airborne Division, founded in 1918, part of the United States Army. During the Vietnam War, the division fought in several major battles, including the Battle of Hamburg Hill in May of 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Motown, nickname for "Motor City," a reference to Detroit, Michigan. Motown Records, launched in Detroit, Michigan in 1960. The label produced an upbeat pop style that incorporated rhythm and blues.

<sup>37</sup> George Glenn Jones (1931-2013), American country musician and singer. His most famous song is titled "He Stopped Loving Her Today."

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Milton may be referring to either Randy Travis or Travis Tritt; both are well known American country singers.

he says, “Joe,” he says, “y—you know, you’re, you’re, you’re a good nigger.” And when he said that to me, I knew he was sincere and that he was looking—he was really giving me a, a compliment, and he was very sincere in his heart. I mean, there was no vindictiveness in what he was trying to say to me in using that word. And then he thought about what he said. And he explained to me immediately without me asking or anything on how he grew up with that word in his home. And me, being from the South, or going to school in the South, it gave me a, a real clear, uh, uh, snapshot on how he grew up and the things that he looked and thought was okay and took for granted, because that was a word that w—that was used commonly. And it’s not something that you can just change or take away from a person—from who a person is—even though it may be something that you don’t like. It’s, it, it, it, and it may be something wrong. But it, it doesn’t—the words doesn’t really dictate the heart of a person if they use a certain word. And, and, and I, and, and, and I—and he was closer to me than anybody else that I knew when I was there in Vietnam at that particular time. And it, it, it, ne—you know that, um, we are the product of, uh, our own environment. And, uh, you know, and our thoughts, and the way we think, and, and it, and it—until you have the opportunity to, um, interreact or to have communication with other people—that you have opportunity to see that, that person for who they are, or kinda learn a little bit more, you—and you may not get it all at one time.

[00:40:03]

JM: And, and that’s the same thing with me, you know, in terms of growing up in those different areas. Uh, there were certain things I like, and there was certain things I didn’t, didn’t like, and, and the stores, you know, that I would go in. I say the Jewish store, um, such a small world. Th—it was, it was called Selman Jewelries,<sup>39</sup> and that was in McComb, Mississippi, and, um, the, uh, girlfriend I had at that time, um, I was the—buying up a ring, a garnet. It is, uh, the birthstone—back then everybody would try to get a birthstone in the—for their person. And I got a ring—and I was really big shot—it cost me probably bout seven or eight dollars—high school, you know, and that was like big money. I’m buying that ring at Selman Chevrolet—not, not—Selman Jewelry. I got ahead of myself—Selman Jewelry. And the guy was really nice to me, and ‘cause I went in there a couple times, you know, to try to figure out what ring to get, you know. And I looked and saw what I was gonna get, and I had to save my money up and get money from my grandmother and other little chores in order to buy this ring. And, um, and I got it. That was in 1963. I come out here to

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<sup>39</sup> Selman Jewelers, established in 1945 by Charles Selman; later purchased by Betsy and Lamar Murrell in 1985.

California, I came out here in 19—I think in this area here—I was out in California a couple times—in 2000. And I go in one of my dealerships is Selman Chevrolet.<sup>40</sup> And, so, I’m in there so—he’s got two kids, uh, uh, uh, Tray, and I can’t think of his daughter’s name right now—and we’re talking and all that there, and it, it—story kinda goes on, and, “where you from?” “I’m, I’m from,” he’s from Mississippi. I said, “oh, Mississippi.” He said—I asked him where. He told me Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>41</sup> I says, “oh,” I said, “I’m from McComb.” He says, uh, “my uncle had a jewelry store in McComb.” And I said, uh, “such and such and such,” and, and it was his uncle, you know. I don’t know why I told that story. But, uh, I, I think I told it because the—even during the times where people said, uh, um, that this is the worst period, you know, segregation and this and that, there were still friendships, there were still, uh, uh, uh, good occasions, uh, you—and then the interreaction I knew where I was in the, the, the ways that you knew your place. You know—I—you know, it’s just like being around adults. You knew what to say. You knew what not to say. You knew what conversations to bring up and what not to bring up. And that, and that was the way it was. But there, there was, there was some good occasions in there. But, um, over and all, the Civil Rights, uh, was something that had to happen, and it is ironic that they’re saying, you know, that we talking about Civil Rights and, at the same time, what’s going on in, uh, all these other cities right now with these protesters going on right now. And one of the things that, um, uh, a lot of people, they take it for granted, and they don’t ask themselves—they don’t see it. It’s not televised. And if it’s televised, it’s televised in real short, you know, clippets. It doesn’t really show all what’s going on and all the different cities what’s going on. And, and, and then I, you know, again, it’s, it’s from, um, I think the experiences of what happened back when everybody sees what’s going on. But I think this is gonna be a big movement that, that’s gonna take off—

CH: (um-hm).

JM: It’s gonna—

CH: No, you’ve done great. You’ve answered so, so many of my questions without me having to—

JM: Okay.

CH: —ask you. That was great. Um—

JM: I should have got some water.

CH: Did you want to? I can pause it for a second.

JM: Would you?

CH: Yeah.

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<sup>40</sup> Chevrolet car and truck dealership established in 1952 and located in Orange, California.

<sup>41</sup> Jackson, Mississippi, the capital city of Mississippi located on the Pearl River.

- JM: I didn't know I was coming down with a, a sniffer. What's your hobbies? What kind of hobbies do you have?
- CH: Um, I do a lot of things. Mostly hang out with my friends though (laughs). (Milton's footsteps walking through the house).
- JM: See my hobby – I would talk to your dad – my hobby is photography.
- CH: Oh, yeah. I don't really have anything too interesting like that unfortunately.
- JM: (hmm).
- CH: Unfortunately, no. I've always wanted to get into photogra –
- JM: What about computers?
- CH: Nope (laughs).
- JM: I mean, are you good with a computer?
- CH: Not really (laughs).
- JM: Okay.
- CH: I'm not good with comp –
- JM: Your dad's good wid' it.
- CH: He is?
- JM: Yeah, he – yeah, yeah. He's pretty good. I mean, when, uh, I would come down there – in fact, um, Mike, uh, I would use your dad as a sounding board, you know.
- CH: (hmm).
- JM: He, he always takes a very analytical slant –
- CH: (um-hm).
- JM: – and when he gives me a feedback, you know, and when I would, uh – and I called him all the dealers. And I would try to get feedback on what's going on, just through conversation, and so – and it helped me, um, uh, gear or slant my questions, you know, when I was at another spot or point, you know –
- CH: Yeah.
- JM: – saying, yeah, as a sales manager, you know, what do you think of this program or do you think that's a good program. Is that a good incentive? And your dad, he was like, "well, I gotta tell you." He was just right on it. He would tell me, you know –
- CH: Yeah.
- JM: – And so –
- CH: – That sounds like him (laughs).
- JM: Oh, yeah. And, so, it would help me out tremendously when I went to other dealerships. It – kinda get a good feedback on how they saw that program.
- CH: Yeah.
- JM: And – but, uh, no, he was really good. But he was good with the computer. I mean, he would, uh, he was, you know –
- CH: He always tells me that he's good with the computer.
- JM: He is.

- CH: But for some reason my – I always doubt him (laughs). I never trust him on that.
- JM: Yeah, he's pretty good with 'em, pretty good.
- CH: Um, well, you've actually hit your time, so –
- JM: Okay.
- CH: I – you are free to keep talking. I just – I'm gonna ask you a couple closing questions –
- JM: Go right ahead.
- CH: Um, I have no time limit. I'm just letting you know that you don't have to –
- JM: Oh, oh okay.
- CH: – you don't have to push it or anything like that –
- JM: Oh no, I was just trying – you know, I didn't have any concise, uh, order – (clock chimes)
- CH: Yeah, no it's been –
- JM: – in my mind, you know.
- CH: – it's been great. You've answered – I was, I would come up with a question in my head and then you would answer –
- JM: Okay, good –
- CH: – it right after –
- JM: – good.
- CH: So, you've been, you've been doing a great job. Um, okay, let me see where I can start from.
- JM: I know I started hitting on one spot – I start talking about my – I almost got choked up when I was talking about my, um, upbringing with my mom, you know –
- CH: Oh, yeah.
- JM: – we would go shopping, you know, and stuff like that, and, and my daughter, uh, my baby girl, she's assistant principal. And then my older son is, uh, VP, vice president of, uh, of, uh, JP Morgan Chase Bank in Atlanta.<sup>42</sup> Then, uh, he was over at, uh, at, uh, Cal State Fullerton,<sup>43</sup> and he just turned twenty-two.
- CH: Oh, okay.
- JM: And my, that's my baby boy. And now – he was at Cal State Fullerton – now he's over at Santiago, uh, Canyon,<sup>44</sup> you know.
- CH: Okay.
- JM: Tryna get through that program over there.
- CH: Um, so then I'm just gonna go to – you answered positive. So, um, make sure this is back on. Yeah. Okay. What was – what would you say is the most negative memory you have of the whole Civil Rights movement? Any,

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<sup>42</sup> JP Morgan Chase and Co., headquartered in New York City, established in 2000.

<sup>43</sup> California State University, Fullerton, established in 1957.

<sup>44</sup> Public community college located in Orange, California, established in 1985.

um, attacks to you personally, to a family member, to, um, what came of it – anything like that?

JM: You know, when you say negative, there's two things, uh, and I mentioned the one. The, the one big negative was when I was in the military, and I was refused service. Uh, that was a negative. There's something that, um, you know, that kinda still – I, uh, even though I can't see the pictures of the people or what it looked like or where it was or anything like that, or the downtown, or anything, but, you know, that was a very embarrassing situation, 'cause I couldn't believe it was happening. And, um, that's the only one that really stands out and the on – I, I guess it's the, the only other things that stand out is a really negative is, and I, and I'm just talking to someone here just recently about it – was how, uh, a person is, like my father, and, um, and, or, and, an, an, individuals like my father who were older and who saw things a lot more different than I did, you know. I, I – even though, you know, I didn't see things the same way they did, I didn't have the same patience that they had, just like young kids now don't have the same patience I had. And that – and my son looked at me differently on how I look at things, and we not looking at the things the same. And, and I looked at it as a negative on how – within the, uh, neighborhood, or within the family, you know, you looked at your father and, and, and you had a certain reverence and respect for your father, and he stood for who he was, and, and you respected that – good, bad, and different. You, you knew who that person was. And to see how that same person – how he became when he was around a white man, and how the interreaction was so much different – uh, the, the speech language, uh, the body language.

[00:50:00]

JM: It, it was, uh, uh, total, uh, uh, subservient, you know, ingratiating, um, you know, to, it, it, it was like, you know, you know, honoring a, a god or – how you, you know, and, and, and, and that was just not him. That was that generation on how they reacted and how they acted and how they accepted, uh, uh, because they were never called men. They were always called boys. And, and, and so there's a lot of things in terms of negative – and, and even now you, you, you even may hear in the u – as I'd say this to you now – you may hear someone as a boy, and how that became such, uh, uh, a fighting word when a man would later would be called a boy, and how they took it to be a, or, a, um, someone say to you are – it, it, there's a lot of negatives, you know, uh, and a lot of it was with communication. It was – and were – people will take things for granted or when someone saw a black man and he was – had a tie on or whatever, and, um, they would call him an uncle,<sup>45</sup> or they would say, "you're a preacher." You know, and,

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<sup>45</sup> Presumably referring to "Uncle Tom," a derogatory term used against black men.

and, and, and there was always—those references mean something. To some people, they don't catch what those references mean. But for some, they—and so there's a negative in that, there's—a lot of things still linger, and you have to be able to, um, put them away. It's just like, for example, for me, uh, I mentioned my son, um—I'm a Vietnam vet. And so he went to Canyon High School,<sup>46</sup> so the diversity is from left to right and he's biracial and blah, blah, blah. And I'm downstairs, and I wake up, and I'm looking at a Vietnamese kid. And this is a friend of his that, you know, they just happen to come home, and they're in the house and, and whatever they're doing—shooting pool or whatever—and, for him, he's probably was born in, uh, in the eighties, you know. He was probably born in the eighties. He doesn't even know that my mind's going all the way back to '64 when I was in Vietnam, and I'm looking—and my mind, you know, things linger, and they don't go away, and some people, uh, and some veterans were not able to, um, uh, channel or compartmentalize, you know, reality with, you know, and, and you know, those, those kinda things. And, and it's, some, those both, those are s—and I don't know how come I said that—but, uh, it, those are the things that are, that are negatives that, the, the images that some things come up or, you know, you, you, you're in your own moment and sometimes there's—you want to think about happy things or daydream about, you know, you know, going down the aisle, and it's gonna be this way—things that make you feel good, but all of a sudden—there's always sometimes there's an image that will come up from the past that you didn't really know how it dialed in. So, those are the negatives, that there are certain things that, uh, um, you know, that, that you, you think are gone but you sorta looking in the rearview mirror and, and it's, and it's more closer to you than where you really think—you think it's way behind you. So, there's some things that linger on and, and you think you're not angry or, you know, because you don't talk about it (phone rings) or because it's not any regular conversation or anything like that.

CH: Okay, (voices in the background) the last thing I just wanted to ask, um. You obviously have been very successful. You've, um, come up from what you said was a impoverished home.

JM: (um-hm).

CH: And you've obviously created a great home for yourself, um, what is the thing that you're the most thankful for that—maybe that happened during that time? Like, perhaps—like seeing your father go through that stuff, like anything that you saw that made you change your life, made you wanna be?

JM: Um, (pauses) the best thing that ever happened to me, is that I left Pontiac, Michigan—and I was a problem child, you know, and I, and I, I told you I

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<sup>46</sup> Presumably Canyon High School, located in Anaheim, California.

was out of the streets, but I was doing a lot of things while I was out in those streets. And, uh, I got involved in all the things that young guys are getting involved in right now that people say are bad, and they can't believe kids were doing that while I was doing those same things when, you know, back when I was in high school, you know. And I was getting involved in smoking and all these other different things like that, and, and staying out at night—sneaking out, you know, and chasing girls, and all that kind of stuff. But, um, to the extent where my, um, parents said, "Hey, he's gotta leave this city or he's gonna get in some serious trouble." And so I ended up going back and staying with my, my grandparents. And, and living in that area down there, um, um, they didn't take things for granted. You know, they all looked at going to school was a real opportunity. Uh, I was in the cities, like, jeez, I can't wait to get home. I want nothing to do with this here. I, I wasn't really interested in it, and, so, it gave me a chance to see more so where my father came from, 'cause I, I lived with my grandma. And so my mother's mother, and then my dad's father was there also in the same little small—like, it was a very small town. And so I saw them, and I saw where they came from. I saw where we lived, and we lived out in the country. And I mean, uh, and the fa—and the facilities were out in the back.<sup>47</sup> I mean we had no indoor facilities or anything like that. And so, I, I, I lived in that, that, that side of it, but—it was a lot of fun, too. I mean there was, you know, it was a, lot, lot, lot of fun. It was lot of, uh, good things about it, and one of the good things about it was that the bus would come out in this little, uh, small community, pick us up, and then we would drive and, and it was like, just, go up to the school. And it was segregated. And we would go by the white school there in McComb City, and go up to this town called Borglum,<sup>48</sup> and we would go to school up there. And, um, all of our books were, you know, books that came down from the other schools and things like that. But everybody wanted to do something. Everybody kinda wanted to be something. And I was a good student. I became a very good student, and I was, and, and I, you know, I, I, I became a very good student and then, just by becoming a good student, people start treating me differently. And for whatever reason people look at good grades and things like that as being a nice person. Even though I had the same look for the girls, and all this here like I always had, but it seemed like it di—it was different, you know, because I was a good student, and being a good student means that you're a good person. And so that kinda changed my life in that, um, um, people looked at me differently. And sometimes you, you sort of respond to what you think people think of you. And if people

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<sup>47</sup> Outdoor plumbing.

<sup>48</sup> Presumably Brookhaven or Bogue Chitto, Mississippi, which are both North of McComb, Mississippi.



think, uh, that you're a nice person, you, you, you tend to try to be a nice person. And I found that to be true, and, so, that changed me a lot, you know. 'Cause after that, I, I—though I went in there to the military, but when I came home from the military, uh, like I said, I was home probably a week, week and a half and I went right into college. But, I followed in behind my brother. My brother was, um, eh, my hero. And, um, he was an—he was an attorney, and he was an all-A student. And, uh, and he was the president of student government, so he got me student (inaudible) I become president of student government. And it was, um, uh, it was a very predominantly white school, you know, college that I went to. So, and that's that kind of interreaction and that kind of acceptance, and, um, and, and, and you learn a lot of in terms of relationships, you know, that people are people. I don't care who they are. And they got good days, they got bad days. And sometimes you don't—you can't know or why you like that person over that person, or whatever. But you tend to learn that people are people, you know. So, it, it, it was a good experience. So, those are the good things for me, you know—being able to go back to school there in the South and also have a mentor like my brother, you know, to, uh, uh, follow in behind, you know, so—

CH: And I thought of another question while you were talking. Was it—during the time when you were going to school was—in college did—was it hard to get into school because of your race for either you or your brother or—

JM: (clock chimes) N—no—well, see, that—during that period—it became a quotas.

CH: Okay.

JM: And, um, we went to a, um, there school there. The, the, this was a junior college that I started out, uh, at—I mean, I ended up going to Walsh College<sup>49</sup> after that for marketing. And he went on to, um, uh, Wayne State<sup>50</sup> UMD (?) for law.

[01:00:00]

JM: But at that time, we went to—it was a community college called Oakland Community College.<sup>51</sup> And there was more than one Oakland Community College. There was an Auburn Hills campus, there were Highland Hills campus, and there was an Orchard Lake campus. Well, the Auburn campus was mainly a black—I say black—it was closer to the inner city. The Highland Lake campus was a, uh, white area. And, um, but it wasn't *the*

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<sup>49</sup> Walsh College, Troy, Michigan, established in 1922.

<sup>50</sup> Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, established in 1868.

<sup>51</sup> Oakland Community College, Oakland County, Michigan, established in 1964; it is made up of five campuses which include Auburn Hills (1965), Highland Lakes (1965), Orchard Ridge (1967), Southfield (1980), and Royal Oak (1982).

premier white area, you know. It wasn't, uh, Malibu,<sup>52</sup> you know. It was, um, Newport.<sup>53</sup> I mean, you know what I'm saying.

CH: (laughs).

JM: I mean, it, it, but that, that was at Orchard Lake. But we went to Highland Lakes. But all the campus competed, you know, and stuff like that for interreact, you know, interreact. And, um, and so at, uh, at the Highland Lakes at that time I say out of, um, say three thousand students, I would say probably (pauses) thirty-five, forty blacks, you know, on the campus. So, it was that kind of environment. And, uh, and, but, but popular – I'm a yapper – you know, popular, you know, that whole type of thing – and good students and whatever. And it was during that time, like during the Civil Rights, and this was prior to the, uh, um, uh, riots in Detroit – where it was popular to be black, because you was getting quotas at the different campuses. And everybody was trying to get their quotas, and so it wasn't hard to get into college. In terms of loans, loans are just like that (snaps). And I went in, I went to school on my G.I. Bill<sup>54</sup> from the military. But loans were very accessible – no payback – wasn't any keeping up on who owed what, or anything like that. Not the way it is with youth today – going to college and taking loans and having to pay back. Never had to pay a loan back. The loans that you were getting at that time were grants, you know, to help minorities and things like that, and it wasn't looking to say, okay, within the next number of years you gotta pay me back – none of that. So, it was, uh, easy, odd time to go to college, if you wanted to get ahead, you know, in, in life. It was a real good opportunity – much, much better than what it is right now, you know. And I mean, pretty much the way it is in the, the European countries where education is free.

CH: (hmm).

JM: You know, and, uh, and, and that, that gives some of my political thoughts where here in the United States, just like medical, it's a profit center. The sicker you are, the more you got to pay. Education – you want a better job or whatever, you gonna have to pay big bucks. In other countries, uh, European countries, they look at that as being a premium for their people to raise their nations. The smarter our people are, the more we will compete, you know. The healthier they are, the more we will compete. And it's not put on a profit center. I mean, it's just like me remembering, uh, I come out of Michigan with, um, automobiles, you know, Chevrolet and all, all the co – um, manufacturers. At that time, all the insurance companies and the medical companies, they were non-profit. You know, Blue Cross, Blue

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<sup>52</sup> City in Los Angeles County, California.

<sup>53</sup> City in Orange County, California.

<sup>54</sup> The G.I. Bill provides educational benefits for U.S. veterans.

Shield<sup>55</sup>—non-profit. You know, all these agencies that used to be non-profit. Hospitals—no way a hospital would be a profit based. It would be a non-profit, you know, because profit wasn't the motive necessary—they were set up. And they sign off that status, all of them. Because it became such a money-making process. But that's another, that's another story.

CH: Alright. Awesome. Is there anything that you wanted to say closing about the Civil Rights or anythings—

JM: No. I hope you guys get, uh—and I hope I gave some information that could be used, or you can edit it. And hopefully it will be positive. Hopefully you gained some experiences, you know, um, just within our sitting and talking. Hopefully, you know, uh, you guys, uh, in your classrooms, uh, uh, collectively have gained a lot of experience in terms of going out and collecting data (automobile drives by). And, uh, because this little—and, 'cause, from my experience, like I mentioned early and doing it after the riots in Detroit, was an experience that followed me all my life—being able to go into different homes, and at that time I didn't have the, you know, the, uh, audio, but we had, uh, uh, just surveys. And we just went in and had the surveys filled out. And then it was more so this percentage said this, this percentage said that, this percent—but just doing that collectively as a group, you know, class, it, it—you will find will stay with you the rest of your life in terms of, um, the information that you receive and that you get. And you'll meet a lot of different people too from different perspectives. And you learn a lot reading people, you know, that, on, an, an, on, in a situation where a lot of people don't get the opportunity to do that, they don't get the opportunity to do that. So, so, I wish you guys luck.

CH: Thank you. Okay.

JM: Alright.

CH: Closing interview with Joseph Milton.

[01:05:50]

END OF INTERVIEW

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<sup>55</sup> Blue Cross Blue Shield Association, health insurance provider, established in 1929.

Anthony Lambright and Jacob Nikolson (editors)

*"A minority within a minority":  
The Joseph Cordova Interview (February 6, 1973)*

*Shelfmark*

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).  
The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.  
Project: Sephardic Jews.  
O.H. 1278.

Oral Interview with Joseph Cordova, conducted by Roberta Britt,  
February 6, 1973, Los Angeles, California.

*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 "Sephardic Jews." The interview with Joseph Cordova was conducted by Roberta Britt on February 6, 1973, in Los Angeles, California. The interview lasted 1 hour and 38 seconds, and it is archived as a digital recording/audio file at COPH (see "Copyright Advisory" below). The verbatim transcript edited here was prepared in 2022 by Anthony Lambright and Jacob Nikolson.

Joseph Cordova covers a wide range of subject matters, namely the state of the domestic Sephardi Community and abroad and the push to keep the embers of their otherwise small sect burning in the face of assimilation into other Jewish groups such as the Ashkenazi Jews or culturally in the diaspora such as in Greece. He also gives a detailed history of the Sephardic community and how they originated in Spain with their own style of liturgy and language called Ladino, which is Spanish Yiddish, before being expelled during the Inquisition era and scattering abound. Mr. Cordova also details the push from the community, mainly the older generation, to keep their heritage alive by fostering more community among the youth and promoting religious education in their communities due to many Sephardim leaving for Ashkenazi or other sects and the difficulties that lie therein. Lastly, Mr. Cordova talks about the interaction between the Sephardim and various Los Angeles communities.

The audio recording offers insight into how communities change over time and how the generational divide affects that change. In addition, it offers insight into what constitutes identity and community, whether Jewish or Gentile, as the Los Angeles Sephardic community seeks to answer these questions. Lastly, it offers a look into how an ethnic minority operates and lives in a place known for being a hub of different ethnicities and cultures such as Los Angeles, while retaining their unique voice and perspective. Therefore, this recording should be of interest to social, cultural, religious, and Jewish historians as well as sociologists and anthropologists. Likewise, anyone of Jewish descent should find this recording

edifying. The audio recording possesses a good quality, despite some sporadic background noise, however, one can understand both parties without difficulty.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Anthony Lambright of La Palma, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Jacob Nikolson of San Marcos, California, earned a B.S. in Business Administration (2020) at California State University, San Marcos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the History Student Association (HSA) and the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

*The primary-source edition published here originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.*

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### *Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1278)*

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Joseph Cordova [JC]

INTERVIEWER: Roberta Britt [RB]

DATE: February 6, 1973

LOCATION: Los Angeles, California

PROJECT: Sephardic Jews

TRANSCRIBERS: Jacob Nikolson and Anthony Lambright

RB: Mr. Joseph Cordova, Grand Trustee for the Sephardic<sup>1</sup> Hebrew Center<sup>2</sup> in Los Angeles. This is conducted as part of a Communications Master of Arts thesis, entitled "Los Angeles Sephardim: Community Relations, Problems, and Needs," employing oral history techniques. The interview is being conducted by Roberta Britt in Los Angeles, which is the public relations firm of Mr. Cordova and Associates. The date is February 6, 1973. It is 12:00 o'clock PM. Mr. Cordova, how do you feel the Los Angeles Sephardic community can better understand and develop their sense of identity?

JC: Well, as far as identity, I think that, uh, realizing we are a minority within a minority as far as Sephardim. We, uh, do have within the Sephardic

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, members of the Jewish diaspora communities in the Iberian Peninsula and their descendants ("Sepharad" is the Hebrew term for "Spain").

<sup>2</sup> Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel, Los Angeles (established 1920).

community, uh, variations of people that are labeled Sephardim. We have the Sephardim of Ladino<sup>3</sup> background that, uh—of course their roots go back to Spain, and they are Spanish-Portuguese and do have the Ladino, uh, liturgy and, uh, language. And, uh, a lot, of course, uh, of our generations, uh, settled in the Levant<sup>4</sup> and then coming to this country, uh, at the turn of the century. And then you have others that are designated as, uh, Sephardim. The Oriental or Arab country, uh, Sephardim,<sup>5</sup> uh, they are not Spanish-speaking per se, uh, and, uh, but they have adopted, uh, over the centuries—over the years—the, uh, the Sephardic, uh, Tefilah<sup>6</sup> or our liturgy, uh, uh, and have been labeled Sephardim per se. Uh, but as far as our particular group, I think there's a need, uh, uh, to further identify ourselves and to, uh, show in some form or manner the differences, uh, that exist in—within the Sephardim themselves, uh, and the two groups that I mentioned here, you see. But, uh, I think as far as what has been done and what can be done, I think there is a tremendous need, I think that, uh, it, it gets down to a problem, I think, of communications. Uh, those of us in the professions, I think, are, uh, uh, addressing ourselves to this problem. Uh, whether we survive as a, uh, Jewish culture, uh, or not, uh, I think, uh, has a great deal to do with it becau—especially, I think, in this country where the language, uh, uh, problem exists where there—Ladino is not spoken that frequently. I myself am a first-generation, uh, Sephardim, my parents, uh, having been born on the island of Rhodes,<sup>7</sup> uh, in the Aegean,<sup>8</sup> which at one time was a, uh, flourishing Sephardic-Ladino community, uh, within the, uh, influences there of, uh, Greek, Turkish, Italian rule. But, uh, there has been, published, uh, over the years, certain materials, certain books, certain articles, uh, in the press and, uh, what not, uh, but as far as why dissemination as to who are the Sephardim and, you know, uh, I think, uh, there just hasn't been too much done in this area. I think even within the Jewish community itself, you know, that, um, uh, the Ashkenazi,<sup>9</sup> uh, uh, community, I think, uh, they know that Sephardic communities do exist, and, uh, some of them do know the contributions of the Sephardim to, uh, Jewish, uh, literature, to Jewish litur—liturgy. But, um, there still are some misconceptions. Uh, uh, you can talk about identity—I think in Israel, for example, uh, anybody that is not identified as Ashkenazi, which, uh, is

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<sup>3</sup> Judeo-Spanish language.

<sup>4</sup> Lands of the Eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>5</sup> Oriental Sephardim, also known as Mizrahi, are the Jews of Western Asia and North Africa impacted by Sephardic laws and customs.

<sup>6</sup> Jewish prayer.

<sup>7</sup> Island in the Eastern Mediterranean/Aegean Sea.

<sup>8</sup> Mediterranean Sea between Greece and Turkey.

<sup>9</sup> Members of the Jewish diaspora communities in Central and Eastern Europe.

the Eastern Jewish, uh, cultures and ethnic background—the German or Russian, whatever—is put in the category of Sephardim. Now, uh, uh, this is true to a sense in—as I mentioned before—there is the Oriental or Arab-country Sephardim who are not the Spanish-speaking Ladinos. And, uh, and, uh, this poses a big problem. I think Israel faces a situation there where they have Black Panthers,<sup>10</sup> uh, identified as Sephardim. But these are the dark-skin Oriental, uh, uh, uh, people and ethnic group that are labeled Sephardim. But they are not, in the true sense, Sephardims. Sephard, meaning, you know, an identification to those that, uh, uh, lived, uh, in the Iberian Peninsula<sup>11</sup> and the Sephardic communities there. And it's referred to in the Bible and, uh, in our, uh, Testament,<sup>12</sup> uh, and this, uh, was so labeled even to the times of the Phoenician,<sup>13</sup> uh, um, uh, existence or explorations and settlement of colonies in, uh, Iberia, and this goes back before the Visigoths.<sup>14</sup> But I think, again, the identity thing—uh, what has been done i—is very minor. I think there's not enough that has been done. Now the whole question is, why do you want identity? I think it's, it's—to me, and I know to a handful of other Sephardim of Ladino background, and whose families came from the Levant—and before that from Spain—that, that it's a question of the survival of our partic—particular ethnic culture. And this is, uh, one of the foremost problems that we face. Now we are in the process and have been in the last year of organizing a worldwide basis, and in the local Sephardic communities a Sephardic Federation.<sup>15</sup> I am the chairman of the Federation committee to organize here in the Los Angeles community. Uh, so far we've had a certain amount of success in bringing together the leaders of the different congregations—Sephardic organizations—in groups, uh, not only from the men's organizations, but from the sisterhoods and from the, uh, youth, uh, groups. But it still hasn't caught on. Uh, I don't know. I, I am, I'm concerned that there's just a nucleus of people that are concerned about this survival of our culture. There aren't, uh, uh—those of us in the first generation, I think, you know, there isn't a grassroots within the ten-thousand or so Sephardim that are here in the community. Uh, that, yes, my gosh, uh, this, something should be done. We should unite as Sephardim to not only contribute, uh, but to have our identity survive and to push our culture forth and to show our contributions to, uh, society, to, to Judaism, I think, and, uh, to who we are

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<sup>10</sup> Israeli protest/social justice organization (a.k.a. “the Israeli Black Panthers”) of Jewish immigrants from Northern African and Middle Eastern countries (active 1971–1992).

<sup>11</sup> Peninsula in southwestern Europe (Spain and Portugal).

<sup>12</sup> Tanakh (a.k.a. “the Old Testament”).

<sup>13</sup> Ancient Semitic people, lived in modern-day Lebanon.

<sup>14</sup> Germanic tribe that invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the early fifth century CE.

<sup>15</sup> American Sephardi Federation (established 1973).

and what we are. Uh, but the Federation, hopefully, will—once it's organized locally, uh, you know—do all of this and, uh, hopefully have a program that's gonna be constructive—

RB: In terms of bringing, uh, greater cohesiveness in the community—

JC: Well, I think so. I think that this is, uh—we need something to galvanize our community. I think that Sephardim, uh, you hear—and possibly, uh, from others you've talked to—that, uh, there's always been the problem of their getting together. Um, maybe because of certain differences, because of—they originated in different geographic areas,

[00:09:41]

JC: I mean, whether it be the Levant, in the Balkans, in Greece. You see, we—those of us in the Ladino—I'm speaking now in the Ladino, the Spanish-speaking Sephardim, who are the, in quotes, "pure" Sephardim, you know, uh—that, uh, there are those differences. I don't think the temperament, uh, (pauses) carries that much, and I'm speaking of those that, uh, were in the Levant area in the eastern Mediterranean—in Greece or Turkey, the Greek islands, uh, and so forth. Uh, I think we were quite similar in many ways. But, um, there has never been, uh, to my knowledge, I mean, anything to galvanize the group together to, to, to have a cohesiveness. When we get involved in, uh, Jewish affairs or, um, civic affairs or whatever, uh, we're, we're brought together—the different organ—Sephardic organizations or congregations—as a Sephardic division. And we raise money that way, and we, you know—but, uh, I think that, um, there just hasn't been, uh, the emergency to draw these people together. I think the leadership realize it—and I don't know whether my generation will succeed. I think we're making some headways. I think those that, we succeed, those that came to this country at the turn of the century, uh, had their own ways of doing things. A lot of them, uh—there are a lot of success stories that, uh, much like, uh, with other Jewish immigrants to this country that, uh, succeeded here and, um, but, uh—hopefully those of my status or, uh, my generation, I think might see the light here and, and come up with something, uh, that will be, you know, fruitful. But we need that catalyst, we need that galvanizing force that's gonna bring us together.

RB: Mr. Cordova, how do you feel the Sephardim can best avail themselves of the media, such as the use of professional public relations or community relations, et cetera?

JC: Well, I think the whole handle for this would be the, this whole formation of the Federation I was talking to you about. I think the congregations themselves and the organizations carry on a certain amount of publicity. Uh, I know that, uh, Rabbi Ott,<sup>16</sup> uh, in his temple have been active in, uh,

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<sup>16</sup> Rabbi Jacob Ott (1919–2005) of the Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel, Los Angeles.



in, uh, communicating from time to time. I knew that they had a Sephardic cookbook which they published, which was well publicized. I know there have been articles in the Seattle community, uh, from time to time. Uh, there was one in "Gourmet Magazine,"<sup>17</sup> but his has to deal with the food. But in, uh, food and, uh, uh, the delicacies and, uh, of the Sephardim – but woven into these articles are some of the background, uh, and, you know, rich, uh, history of, uh, uh, these groups. Uh, as far as professional assistance, hopefully, uh, this will come from the formation of our Federation and, uh, we will have a planned program, a newsletter –

RB: Amazing –

JC: Uh, we will con – uh, right. Now at the, uh – there is a Sephardic studies, uh, section at the Yeshiva<sup>18</sup> in New York, which you, I'm sure, are aware of. And Dr. Dobrinsky<sup>19</sup> and, uh, others, and they have publications which they send out. They, uh, they do issue, uh, publicity, uh, from time to time, but there's not a concerted program of, uh, people. You see, we have a lot of Sephardim that are not involved – I mean, they are born of Sephardic parents – they are not involved with Sephardic community activities, and they're in, within the diaspora<sup>20</sup> – really as, as we call 'em here even in the States.<sup>21</sup> And hopefully a program like this, I mean, you don't just throw out a public relations or communication program without some reason for it. I mean, uh, either you do it, uh, as a, as a personal, uh, aggrandizement, uh, approach, where somebody's offered all the glory and what not, uh, to build themselves up, or you're trying to develop a product or something. But our particular pitch here would be, uh, I think, to draw back a lot of these young Sephardim and to make them realize that, uh, you know, there is a ongoing area of, of activity here within Sephardic communities, within Sephardic congregations within the community, that they should be a part of. Um, but there's a lot of, uh, uh, lackadaisical<sup>22</sup> attitude. I think, uh, empathy over the young that have assimilated, uh, married into Ashkenazim, uh, families and have drifted away from the Sephardic community activities. Um, maybe this program will be successful on that light, and hopefully this Federation, through a concerted program of publicity and, uh, communications and, uh, um, various visual activities – audio-visual activities – will, will, will have this galvanizing force I've been talking about earlier. Now, I don't know that – how concerted it's gonna be – I don't know. It's, uh, (door squeaks) depending, you know – because,

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<sup>17</sup> Magazine, focused on food and wine (published 1941–2009).

<sup>18</sup> Private Jewish university in New York City (established 1886).

<sup>19</sup> Herbert C. Dobrinsky, scholar/administrator at the Yeshiva in New York City.

<sup>20</sup> Greek term for "scattered," used for population groups displaced from their place of origin.

<sup>21</sup> United States.

<sup>22</sup> Careless.

you see, we're, we're not that large a community. We'd, we'd like ourselves to be better known, to be better understood –

RB: Yes –

JC: And one of the things – in addition to galvanizing, bringing back a lot of people into the Sephardic communities and making realize that these are vibrant, viable organizations, communities within the sphere of Judaism – um, I think you – we have the youth problem, where, where, where the younger generation is drifting away. I think there's a lot of rich material within the Sephardic liturgy and, uh – whether you go to the Kabbalah<sup>23</sup> and the, uh, mysticism<sup>24</sup> there that, uh, people can explore and find, you know, be part of. But I think it's all part of the evolution, changing times and changing moods. But, uh, this is something that has to be (laughs) analyzed very carefully and thought out. And, uh, it's not only the Sephardim. I think the entire Jewish population or Jewish life is facing that in this country and elsewhere. I think religion in general is facing this problem. And, uh, there is this year, you probably know, this Key 73 Program,<sup>25</sup> which, within the Christian community, is sending out to build up their following. How much of this will draw in the Jewish community, uh, to say, you know, that they should follow Christian beliefs instead? I don't know. It, uh, there's quite a controversy on this point right now. And, uh, communication problems, I think, uh, in this other area will, will erase these mins – misconceptions. We – that's one of the foremost things – the misconceptions about, well, who are the Sephardim, what are they? I mean, the Birmingham, um, book,<sup>26</sup> uh, was good to some extent. I think, uh, this is a best-selling book that got wide distribution and, uh, people got to know more. But it wasn't well-rounded, I mean a full, you know, description or, uh, true picture of who the Sephardim are. Uh, we as a, as a people, I think, we blend well into the communities we are. I mean, we – in, in working ourselves, uh, into the professions – those of Sephardic background – uh, with the Christian community. I think there's, there's never been any problem there. And, uh, there are those, and I have colleagues that are Catholic or Protestant or whatever that, uh, once they know my background, I mean, it – to me and my education and upbringing has been, uh, of course, in and out of the Sephardic community and what not. So – whereas this wouldn't have been possible if I were born in Rhodes, uh, in the small island community there within the walled city. We would've been somewhat restricted.

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<sup>23</sup> Branch of Jewish mysticism.

<sup>24</sup> Contemplative approach to the Divine.

<sup>25</sup> Nationwide evangelical program in the United States (1973).

<sup>26</sup> Stephen Birmingham, *The Grandees: America's Sephardic Elite* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

[00:20:00]

JC: But even there, uh—this is diverging a little bit from your—

RB: That's okay—

JC: question there—but even there, those in the leadership in our community in the island of Rhodes did co-mingle with, uh—whether it was the Greek civic community there and the Greek leadership, the Greek merchants, or whether it was with the Turkish. More so I think with the Greek, um, community. But there was this interrelationship. Um, there's an interesting aspect, you know, the—the Sephardic Hebrew Center<sup>27</sup> is located now—we call that ecumenical square. There's a, uh, Armenian Orthodox church and a, uh, Presbyterian church within that square, and we cooperate with each other and, uh, there's, there's no problem of assimilating. The Armenians maybe more so because our food and our culture from that part of the world is quite similar. And, uh, I'm always amazed really—not really amazed anymore—that they know more about our culture than we do. And it's amazing. And, uh, I even got this, uh, some years ago. I was doing some public relations work for, uh, an organization in New York that was handling, um, some, uh, international fundraising for the Pro Deo University,<sup>28</sup> which is run by the Vatican to sell de—democratic concepts worldwide. And, uh, Father Morlion<sup>29</sup> was the dean of the Pro Deo University at the Vatican—was here, and I was, uh, discussing our background of Sephardim and what not. And he says, “oh, we, we know more about you in the Vatican than you do.” And I says, “well I believe it” (laughs). And, uh, and, uh—but this is, you know, the interrelationship—but we've never had that problem of assimilating with other groups, especially, I think, in Spanish-speaking communities for—you see, because of our language. Now myself, I could be mistaken as a, as a Greek, Italian or whatever or—and, uh, I have been, you know, as far as background is concerned. Getting back to the problem again of communications, uh, I hope—and I have communicated with Professor Elazar<sup>30</sup> at Temple University<sup>31</sup> who's now the chairman of the U.S. branch of this newly reconstituted, uh, World Sephardi Federation,<sup>32</sup> U.S. branch,<sup>33</sup> that, uh, this is one of our biggest problems, I think, i—in communication is to come up with a concrete program that is going to, uh, set these misconceptions

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<sup>27</sup> Reference to Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel, Los Angeles (established 1920).

<sup>28</sup> Private university (established 1966 in Rome, Italy).

<sup>29</sup> Father Félix Morlión (1904–1987).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Judah Elazar (1934–1999), political scientist, professor at Bar-Ilan University (Israel) and Temple University.

<sup>31</sup> Public university in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (established 1884).

<sup>32</sup> International organization (established 1925 in Vienna, Austria).

<sup>33</sup> American Sephardi Federation (established 1973).

straight as to who the Sephardim really are—so that people will know. I mean, in an educational communication program—whether it be through the religious editors of newspapers, the Jewish press, and, uh, and, uh, publications that do get, uh, wide exposure, I think through radio and television exposure—I think that this is, this is important. I have told, um—well, not told, but actually at our temple organization each Jewish New Year’s, uh, Rosh Hashanah,<sup>34</sup> we put out our yearly bulletin, and, uh, last year, I wrote an article, and this had to deal with, um, a heritage tour which I conducted last May to, um, Rhodes, Turkey, Israel, and Spain, tracing the—of course, our lineage and, uh, and heritage to those particular countries. We visited some 1920s Sephardic synagogues and, uh, communities, and I met with community leaders there, and, uh, it was very interesting. But the whole upshot of it was that, I said in this article—and you’d be interested—that one of the greatest things that we can do or develop would be something that would tell the story of our people comparable to the *Fiddler on the Roof*,<sup>35</sup> which deals with the—

RB: Hm—

JC: —Russian community to show, you know—exactly—this is, you know, the nucleus, this is the, the thread of, of Sephardim, and to show their Jewishness and contributions to Jewish literature and what their community life was all about. And, uh, all their, uh, you know, greatest success stories, uh, of the Sephardim, uh, from time to time that come out, you know, but, uh, but you don’t hear about ‘em and, uh, and what happens to them, you see. And this thing that’s happening in Israel, or has been happening now, where we become identified with the Oriental Sephardim. And there, there—it’s, it’s a big problem. There’s no question about it. Uh, but I think within Israel itself, they need a communication program to, uh, to identify, you know, who, who are the Sephardim, you see. Because they—they’re erroneously labeling—they’re doing some labeling here that is, that is incorrect in my estimation. But hopefully I’m going to be in New York, uh, for the founding convention, later this month, for the World Sephardi Federation in the U.S., uh, branch of it, and, uh, I’m going to address myself to this very thing, hopefully with some of the other Sephardim that are in the communications industry that, uh—and advertising, public relations, in the media, that we will organize a, uh, a committee or, uh, a ad hoc group to, to work on this problem.

RB: In other words, there is a need to establish some form or greater use of these different media in terms of, um, implementing them in, in the World Sephardi branch. For example, if it were established—

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<sup>34</sup> Jewish New Year.

<sup>35</sup> Musical (opened 1964), set in Tsarist Russia (music by Jerry Bock, lyrics by Sheldon Harnick, book by Joseph Stein, based on the characters created by Sholem Aleichem).

- JC: –Oh, yeah. No, no, no question that, um—I think—don’t get me wrong—I think that the, uh, and I don’t deny, and, and certainly as—that this is, uh, the Oriental Sephardim. They are justified in being called Sephardim because they have adopted themselves, but, but I do want, uh, an explanation or, uh, people to understand in, in the overall Jewish community as well as the overall, you know, general community that, uh, there is this difference in, uh—
- RB: If you were to establish, in the World Sephardi Federation, this type of information program, taking full advantage of different media—what are some of the main problems, in addition to the one or two that you’ve mentioned in terms of, um, uh, misconceptions and trying to educate the youth or make them more aware—what are some of the main problems that you, in the community relations sense, feel address involving the Sephardim?
- JC: You mean how—what would we do to, uh, get the Sephardim more involved in the comm—in their communities?
- RB: What are some of the problems that you would deal with that concern cohesiveness, that concern needs?
- JC: Well, I think the, uh, initial step in a program like this would be, first of all, to, uh, clarify the identity of the Sephardim and to establish that. And then to pinpoint some of these problem areas. Uh, and some of them I’ve already mentioned to you. I think, uh—
- RB: Right—
- JC: You know—
- RB: Yes—
- JC: –the misconceptions, I think the youth problem, the, uh, the Sephardim that are drifting away from their background. I think that, um, you know, believe it or not, we, we have more Ashkenazim that are interested in Sephardic culture than, than in, in some respects, than we have, uh, uh, Sephardim. But where we were in Israel last May, the Sephardic community there, at the Hadassah,<sup>36</sup> I was with David Setung,<sup>37</sup> who was the executive secretary at the Sephardic community in Jerusalem. And I attended services there and Shabbat,<sup>38</sup> and, uh, there were three or four, uh, Ashkenazi scholars from the States. One from—he had been a professor at Columbia, and a few others that were there that were regular attendants, and, uh, at, at their, uh, services and followed their activities religiously, and research, and study. Um, and this is not uncommon. We have the same thing here.

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<sup>36</sup> Charitable organization in Israel.

<sup>37</sup> Spelling and identification unclear.

<sup>38</sup> The Jewish “Lord’s Day of Rest,” celebrated from Friday sundown until Saturday sundown.

RB: And yet I've been told by a lot of people that there is a fear in Sephardim of possibly, um, possible assimilation, and, and I've often wondered how – what do you feel would be the best ways to try to eliminate the fear that, that does exist in some temple members that they're going to be overwhelmed by non-Sephardic culture?

JC: Oh (pauses), well, it almost gets down to the point where you have to get people together as, as missionaries, people like myself and others in my generation that wanna see this perpetuated. But, what, what's gonna galvanize 'em? I mean, uh, those in my generation – of course, our parents are gone now, most of, uh, but, uh – but it's how dedicated we were to them and those that preceded them and, uh, you know, uh, in perpetuating our Sephardic culture, uh, where will our temple, for example, be, uh, you know, ten, fifteen, twenty years from now?

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JC: Uh, your schools are important. I think that, uh, education is important. I think, uh, that our local communities here operate pretty much independently. There have been attempts in the past to have Sephardic councils. Nothing has materialized. Uh, but education, uh, Jewish parents – whether their Sephardic or Ashkenazi – are certainly interested in, uh (break/pause in the audio).

JC: Uh, one thing I'd like to bring up, uh, the area of communication and organization. I think we've never had a central organization in the United States or, um, Los Angeles per se. Oh, we've had! I think there's, there's been a Union of Sephardic congregations, uh, with Victor Tarry, uh, whose real name is Victor Tarica,<sup>39</sup> in New York at the Shearith Israel<sup>40</sup> and, um, Dr. de Sola Pool,<sup>41</sup> who of course wrote our Tefilah, our prayer books. But nothing constructive as a way – as an organization should be, and I'm speaking now like the United Synagogue,<sup>42</sup> which represents the, uh, conservative congregations. We at the Hebrew Center joined this, uh, United Synagogue some two, three years ago, and I think are the only Sephardic congregation per se. We, we are conservative. We, we do not claim to be Orthodox, although the, uh, great majority of, uh, Sephardic congregations now are Orthodox or had been Orthodox, I think. But more are leaning toward the conservative, uh, Reformed<sup>43</sup> we'll never be – I know that for sure. But I think we've reached that point now. I think in the New World here in the U.S. that we are conservative. But the United

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<sup>39</sup> Victor Tarry/Tarica (1904–2002), Sephardi organizer.

<sup>40</sup> Synagogue in New York City (established 1904).

<sup>41</sup> David de Sola Pool (1885–1970), English/U.S. American Sephardic rabbi.

<sup>42</sup> United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism (established 1913).

<sup>43</sup> Reform Judaism, emphasizing ethics over ceremony.

Synagogue, I think is a, is a perfect example of what should be done to federate, to bring together, to serve the needs of Sephardim communities, uh, organizations uh, not only, um, in communications, in publicity—I mean, they publish every month or so a magazine. As a member of the Hebrew Center, I, uh, receive this because our congregation is affiliated with the United Synagogue. Uh, they put out various guides on organization, on community projects, on about, uh—well it, it just covers the whole gamut, you see, of community life within a congregation and, uh, and, uh, it's excellent! Now I'd like to see this done for the Sephardic community. I think locally and nationally, and hopefully from the Federation we will have this. Uh, it's not gonna be easy. I think, uh, as far as bringing our people together, I think this problem with the Oriental Sephardim is, is a, is a big problem. I think that we, we face it here in this community. Uh, there's no problem when we see, uh, we think alike—the Hebrew Center and Rabbi Ott's temple,<sup>44</sup> and, uh, our organizations. Uh, but there are here Assyrian congregation who are Sephardim. There's Kahal, Kahal Joseph,<sup>45</sup> which is, uh, Indian-Iraqi Sephardim. But there's a real problem of our assimilating to them. I mean, you know, we were similar in some ways, but they were not, uh—but I think if we make any headway, and I—if, if the two Ladino congregations can, can push, push this, you know, through our leadership and through the national organization and hopefully form the Federation on the basis of serving the need of Sephardic causes, Sephardic organization, unification. Uh, but this should be one of our prime goals, but, uh, un—unfortunately, one of the overriding factors is this, this whole thing of setting up priorities, and one of the big priorities is, is the plight of the Oriental Sephardic community, uh—people within, uh, Israel and assisting them, you see. But, uh, there are those of us that contend, uh—let's us first organize as Sephardim and our causes and bring our people together and, uh, address ourselves to a lot of the problems I've been discussing earlier. And, hopefully, if we can model ourselves, uh, not exactly but along the lines of United Synagogue and, uh, United Sephardic, uh, Federation or whatever you want to call it along those lines, that we can best, uh, serve these problems and best, uh, tackle them, you know—whether it's the youth problem, or assimilation, or losing our identity, or whatever. And, uh, and I have strongly urged—I sent a memorandum to, uh, New York, uh, in December, uh, stressing a lot of these points. And one of the things, uh, I said, uh, that we need to galvanize our group would be a national newsletter for the Federation, and then I also said there should be a press and publicity campaign to support the launching and subsequent development of the organization and a special

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<sup>44</sup> Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel, Los Angeles (established 1920).

<sup>45</sup> Kahal Joseph (Mizrahi) Congregation, Los Angeles (established 1959).

committee organized of Sephardim in public relations advertising in the media who can assist in this sector, you see.

RB: That's what I contend.

JC: Um-hm, and, uh, but this is gonna take time. I think that, uh, there's no budget at present to support this thing. I think that, um, if we can convince, at the national founding convention, that there should be professionalism attached to this as far as retaining counsel, you see. Those of us in the profession I think will give of our service voluntarily. I mean, it's almost like a chamber of commerce where you're a businessman and you give your services to the benefit of the business community or the commerce, uh, activity within the area. And, uh, but we need secretariats.<sup>46</sup> I think, uh, paid secretariats. Uh, there is one in New York now, um, that we could call our own. Uh, we would need one here, in Seattle, in different—large—Sephardic communities, this<sup>47</sup> being the second largest Sephardic community, in Seattle the third. Of course, New York is the first. But that's one of the problems, I, I said that, um, in this memorandum, getting back to what should we work for—as far as a public relations program—well, you have to establish priorities and objectives before you, as you well know—and I said that our prime objectives, our “raison d'être,”<sup>48</sup> reason for being, of course, should be by working for Sephardic causes and the preservation, perpetuation, and growth of Sephardism, uh, within the frame—framework of our Jewish faith and Zionism.<sup>49</sup> And by doing this we also help sustain, preserve, and advance Judaism in Israel, you see.

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JC: And, uh, one of the priorities I mentioned, uh—not only let's, let's organize ourselves, let's address ourselves to Sephardic problems within the framework I mentioned—but let's also address ourselves to this problem of the Sephardic Oriental community in Israel—education, housing, and they're not getting a fair shake.

RB: Right.

JC: And, uh—but it has to be a grassroots thing. I think when people raise money, whether it's through the Jewish Agency<sup>50</sup> or for whatever Jewish cause there is or—of course, there are the large moneyed interest in those that do contribute—but I'd, I'd like to see more involvement by the, uh, Sephardic individuals, whoever they are, whether it's a housewife, a

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<sup>46</sup> Administrative units.

<sup>47</sup> Reference to Los Angeles.

<sup>48</sup> French for “reason for being.”

<sup>49</sup> Jewish movement (since nineteenth century), emphasizing the return of the Jews to the land of Israel.

<sup>50</sup> Jewish Agency for Israel (established 1929).



widow, or a professional man, uh, or a student—to get them involved in something like this. I think, you know, the world is full of causes now. There's the black cause or, uh, the minorities or, uh—you know, everybody's got (laughs)—but, uh, here's, here's something that we can really address ourselves to. And this, this might be the galvanizing force that's gonna bring, you know, these people together—culturally, uh, religious stand point, you know, give them something to really hang on to. But we need professional guidance on this thing. We don't—we shouldn't do it just, you know, matter-of-factly. I think it's one thing that the Ashkenazim have. They, they have that, that great force for organizing, for doing things in this manner, you see, for raising money, for being—you know, whether it's 'cause of the Germanic background, you know, where people address themselves—but, but we have it too. But sometimes we, we, we lose it, uh, and, uh, there has to be, uh, a renaissance<sup>51</sup> and an understanding of what Sephardim are, and we address ourselves to these problems, you see. And, uh, locally here, uh, it's not gonna be easy, but I think that, uh, if we have the nucleus and we do become a viable organization, as the as Federation of the chapter here is concerned, that I think a lot of this will follow, and, uh, that, uh—it's not gonna be easy. There are a lot of overriding problems. And one of them, we discussed earlier, that, for some reason or other, the—we've just never been able to get Sephardim together in a concerted effort, you see—because everybody, whether its 'cause their geographic background or what not, they just—and then again, you, you say, well isn't this something they could be doing within their own congregations? Well, it's true, but even the congregations themselves are deluded to a certain point where they, they, they're not part of the mainstream of the Sephardic community or the overall Jewish community, you see. And how involved they get—there, there, there's a lot lacking there. Some of our men, some of the ladies have actively participated, but to the average congregant, to the, you know, Mr. and Mrs. A and two children, and they're in their teens, for example—I mean, uh, fine, they know that, uh, they're Sephardim, they belong to a Sephardic congregation, they like to see what's happening, but they go to temple services, their social events in their congregations, I think, because, to them, it's a sense of belonging. And they enjoy the company, they enjoy the culture, the religious aspects of it, and they're devoted, devoted to this. But you don't have as much of that dedication here because we're spread out. That, that closeness, attachment that they would have had in the island community of Rhodes or Salonika<sup>52</sup> or Istanbul or Smyrna<sup>53</sup>—whatever—

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<sup>51</sup> Rebirth.

<sup>52</sup> Thessaloniki, Greek port city on the northwestern Aegean Sea.

<sup>53</sup> Today known as Izmir (Turkey), port city on the eastern Aegean Sea.

where they were, they were close nit. I mean, they, they actually, I mean, their commerce was tied together, their (laughs), their community living was tied together, and, uh, their civic life was drawn together as a, as a Sephardic community. All of that was integrated, and when they did deal, of course, with the, the, uh, government, uh, in these communities – I mean, there was a certain interrelationship there, too, but they were much more closely integrated. So, it, it's a problem, and how do you overcome this? I think it's a question of communication again. And, uh, this has to be – I think, uh, one of the driving forces that's gonna galvanize a lot of the people together again. It's – you take an example of, uh, let's say the son of a Sephardic community that, uh, uh, a Sephardic, uh, family here in the community, uh, that his parents passed away. He married, uh, let's say an Ashkenazi girl, and, uh, they, uh, joined, uh, an Ashkenazi temple, if at all they joined a temple, you see. Well, he has drifted away, but, yet, he was brought up in Sephardic culture. He knows it, and all of a sudden he realizes I, uh, I'm, I'm missing something here, you know. That, uh, this was the way I was brought up and, uh – well, what's gonna motivate him to say, let, uh, I want to get back into the mainstream of Sephardic community life here. Well, he, he takes a look at the congregations and one is way out here, and one's in the other part of the city, and he doesn't live close to any of them, and he has to go great distances, you know, to come to these, uh, things. We have within our temple organization, and I'm sure at Temple Tifereth,<sup>54</sup> you do, too, that, uh, we only see some people during the High Holidays<sup>55</sup> that just come, you see. And we like to see them involved – we, we carry on membership drives, but it almost has to revolve itself down to our becoming missionaries, those of us that are really concerned. And, um, we do it by communication and by getting involved, by offering again a product, and a realization, and an eye-opener. Our temple is six, seven years old – the new one. The Rabbi's Ott's temple hopefully will be another source to draw back, you see, a lot of the Sephardim. But, uh, myself, as an example, uh, I've been active, uh, in temple affairs now for seven or eight years. And I hadn't been up to that time. Oh, I had, you know, attended services and what not. But then, then I felt, uh, what motivated me, for example, I think it, uh, it was a deep sense of tradition, of, uh, the way I was brought up and, uh, what I felt, you know – that I wanted to be part of that life. But you have to feel it, you have to be motivated. I think that, uh, uh, nobody's forcing you to do it, you know. And – but we know there are people within the community that can be drawn back again. And I think if they see that certain things are happening that, that – where they can get re-involved with, you know, their

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<sup>54</sup> Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel, Los Angeles (established 1920).

<sup>55</sup> Principally Rosh Hashanah (New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement).

family life, um—I think can materially benefit. I think just the association of being, you know, with other Sephardim. I think this, this is gratifying. I think people nowadays, I think, don't wanna be loners. I think they, they wanna belong to something—I really do. I think that, uh, uh, oh, that you may have certain personalities that exist where people are always gonna be hermits and they just don't want to draw themselves to any kind of community life or, you know, activity. But, by and large, I think people have to gravitate, I think, to something like this. I think it's to their own benefit. Uh, but how we get 'em back, it's, it's, it's, it's one of the problem areas of course.

RB: Could I ask you one last question, 'cause I know, um, you're busy, and I really appreciate your time—

JC: Um-hm. Um-hm—

RB: You've given me some excellent material this is exactly—

JC: Well, I hope I've given you some leads, you know, that, uh—

RB: This, this is what I'm trying to identify. I'm trying to identify problem areas, not trying to solve them. I'm just trying to identify various areas—

JC: Um-hm. Um-hm—

RB: Um, through my interviews with these different people, such as yourself—we started to go into this one particular area, and I wonder if we could go into it a little more. Um, how was community relations dealt with in these flourishing cities and in these flourishing areas as you mentioned, such as where your family, uh, originated from?

[00:50:00]

JC: Well, uh, within these communities, of course, they had their own temple organizations. I know, uh, their own, uh, uh, temple, uh, boards. They had, uh, their own bylaws and so forth. I mean, that's, that's—in Rhodes, for example, I know at, at the height there of the community they had something like four or five synagogues. But there was, as I understand it, a central council, you know, for the community there. Uh, now I can't give you an exact description. I think when you talk to Dr. Benveniste,<sup>56</sup> for example, I think he can give you more of the civic aspects. I mean, how they dealt with, uh—as far as governing themselves—

RB: Does he come directly from there? Does he have—

JC: Oh, yes—

RB: Exposure there—

JC: He was born there. Oh, yes. Right. Yeah. And, uh, he, uh, he's written various articles, uh, along these lines. But I think he'd be more conversant with you on thi—on this subject as far as the, the community life there, what their problems were. Uh, naturally, they would be more strict, uh, more

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<sup>56</sup> Presumably Dr. Irving Benveniste of the Sephardic Hebrew Center, Los Angeles.

confining. Living within a walled city, I, I don't think it would be called a ghetto, except in time of war or something like that. But, uh, but they had their own, uh, shopping area. They had their own doctors, uh, bankers, professional people, uh, and those that were in the elite, I guess, uh, that were high in the professions that, uh, worked outside of the walled city or had their, uh, homes outside of the particular walled city there in the community. But this existed, to a certain extent, and, uh, but to the regular Sephardim that lived within the walled city, I mean, they, they had all the conveniences there. Uh, but there was this interrelationship with what—whatever, uh, the existing, uh, culture was there at the time. Predominant, uh—whether, uh, the Island was ruled by the Greek government or the Italians or the Turkish, they had a good working relationship with those governments and those people. It's interesting, uh, I think, it's—you mentioned assimilation—that to, to this day there are Greek merchants, jewelers, people in the other crafts on the island of Rhodes and the community there that speak Ladino just as well as our, uh, people do. And, uh, they were taught their trades—a lot of them in the leather crafts and so forth. But, uh, our people, I guess, if you wanted to describe, uh, you would say they would be, by and large, artisans. I think that, uh, in the various crafts and, uh, a lot of merchants. I mean, um, dealing in produce and, um, and you even get it now where quite a few Sephardic merchants are involved in flower shops, you know, and, uh, selling fresh flowers, cut flowers, and—but they are—what they do do, they do as artists, I think, uh, in that particular area.

RB: Yes.

JC: And a lot of that is carried over, and, uh—oh, I'm sure a lot of community problems existed there and problems of intermarriage. Uh, and they used to, uh, they used a word, and you may have heard this already, but anybody, any Sephardim that were not *Rodesli*,<sup>57</sup> those that lived within that community, were called *agenos*.<sup>58</sup> And that would mean “strangers” or what not. I mean, if they were from Izmir<sup>59</sup> or Smyrna.

RB: Would you spell that?

JC: Oh, a-g-e-n-o-s—I think with a tilde over the n, uh, probably would be the correct spelling on that.

RB: Thank you.

JC: I always thought that meant—was a derivative from “Aegean” but it's not (laughs). It, it may well have been. I don't know. But, uh, it'd be interesting, you could probably ask, uh, Dr. Benveniste. He could probably give you some more background on that. But, you see, a lot of that carried over to

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<sup>57</sup> Sephardim with ties to Rhodes.

<sup>58</sup> Greek term for “strangers.”

<sup>59</sup> Formerly known as Smyrna, port city on the eastern Aegean Sea.

the community here, too, where you had those from Turkey, uh, belonging, by and large, and, uh, maybe some from Salonika that belonged to, uh, I think most of them from Turkey, though—from either Istanbul or, or, uh, Izmir or some of the other larger Sephardic communities. And we as *Rodeslis*, you know, pretty much, because their confinement on an island, naturally, I mean, they were identified as *Rodeslis* and, uh, it carried through, uh, uh, I wouldn't say prejudice. But, I mean, you know, a certain amount of pride in who they were and what they were. Now, to my generation, uh, sure—I'm extremely proud that I'm descended from *Rodeslis*. Uh, what contributions we did make, uh, you know, in the island there, three or four centuries. But I also, uh, am extremely proud of the fact that we're Sephardim of Ladino extraction, and, uh, and our contributions, you know, are there. But, uh, this shouldn't enter into, you know, any (laughs)—in my estimation your interests of opinion are differentiations. And, uh, that's, uh, a bit—one of the stumbling blocks of local unity. But I think it will be past, say, uh—and I think it's, it's evolving itself around that right now, I think with my generation and succeeding generations. But I think Americanization of the generation after mine will (inaudible), will become, you know, Americanized. I think that's gonna happen, as a certain bearing (inaudible). Would you go to community like Argentina or Buenos Aires<sup>60</sup> or Montevideo,<sup>61</sup> any of the Spanish countries, you know. I think they're a little more closely knit there because their language has been preserved more. But here, we've become Americanized, and there's nothing wrong—I, I contend that we have developed here American Sephardim, and I think this is the name of the publication<sup>62</sup> that comes out of New York.

RB: Right.

JC: So, we have developed, uh, American Sephardim with our roots going back. Hopefully, uh, the Ladino language will be preserved, I think, uh, in these other Spanish-speaking countries. And it will be here. I, it may be a shelf item within the next fifty to a hundred years in, in the States, uh, 'cause it's gradually disappearing. Now I will insist and almost put into our liturgy, uh, Ladino from time to time, and I wanna see it, you see, 'cause I think it has a certain amount of beauty. And, and, and I think this is one of the factors. I think that, you know, you talk about communications and I think within the Spanish-speaking community—I'm no longer talking in the Sephardic, I'm talking about, you know, outside of our Sephardic community—that they're interested in our particular Ladino and our Spanish, and it's, it's, it's very interesting. I think you have a lot of Spanish

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<sup>60</sup> Capital of Argentina.

<sup>61</sup> Capital of Uruguay.

<sup>62</sup> Presumably a newsletter published by the then emerging American Sephardi Federation.

scholars that, you know, have done extensive studies on this and published papers, articles, and, uh, that I don't think, uh, will be lost. But it's, it's, it's interesting, you know, it's, uh, what has, uh, taken place in that area. And, uh, if this is gonna be one of the things, you know, that's gonna bring people back together to – they were brought up as kids listening to this in their home, they spoke it to a certain extent. But now we, in our generation, don't speak it at home as much, you know. Uh, and not even the – my generation where they're Sephardic married to Sephardic, you see. Oh, they will speak it, but when will they speak it – when we get together, you know, at a, at a function at our organization or temple, and, uh, they speak the language. But, um, it's different. I mean, if, if you go to South America (inaudible) naturally Spanish is spoken. But they will maintain their, their dialect. Even then, I think there, there's a certain evolution where they adapt themselves to the Spanish of that particular country.

RB: Of course. I wanna thank you very much, Mr. Cordova, for spending this much time and for giving me your insights into the community relations, needs, and problems with the Sephardim, and I apprec – appreciate your professional expertise additionally.

[01:00:38]

END OF INTERVIEW

## Reviews (Books)

Best, Jeremy.

*Heavenly Fatherland:*

*German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire.*

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021.  
344 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781487505639.

Missionaries complicate the narrative of European imperialism. In his recent monograph, *Heavenly Fatherland: German Missionary Culture and Globalization in the Age of Empire*, Jeremy Best explores the role and agency of German missionary work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and details the diverging commitments of missionaries and the German state. As Best argues in the early pages of his work, “we must recognize that missionaries and their theology led them down a very different path from that of secular colonialists.” (10) *Heavenly Fatherland* offers a unique history of German missionaries, but it also addresses the broader themes of globalization, economic autonomy, the struggle between Christian cosmopolitanism and state-led nationalism, and the religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics on the African “mission field.” Best’s exploration of German missionary culture and imperialism complements works like *Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire* by Ian Tyrrell (2010) and *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* by Andrew Zimmerman (2010). Missionaries are at the heart of Best’s work. He ultimately demonstrates how “they set aside the German fatherland and directed their desires and energies toward...a heavenly Fatherland.” (13)

Best is a modern European historian. He received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Maryland in 2012 and currently serves as an Assistant Professor in the History Department at Iowa State University. His research interests encompass the themes of race, religion, and culture, which are all richly explored in *Heavenly Fatherland*. His previous publications include a chapter in *The Oxford History of Modern German Theology*, Volume II, titled “Empire and the Development of Missiology,” along with an article appearing in volume 47 of the journal of *Central European History*, titled “Godly, International, and Independent: German Protestant Missionary Loyalties before World War I.” Best was the recipient of the Phi Alpha Theta Best First Book Award for *Heavenly Fatherland* in 2021, and he has further research underway, including a book project, *Toy Soldiering: West German Rearmament, the Holocaust, and the United States*, and an article, “The Kaiser’s Silver: German Nationalism and the 1913 *Nationalsspende* for Christian Mission.”

*Heavenly Fatherland* is a well-organized book. It includes an insightful introduction, six chapters, and a brief conclusion. The chapters are organized by themes as opposed to chronological ordering, and Best offers dynamic chapter titles that summarize their contents. Chapter 1, “Preach the Gospel to All Creation,” explores how German missionaries envisioned the Great Commission

(Matthew 28:16–20) as an academic and systematic discipline. Chapter 2, “Speaking in Tongues,” unpacks the missionaries’ use of language in German East Africa and offers insights into the fight between mission societies and the state regarding language instruction. Chapter 3, “Give ... to God the Things That Are God’s,” showcases how German missionaries defended autonomous African markets in the face of German imperialism. Chapter 4, “Go In and Take Possession of the Land,” describes the Protestant-Catholic conflict on the mission field and the Protestant defense of missionized lands. Chapter 5, “Tending the Flock,” turns the reader’s attention to missionary work on the German home front. Finally, Chapter 6, “Iron Sharpens Iron,” reveals the extent of global missionary culture and suggests that the beginning of the twentieth century marked both the high point and the demise of German participation in the international missionary community. The chapters offer various perspectives on mission culture, but as Best states in his conclusion, this work “is not meant to elevate the German missionaries to glorious philanthropic heroes.” (217) Each chapter reveals a different side of missionary work—the good, the bad, and the ugly.

Best highlights Gustav Warneck (1834–1910) as a prominent figure in the history of German missionary work. According to Best, “Warneck was the most influential figure during the decades before the First World War.” (24) Warneck created the model for missions, both academically and publicly. As the author points out, Germans envisioned missionary work as an academic and systematic pursuit. This resulted in the creation of *Missionswissenschaft*—the study of missions. Best writes that this entire field was “dominated by one man—Gustav Warneck.” (24) His high esteem in the academy was partially secured by his interaction with the public. Working with other missionaries, Warneck created the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* in 1874, and he served as its main contributor for over three decades. (33) The journal itself is explored extensively in *Heavenly Fatherland*, and for good reason. It provided a forum for missionaries to reach German Christians, but it also served as a platform for Warneck to distinguish missionary work from the perceived threats of imperialism and nationalism. According to Warneck, “mission should not make the peoples into Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Russians; [it] should make them into Christians.” (40) As Best argues, Warneck considered missionary work as a commitment to Christian internationalism, which often frustrated national and colonial efforts.

Warneck’s *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* served as a vehicle for emphasizing the distinction between church and state, and this commitment to difference was evidenced by the German-missionary-led school curricula in Africa. According to Best, these missionary schools became a battleground between missionaries and the secular state. Warneck argued that Christianity would remain foreign unless it was presented in the mother tongue of the missionized. (68) Against the aims of the state, German Protestant missionaries instructed students in Swahili instead of German, asserting that it was more beneficial for the students. (79) Consequently, liberal imperialists and conservative nationalists in Germany attacked



missionaries for failing to prioritize the German nation and language. (72–73) According to Best, “missionaries did not build their schools to satisfy German nationalist designs on the colonies.” (83) While this placed missionaries in a unique position of agency, Best says little about their receptiveness to the desires of Africans attending their schools. It was likely a complicated relationship. While missionaries fought off imperial overreach and defended Indigenous languages, Best points out that missionaries “were also the authors of much damage.” (71) As the author writes, “control over the identification and definition of any given African *Volk* rested almost entirely in the hands of the missionaries.” (62) In their efforts to fight against the imperial state, missionaries very much operated under its structure.

Similar to the schools, German colonies emerged as sites of conflict between the German church and state. While German missionaries prioritized Indigenous souls, German imperialists envisioned transforming African labor. Ecumenical aims often collided with state efforts toward economic gain. According to Best, imperialists “wanted to convert the millions living in German colonies into consumers and workers.” (91) Missionaries pushed back against these goals. Best writes that missionaries maintained “an educational program designed to create autonomous (Protestant) Christians living in an economically healthy, self-sustaining community.” (92) Put differently, “mission schools were tools for making Christians, not for making a proletariat.” (103) German missionaries, according to Best, sought to transform Africa by introducing Christianity. They had no desire to convert the continent into another Germany.

Missionaries struggled against the secular efforts of the German state, but German imperialism was only one enemy. German missionaries expressed their fears of a Catholic threat. As Best points out, nineteenth-century German culture was steeped in anti-Catholicism. During this time, Germany witnessed a religious and political *Kulturkampf*, in which the German state “sought to break the power of the Catholic Church in Germany.” (116) These religious and political commitments followed German missionaries as they traveled abroad. They viewed Catholic missionaries as backward (119), illegitimate (120), and part of a Catholic plot “designed to serve the pope and expand the secular and religious power of Rome.” (123) As a result of this deep anti-Catholic skepticism, German Protestant missionaries attempted to safeguard their colonial charges against Catholic influence. According to Best, “territorial competition, real and imagined, became a central concern for Protestants.” (131) Thus, the Protestant fight for Africa was also a religious war against Rome.

The zeal for missionary work abroad was met with an equal fervor for missionary influence on the home front. At the start of the twentieth century, mission societies planned, promoted, and held hundreds of local festivals celebrating missionary work. (154) And they certainly won public interest. Several festivals even included steamship excursions that transported attendees to dinner parties. Upon their arrival, they were met by singing choirs and captivating

speeches from traveling missionaries. (155) In addition to public engagements, societies also instructed local pastors. According to Best, they “supplied preachers with a collection of anecdotes and parables” from the mission field to use in their sermons. (171) These preaching curricula and local events increased Germany’s interest in missionary work, and through them, mission societies found new avenues of monetary support. The Christian work abroad was determined by the faithful support at home.

Mission societies attempted to bridge the gap between laypeople and world travelers, but they also endeavored to close the distance between Germany and Africa. To make the mission field tangible, societies assembled exhibitions of African culture for the German public to view. These presentations, according to Best, demonstrated a missionary commitment to the preservation of Indigenous culture. Rather than essentialized or racialized depictions of African caricatures, “missionaries offered a more sustained and rich depiction of Africans and other colonized subjects of Germany.” (145) For instance, exhibitions curated by mission societies included information on Indigenous homes and tools. The author writes that “planners clearly meant to emphasize the simple, un-mechanized, and artisanal...elements of African culture.” (163) According to Best, these exhibitions offered a perspective of Africa through the lens of missionary work, not the colonial state. These shows of African culture and the colonial empire were “filtered through Christian universalist messages.” (166) Missionaries viewed Africans as contributors to the global Christian community, and they had every intention of respecting African distinctiveness.

In addition to bringing Africa to Germany, mission societies also facilitated the gathering of a global missionary community. This further demonstrated the international commitment of missionaries both in Germany and abroad. The 1910 World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh from June 15 to June 23, was a testament to transnational commitments. According to Best, “the collective mood created by over 1,200 missionaries, mission society leaders, and mission theologians felt like the fulfilment of God’s plan for the world.” (198) The multidecade labor for international Christianity was a visible fruit of the Edinburgh conference. But the missionary struggle to maintain agency against the powers of nationalism would quickly falter. The plans for the next missionary conference were interrupted by World War I. According to Best, “the exciting years between 1910 and 1914 were more epilogue than prologue for the German mission movement’s participation in international missionary collaboration.” (210) The war effort and national commitment tore Germany away from the international missionary community. In essence, the German fatherland assumed priority over the heavenly Fatherland.

Jeremy Best’s *Heavenly Fatherland* offers a fresh perspective on German missionary work at home and abroad during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His investigation of missionary activities certainly achieves its goal – it frustrates a simplified view of German imperialism. It demonstrates how

Germans acted as agents working under, but also against state-led imperialism. Amidst its strengths, the work presents its own set of limitations. It offers little insight into African perceptions of German missionaries, but even Best points out this shortcoming. (17) Best also references the defects of German missionaries, but his evidence for their failures is at times minimal. (71) Regardless of these minor qualms, Best's work is an achievement of insightful scholarship. His work is especially relevant for readers of religious history, German Protestantism prior to World War I, and any consumer fascinated by the legacy of missionary work. Beyond the casual reader, Best's work is necessary for scholars engaging religion in the age of imperialism, the history of nationalism in Europe, and the impact of theology on trends of globalization. *Heavenly Fatherland* places the sacred and the secular, the church and the state, even heaven and earth, in conversation, and it dismisses the imagined boundaries that seemingly kept (and keep) them separate.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

Frag, Lois M.

*Athanasius of Alexandria:*

*An Introduction to His Writings and Theology.*

Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2020.

171 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9781498282581.

In this monograph, Lois M. Frag, a professor of History at Luther Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, gives voice to the theologian Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373). Following Constantine's Edict of Milan (313), which had legalized Christianity, Athanasius rose through the ecclesiastical ranks, participated in the First Council of Nicaea (325), and eventually became bishop of Alexandria (328). His career coincided with the slow disintegration of the Roman empire into Eastern and Western spheres, and this placed him at the theological and political fronts of his time. Frag mainly utilizes Athanasius's *Orations Against the Arians*, which she considers foundational for her protagonist's theology, but she also draws from his other works, such as *On Incarnation*, *Against the Pagans*, and *Festal Letters*. Frag shows how Athanasius's polemical writings relate to his other discourses, and how he proceeded to disprove the contentions of the Arians who, at the Council of Nicaea, had disputed the unbiblical term *homoousious* (i.e., the prevailing orthodox assertion that the individual components of the Trinity are of the same substance as the Godhead). Frag's book also illustrates how Athanasius addressed heresies on a broader scale. (2–9, 20–21, 57, 60–62, 78–87)

Farag begins her work by explaining who Athanasius was, establishes his network and reputation in the imperial and religious spheres, and denotes that he was, for a time, under the supervision of Arius (d. 336), the priest who would proceed to question the Son's full divinity. She then outlines her protagonist's theology of Creation, asserting that he believed that God had formed humankind with a soul (*nous*) that authenticated His existence through revelation or Scripture. Chapter three develops this aspect of Creation in the context of Proverbs 8:22, showing that the Arians' argument lessened the Son's divinity by disputing the sameness of His existence with the Father. (4, 11-13, 16-17, 35, 43, 45, 57-60)

Chapter four discusses how Athanasius's writings addressed heresies such as Gnosticism and Docetism. It expounds on his theological explanation that minimizing the Son also lessens the Holy Spirit and, by implication, diminishes not just God's Creation but the notion of salvation itself. Chapters four and five demonstrate Athanasius's argument that humanity attained salvation through the Son's divinity because His sacrifice was in the flesh, which Farag considers the nucleus of Athanasius's writings and his central argument against heretical thinking. The book closes by reminding the reader that Athanasius was a leader of his Christian community who pointed to the body of the Son and to the essence of the Holy Spirit, and who considered Creation as fundamental to his theology. (79-86, 104-108, 114-115, 119-121, 141-146)

Farag's monograph underscores time and again that Creation was one of Athanasius's key motifs. Using a metaphor, Athanasius argued that the concept of the essence of the Father and the Trinity was like the sun's radiance, which illustrates that the theological school of Alexandria was not strictly literal in its approach. Another Athanasian theme was the *nous*, the notion that God displayed himself through knowledge and the individual soul's capacity to reason. This rationalization of the *nous* corresponded with the school of Plato, and, as Farag establishes, the philosophical aspects of Athanasius's writings entail the idea of the inner self. While the *nous* is a central theme during the book's first half, the second half turns to the Trinity and shows Athanasius's doctrine in opposition to that of the Arians. Athanasius's concept of the Holy Spirit highlights the latter as a means of salvation from the Godhead (27, 33-40, 68-69, 83-85, 99-101, 107), and his teachings emphasize the belief in the Trinity as a key trajectory for Christianity's endurance throughout periods of persecution and martyrdom.

Overall, Farag presents her arguments well and with clarity, but the theoretical and philosophical details and discussions of Athanasius do, at times, feel dense. This book is for theologians, historians, classicists, and scholars in related fields. At present, historians do emphasize the study of the body, which is a recurring theme in this book. The book also demonstrates the philological and linguistic implications of the Arian controversy and of Athanasius's writings in particular. Since Farag's work is intended as an introduction to the Athanasian opus in its historical context, the reader must keep in mind that, while the book does not disregard specific topics of theological debate, engagement with them is limited.

That said, the reader will come to a clear appreciation why Athanasius has been called a “Defender of Orthodoxy.” (24) In sum, Farag’s work is a significant assessment of Athanasius’s contributions to the development of Christian thought.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Luis Roberto Renteria III of Garden Grove, California, earned an A.A. in Music, Liberal Arts, and History (2017) from Golden West College, and a B.A. in History (2019) from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF. He also served as an editor for volume 46 (2019) of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.”*

Gallagher, Charles R.

*Nazis of Copley Square:*

*The Forgotten Story of the Christian Front.*

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021.  
336 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780674983717.

“No matter what Hitler may have done in the past...I could kiss him for what he has done...in spite of his mustache,” shouted Francis Moran to a captive audience in 1941. (176) Moran was publicly lauding Hitler for breaking the Russian-German agreement, otherwise known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. But his praise seemed misplaced. Moran was no member of the Nazi party, nor was he German. In fact, he was an American Catholic supporting Hitler from Boston. Charles R. Gallagher’s work, *Nazis of Copley Square: The Forgotten Story of the Christian Front*, revives the memory of Francis Moran and the larger movement Moran inherited and led – the “Christian Front.” The Front first appeared in 1938 with the approval of Father Charles Edward Coughlin and took root in New York. Initially, its members sided with Catholicism, American patriotism, and anti-communism. But, as Gallagher details, the Front eventually promoted and worked in line with Nazi views, publicly voiced antisemitic rhetoric, and “saw the myth of Judeo-Bolshevism as true.” (8) Gallagher’s work engages the personalities that operated in the Front as well as the theology that seemingly justified the movement, and he demonstrates that the Front’s rise and decline was the result of a propaganda war waged between German and British spies on American soil.

Gallagher is a historian at Boston College. Before completing his Ph.D. at Marquette University, he received his Bachelor of Sacred Theology at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). He has served as a visiting fellow at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations and held a teaching appointment at the College of the Holy Cross in Massachusetts. Gallagher’s research interests encompass American Catholic history, U.S. diplomacy, and American religious history. Gallagher’s previous publications include a 2018 article, “Decentering American Jesuit Anti-Communism: John LaFarge’s United Front Strategy, 1934–1939,” in *The Journal of Jesuit Studies*, and a chapter, “Adopting the Swastika: George Deatherage and the American Nationalist Confederation, 1937–1942,” in *Religion, Ethnonationalism, and Antisemitism in the Era of the Two World Wars* (2022).

*Nazis of Copley Square* is an evenly paced work. It consists of an introduction, eleven chapters, a conclusion, and an epilogue. Chapters one through three unveil the history of the Christian Front movement. They detail its early beginnings, its rise in New York, and the court case that decided the Front's breakup. Chapters four and five describe the resurrection of the Christian Front in Boston, offer biographical insights into the new leader, Moran, and chart the movement's increasing public appeal. Chapters six through nine portray the influence of a Nazi spy in Boston, Moran's growing radicalism, and pro-Nazi sentiment throughout Boston prior to the United States' entry into World War II. Chapters ten and eleven, as well as the work's conclusion, comment on the German and British struggle to influence U.S. public opinion through propaganda. Collectively, the chapters bring together the larger themes of American antisemitism, foreign espionage, and the Catholic Church during the 1930s and 1940s.

According to Gallagher, the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) served as the catalyst for the creation of the Christian Front. The emergence of the 1936 Spanish conflict produced a wave of Catholic persecution that was felt internationally. Spain's left-wing Popular Front engaged in efforts to suppress Catholics. General Francisco Franco opposed the Popular Front and, in the process, gained international support from Catholics. Franco's aims won the admiration of Arnold Lunn, a British Catholic and close associate of Father Coughlin. (20) According to Gallagher, Lunn first encouraged the formation of the Christian Front. (8) "It was Lunn's small 1937 book *Spain and the Christian Front*," Gallagher writes, "that put forward the Christian Front as the Popular Front's politico-theological opposite." (22) Lunn believed communism to be the most immediate threat to Catholicism. Coughlin, also a loyal supporter of the Franco regime, interpreted Lunn's perception in a U.S. context, but he mixed in his own dose of antisemitism. Coughlin believed that "communism was an evil nurtured and foisted upon the world by Jews." (20) American Catholics, like Coughlin, perceived Spain's political struggle as a larger battle between Christianity and Judeo-Bolshevism, a myth that the entire Front saw as true. (8)

1930s Catholic theology also helped justify the creation of the Christian Front. Gallagher argues that the Front worked under two principles affirmed by the Catholic Church: the belief in the Mystical Body of Christ and the endorsement of Catholic Action. The Mystical-Body-of-Christ theology claimed that "all Catholics constituted together the incarnation of Christ." (46) This meant that Catholic persecution anywhere was felt by Catholics everywhere. (7) This brand of Christian solidarity had grown out of the October Revolution (1917) that sparked the Russian Civil War of the 1920s. (7) Under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, the Bolsheviks – who later formed the Soviet Communist Party – targeted Orthodox priests. By the 1930s, Christians viewed communism as a universal threat, and the Catholic Church in particular challenged Russian state terror through its adherence to Mystical-Body theology. But this was only one part of a dual theological commitment that warranted the Christian Front's emergence.

According to Gallagher, Catholic Action served as its practical counterpart. Catholic Action “sacralized laypeople’s social missions.” (46) It gave Christians the right to protest in the public arena. Together, these beliefs not only encouraged the Front’s existence – they safeguarded it.

The Christian Front first emerged as an organized group in 1938. Lunn inspired it, Coughlin approved it, and John F. Cassidy of New York led it. Cassidy firmly aligned himself with Coughlin’s political imagination, and he viewed the forces of fascism and Nazism as appropriate means for stopping communism. (39) According to Gallagher, Cassidy was militant. (39) His Christian Front recruits nicknamed him “the little Führer.” (39) Within two years, Cassidy devised a plan to overthrow the U.S. government. (53) Under his leadership, he trained New York Catholics in the handling of automatic weapons and the manufacturing of bombs. (55–60) But his plan and influence quickly waned. The FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) had been watching the Front’s activities closely. In fact, over the course of the Front’s existence, the FBI amassed a file containing 2,500 pages of information, one of the largest investigations ever pursued by the bureau. (2–3) Cassidy and his collaborators were brought to trial for criminal possession of weapons and sedition. (61) But the leaders of the Christian Front dodged disciplinary action. They went free and were merely tasked with disbanding the Front. (66–75) According to Gallagher, the general public’s historical memory of the Christian Front ceases with the conclusion of the 1940 trial; but he offers an extended narrative.

The Christian Front had seemingly been crucified in New York (71), but it was soon resurrected in Boston. (75) Immediately following the arrests of Front leaders, a Bostonian by the name of Francis Moran assumed leadership of the group. (76) Unlike Cassidy, Moran had initially been nonviolent (93) and had attracted a sizable following. At a 1939 rally, a crowd numbering over 8,000 gathered to hear Moran and other Christian Front leaders. (94) Thus, the Front was “booming” again. (101) “Moran organized groups in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and Hartford, Connecticut,” Gallagher informs us. (101) In addition to his anti-communism, Moran presented himself as a defender of the poor. He openly addressed economic grievances, but he always included a bent toward antisemitism. He implicitly blamed the Jews for upsetting the market. (102) Anti-communism was essentially code for antisemitism. The public gravitated toward Moran’s rhetoric. His following grew in lockstep with his belief in the Judeo-Bolshevist myth. But his nonviolence soon gave way to outspoken radicalism. According to Gallagher, by July 1940, Moran was publicly “praising Hitler and castigating Jews.” (114)

Moran’s pro-Nazism caught the attention of Herbert Wilhelm Scholz. In 1938, Scholz arrived in Boston as a consul from Germany. (119) Several individuals were suspicious of Scholz, but authorities had little reason to confront him. These suspicions, however, were warranted. According to Gallagher, “Scholz was not a diplomat from a neutral power but rather an agent of a foreign adversary.” (120) Scholz had been born into a well-to-do German family, and he had eventually

pursued higher education. He completed his dissertation at the University of Leipzig under the guidance of Werner Schingnitz, a philosopher and enthusiast of National Socialism. (125) Schingnitz and Scholz shared common interests. In the 1920s, Scholz entered the ranks of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) of the Nazi party. (124) In 1933, however, he abandoned the SA for the *Schutzstaffel* (SS). He accepted a rank equivalent to that of an army major and was assigned to Berlin to work with the Liaison Staff. (129) This position set Scholz on a unique trajectory. Gallagher writes that, "it was in his role at the SS that Scholz became involved in espionage." (129) He was a spy master and when he arrived in Boston, he was tasked with infiltrating and influencing U.S. culture. Moran welcomed him with open arms.

Moran and Scholz were a match made in Boston. They had confidence in each other, and they both exhibited anticommunist and antisemitic views. But their relations were more than a budding friendship. Moran was useful to Scholz. Following the 1939 Nazi invasion of Poland, Hitler had every intention to keep the United States out of the war. Scholz was under strict orders from the Nazi party to "persuade neutral states to take the German line." (145) Scholz targeted Moran as a suitable mouthpiece. By 1941, America's participation in the war seemed inevitable, and Moran did everything he could to stop it. At Christian Front meetings, Moran raged against Jews and President Roosevelt, calling them traitors for forcing the United States into the war. (167) In June 1941, Moran even provided a public showing of *Sieg im Westen* ("Victory in the West"), a propaganda film that demonstrated German military might. (169) Moran offered commentary to the 600 attendees, suggesting that the United States should avoid fighting Germany at all costs. Moran publicly supported Hitler, privately met with Scholz, and illegally divulged technical military information to a German spy. (153)

The Christian Front was not the only American organization steered by foreign goals. The Irish American Defense Association (IADA) also operated under the direction of overseas intelligence. According to Gallagher, the IADA had been formed by British spies. (183) It served to encourage British support in the United States. Frances Sweeny functioned as the organization's leader, but it is unlikely she knew of its ties to Britain. Sweeny was a liberal Catholic who openly opposed fascism, Nazism, and antisemitism. The creators of the IADA saw Sweeny as the perfect candidate to oppose the Christian Front. (197) Sweeny viewed Moran and his Front as Boston's greatest offense and had every intention of revealing their faults. In 1941, she looked to the press, and the press was on her side. By year's end in 1942, the *Boston Herald-Traveler* published a front-page story detailing Moran's Nazi propaganda. Sweeny's investigative journalism exposed the Christian Front for what it was. Through her partnership with the press, she interrupted the Christian Front's momentum, and Moran was forced underground.

*Nazis of Copley Square* is an insightful work of American religious history prior to World War II. It offers a unique analysis relevant to the broader scholarship on Christian extremism during the twentieth century. It reads as the American



Catholic counterpart to Doris Bergen's *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (1996), which investigates Protestant Nazis in Germany. Gallagher's work is well documented, but at times the larger narrative is muted by extensive biographical details of historical personalities. Rather than a work divided by themes, Gallagher focuses on specific people to move the book along, and he sometimes gives too much credit to individuals like Moran. (244) Regardless of its minimal shortcomings, this work is relevant for readers of American history, consumers of nonfiction espionage, and anyone fascinated with German-American diplomacy. Gallagher's research is critical for scholars investigating far-right religious history in America, the history of antisemitism on the American East coast, and the development of anti-Judaic theology within the Catholic Church. Gallagher's work is more than a forgotten story of the Christian Front. *Nazis of Copley Square* tells the forgotten story of America, a country so divided before the war that it waged a battle against itself, with swastikas and all.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Isaiah Colton Thompson of Cleveland, Ohio, earned two A.A. degrees in Liberal Arts (2018) at Victor Valley College in Victorville, California, a B.A. in Religious Studies and History (2021) and an M.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a former member of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship, the McNair Scholars Program, and the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program, as well as a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

Gibby, Bryan R.

*Korean Showdown:*

*National Policy and Military Strategy in a Limited War, 1951–1952.*

Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2021.  
408 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780817320737.

Flying high above the Yalu River on the border between North Korea and China, an American F-86 jet fighter dives down on a Soviet MiG-15, and with a quick burst of the F-86's six 50-caliber machine guns, the MiG bursts into a flaming ball and falls out of the sky toward the ground. Incidents like this occurred many times during the Korean War (1950–1953), and similar scenarios are described in *Korean Showdown: National Policy and Military Strategy in a Limited War, 1951–1952*, a 2021 monograph by Bryan R. Gibby. This work is not Gibby's first on the topic of the Korean War; another volume, *The Will to Win* (2012), deals with the American advisors who supported the South Korean Army before and during the war. Gibby's works belong to a long-standing line of scholarship on the Korean War, including Bruce Cumings's *Origins of the Korean War* (1981), Monica Kim's, *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War: The Untold History* (2019), and William Stueck's *The Korean War: An International History* (1995) and *Rethinking the Korean War: A New Diplomatic and Strategic History* (2002). All these deal with the Korean War from different perspectives. What makes Gibby's new work different is that he does not focus on the beginning of the war in as much detail as Cumings but,

instead, addresses the end of the war and the armistice. However, unlike Kim's writings about the issues which evolved from the voluntary repatriation of Prisoners of War (P.O.W.), Gibby looks at the effects of voluntary P.O.W. repatriation as part of the armistice agreement in the military arena. Like Kim and Cumings, Gibby uses American, Korean, and Chinese primary sources as evidence, but his are all pre-translated materials, whereas Kim's are original documents. Like most authors, Gibby uses several significant U.S. archival and library databases. He also employs interviews of major military leaders on both sides and those who saw frontline combat. Still, he does not include oral interviews conducted by himself. This is due to the limited number of veterans still alive who served in the war on either side.

Gibby's first chapter discusses what a limited war is, and how it is different from other, previous wars. Gibby argues that American commanders had to come to terms with ending the war not by means of a victory on the battlefield but by means of a victory codified by an armistice. (1) Chapter 1 covers how the conditions for victory changed, as well as how the United States, and later the United Nations, determined what would constitute a victory in Korea. Gibby, like Cumings and others, stipulates that the United States aimed, first and foremost, to save South Korea from the North Korean invasion and, secondly, to reunify the country under the South Korean banner. Once the Chinese became involved and pushed the U.N. forces south of the South Korean capital of Seoul, these goals changed into stopping the Communists' advancement while limiting American losses until a truce could be reached. After 1952, both sides realized that neither side could achieve total victory by military means, and both sides saw any further increase of resources allocated to fighting or expanding the war as detrimental to their respective national interests. (7) Unlike other authors, Gibby claims that fighting could have ended eighteen months earlier if not for the inclusion of voluntary P.O.W. repatriation in the armistice agreement, which is a bold statement for a historian. (2)

In Chapter 2, Gibby explains why Americans do not remember the Korean War beyond a few newspaper articles. (9) Gibby suggests that the events of 1952 and 1953 left a "bitter" taste for many veterans, as the conflict was becoming more and more a war of attrition, much like the Western Front during World War I. Like Cumings, Gibby offers several reasons for the beginning of the conflict, such as the South Korean army's destruction of a large number of North Korean guerrilla bases operating in the South, as well as the many border clashes between North and South Koreans in 1949. (13) However, unlike Cumings, Gibby places the blame for the start of the war squarely on the shoulders of the North. As the book's war narrative gets underway, Gibby provides a rundown of the capture of Seoul by the North Koreans, the Pusan Perimeter, and the Inchon Landings. Once American forces advanced north of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, the original border of the two nations went back to the partition agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union, namely, the zones of occupation after Japan's World-War-II surrender in 1945.

Then the Chinese attacked the U.N. forces as they were moving north, after many warnings by Mao Zedong, the leader of the People's Republic of China. In Gibby's work, this attack is dissected in more detail than in the monographs by Cumings or Stueck, especially with regard to how the Chinese wanted to infiltrate the American lines, attack rear areas, and seek to overwhelm American positions, usually at night, to avoid U.S. air power. Like other writers before him, Gibby talks about General MacArthur's arrogance in splitting his attack down two different valleys (separated by mountains that were not traversable by the vehicle-bound Americans) in the push toward the Yalu River; this allowed the attacking Chinese to move into the rear areas and stop each thrust from being able to cover the other's rear, and when the Chinese did strike with full force, it caused the whole U.N. front to rout until they reached an area south of Seoul. (21) After the death of General Walker, his replacement, General Ridgeway, changed the nature of the Korean War for the United States by having the Americans no longer retreat, thereby preventing the Chinese from filtering through. This included the Americans building better defenses and, when on the counter-attack, making their objective of advancement much shorter distances before stopping and digging in again. (23)

In Chapter 3, Gibby addresses the beginning of the eventual armistice agreement at the city of Kaesong. Kaesong was under the control of the Communists' forces who continuously attempted to frame the U.S. delegation as coming to them and asking for peace. The Chinese viewed the negotiation table as a battlefield as well, which is why the men sent to negotiate on China's behalf were political officers rather than the military ones utilized by the United States. (38) According to Gibby, the negotiations comprised three phases with the first at Kaesong seen by both sides as a false start during which the Americans were pushing an aggressive negotiation. At the same time, the Communist Block sought a more neutral outcome, like moving the border back to the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. During the second phase of negotiations, at Panmunjom, the Communists dropped their 38<sup>th</sup>-parallel demand. The U.S. delegation thereupon became more willing to compromise, leading to a cease-fire truce from November through December and later extended by Washington. According to both Gibby and Cumings, this was a mistake since the Communists used the time to prepare for more offensive operations once the truce would end. Meanwhile, the Truman administration desperately wanted the war in Korea to be over sooner rather than later. (40) The third phase of negotiations began when Truman decided to add voluntary P.O.W. repatriation to the U.S. list of demands, which caused talks to break down since neither side knew what to do next. Gibby explains that both sides had met at the negotiating table in the first place through the outreach of the Soviet Union. He then defines what each side was hoping to get out of the negotiations. As the fighting continued, what was happening on the battlefield shaped the armistice talks, even if it had little effect on the respective military positions. At the end of this chapter, Gibby explains how the Americans changed tactics—henceforth only

small platoons of men would advance to ambush the enemy or to take prisoners – and how tanks were utilized after the end of the mobile phase of the war.

Much like Cumings's and Kim's books, Chapter 4 outlines how the U.S. Air Force attempted to affect the talks at Panmunjom through actions in the air. While the Americans became unwilling to sacrifice large numbers of men to grab land that would be given up in an armistice or to kill enemy combatants, the Air Force could do the same with little risk while also putting pressure on the communist negotiators at Panmunjom. These efforts included targeting railroad bridges, truck convoys, and supply depots to weaken the front lines. This strategy was similar to the tactics later employed during the closing days of the Vietnam War. The Americans enjoyed control of the air since the North Korean Air Force had been destroyed within the first months of the war. Still, despite controlling the air, the air war never benefited from coordination with the ground forces or other branches to capitalize on its successes.

Gibby's *Korean Showdown* is different from other works on the Korean War in its assessment of how the war started and what MacArthur's overconfidence meant as U.S. forces were approaching the Yalu River. In detailing the war's later years until an armistice was signed, *Korean Showdown* distinguishes itself from other works that focus on voluntary P.O.W. repatriation. While Kim's work addresses how this process played itself out, as well as the prisoners themselves, Gibby examines how this consideration affected the Americans fighting on the frontlines and their generals, like Ridgeway or Van Fleet. This book is perfect for anyone already knowledgeable about the Korean War as it takes a grounding in the original sequence of events for granted.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Anthony Lambright of La Palma, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.

Holden, Brad. [Foreword by Don Lattin].  
*Seattle Mystic Alfred M. Hubbard:  
Inventor, Bootlegger, and Psychedelic Pioneer.*

Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2021.  
147 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781439673126.

The life of Alfred M. Hubbard (1901–1982) appears to come straight from a comic-book series or fantasy novel. From working as a rum-running double agent to helping celebrities experience life-altering psychedelic trips on a private island, Hubbard's life is put under the microscope in Brad Holden's new monograph, *Seattle Mystic Alfred M. Hubbard: Inventor, Bootlegger, and Psychedelic Pioneer*. In this biography, Holden starts with what is known about Hubbard's early childhood and ends the book with the protagonist's death. As a final send-off, Holden clarifies some of the mysterious adventures of the Seattle inventor and psychedelic guru in his afterword. This rather short and energetic biography can grab the attention of casual readers as well as those looking to dive further into the world

of Prohibition, the early psychedelic movement, and government projects such as MKUltra. The author's relaxed and narrative-driven writing style complements the life of Hubbard and is a key feature of this text. However, for readers interested in citation tracing, the work's lack of notes quickly becomes frustrating, as quotes and other specific data are not properly documented. That said, Holden does provide a well-crafted section on sources at the end of his book, thus offering more invested readers the chance to explore the sources on their own.

The first chapter starts with the birth of Alfred M. Hubbard on July 24, 1901, in Hardinsburg, Kentucky. Holden walks the reader through Hubbard's somewhat troubled and murky childhood years. As a youngster, Hubbard experienced his family struggling with irregular employment, his father's bouts with alcoholism, and financial difficulties, all of which has led some to believe that Hubbard had no more than an eighth-grade education. By Hubbard's twelfth birthday, his family found themselves in Washington state, which is where he would reside for much of his life. According to Holden (and reflective of his writing style), Hubbard had a "husky build" and the "twinkle of mischief in his eyes." (17) After being introduced to work in the mineshafts and reading Ernst Leimer (a German engineer and pioneer in the conversion of electricity from radioactive compounds into usable energy), Hubbard found a knack for inventing and spent the years of 1919-1921 claiming that he had made an "atmospheric power generator." In 1920, Hubbard married his first wife, May Cunningham, and the following year, he moved to Pittsburgh to work for the Radium Chemical Company. (16-23)

Hubbard's next adventures, which span chapters two and three, focus on his time in Seattle working not only as a radio engineer but also as a double agent in the rum-racketeering business of the Prohibition days. After being introduced to Roy Olmstead, the kingpin of rum-running in the Puget Sound area, Hubbard became involved in the rum-running business, founded the KFQX radio station in 1924, and was eventually caught (in the same year) by Prohibition agents, resulting in the biggest Prohibition trial in history, the "Whispering Wires" case. This section of the biography certainly reads like a novel, especially with Holden describing the tense moments on the rum-running boats. Yet, all was not lost, for Hubbard took a plea deal to serve as an undercover agent in the local rum-running scene but ultimately continued to smuggle rum. It was not until 1927 that the Bureau of Prohibition officially terminated his services when news broke that he was working as a double agent. In the meantime, Hubbard had divorced his first wife and, in 1928, met his second wife, Rita. Hubbard then made his way to California where he worked with what later came to be known as the Bureau of Alcohol. He was eventually caught participating in a local booze-running outfit and, in 1936, sentenced to two years in prison at McNeil Island Penitentiary in Washington state. (24-47)

Chapter four starts with his release from prison and taking a job as a skipper on a luxury yacht in Santa Monica and living well-off in Huntington Park. Hubbard subsequently took command of the *S.S. Machigonne*. In 1941, he was

approached by U.S. intelligence officials to participate in the Lend-Lease Act. This program was a covert way for the U.S. to help supply the Allied war effort. Hubbard piloted ships to Vancouver, British Columbia, where they were outfitted as destroyers for the British Navy and sent off to England. He continued this work until 1945, eventually moved his family to Vancouver, and became a naturalized Canadian citizen. From his years of conning the rum-running business and working with the U.S. government, Hubbard had accumulated a substantial amount of money, allowing him to purchase a private island off the coast of Vancouver: Dayman Island. (47–54)

In his typical narrative fashion, Holden then describes the rest of Hubbard's life as "Act II." In the 1950s, Hubbard was suffering from an existential crisis and, at a loss for his true path in life, decided to make a trip back to the forests of Spokane, Washington. There, Hubbard claimed, an angel came to him and said that he would be a part of something very important. In 1953, Hubbard read an article by Dr. Humphry Osmond discussing the properties of mescaline and resolved to try it for himself. Hubbard described this as a life-changing experience and the beginning of his psychedelic journey. His fascination with psychedelics eventually led him to an article on LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide). Hubbard gave LSD a try and became forever converted to the world of tripping on acid. LSD was legal at this time, and Hubbard imported large amounts of it from Sandoz Labs in Switzerland. Word spread quickly, especially since Hubbard invited influential people to his island for a guided LSD experience. Dr. Osmond and Hubbard kept in contact, and eventually Osmond incorporated Hubbard's guided experience into his own practice of treating alcoholics, astonishingly leading to a 60 percent abstinence rate among his patients. (55–63)

Chapters six and seven depict Hubbard's rise to extreme heights as his name was circulating among the upper echelons of society. Aldous Huxley, American psychologist Betty Grover Eisner, and Myron Stolaroff, a top executive of Ampex, were among those taking a serious interest in Hubbard and his LSD experiences. In 1956, Hubbard was contacted by Dr. J. Ross MacLean to work with him at Hollywood Hospital, a detox facility in New Westminster. Hubbard happily agreed. With high-profile people coming through the doors, MacLean started charging more money per visit, and Hubbard eventually left because of this. However, Hubbard had already left a trail of LSD as he had introduced more than 6,000 people to this new mind-expanding drug. Holden spends the first part of chapter seven detailing the massive influx of LSD and other psychedelic drugs into the United States—addressing Silicon Valley, the Central Intelligence Agency's Project MKUltra, Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters, and Timothy Leary—before returning to Hubbard's adventures. Because of the psychedelic craze and the resulting panic and legal pressures, Sandoz officially stopped producing LSD in 1965, and Hubbard ended up working odd jobs until the mid-1970s. (64–90)

In *Seattle Mystic's* final chapter and afterword, Holden wraps up Hubbard's life story. In 1975, he entered retirement and, in the late 1970s, developed heart

disease. He and his wife Rita purchased a manufactured home in Casa Grande, Arizona, where they spent their remaining time together. In 1978, Hubbard made one last effort to legitimize psychedelic therapy by petitioning the Federal Drug Administration to allow LSD treatment for terminal-cancer patients. Ultimately, Hubbard was unable to complete this monumental task, despite his decades' worth of experience. His last public appearance, in 1979, saw Hubbard rejoining the psychedelic gurus for an acid reunion. On August 21, 1982, Alfred M. Hubbard parted ways with the physical world due to heart disease. To provide Hubbard's life with a little more clarity, Holden takes fourteen pages in his afterword to expand upon areas and stories that may be considered dubious or slightly murky.

Those interested in the various contexts of Hubbard's life might wish to consult *Acid Dreams: The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, the Sixties, and Beyond* (1985) by Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain. *Seattle Mystic* is a head-first plunge into the rabbit hole of Alfred M. Hubbard's life that keeps any reader satisfied throughout. Brad Holden's writing style adds a well-crafted narrative feeling to Hubbard's exhilarating biography in the context of many different aspects of twentieth-century history. The book's lack of citations does not distract from the overall reading pleasure, but it will be deplored by those wishing to trace quotes and other significant data. From rum-running in his twenties to providing guided LSD trips in his sixties, Hubbard led a life that very few could even imagine. Holden's book, though relatively short, is packed full of information on Hubbard's life and is a fun and easy read. For those with an interest in psychedelics, Holden's work features a plethora of studies, locations, and individuals centered around LSD.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Mitchell Granger of Pine City, Minnesota, earned a B.A. in History (2022) at the University of Wisconsin-Superior. He is currently pursuing an M.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).*

Kishida, Yuka Hiruma.

*Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire.*

London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.  
288 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9781350057852.

The land of the rising sun, otherwise known as Japan, is a country built on the efforts of proud, hard-working people. In *Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire*, authored by Yuka Hiruma Kishida, an associate professor at Bridgewater College in Virginia and specialist in the history of modern East Asia, we see a facet of the country's past that is not typically addressed extensively in historical literature. Up until World War II, Japan engaged in colonizing the countries we now know as Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria, believing that it was its duty to unite Asia as one political power, an ideology labeled "Pan-Asianism." In *Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism*, Kishida compares this idea to the so-called "White man's burden,"

namely, a notion held by many in the western world that it was the “White man’s” duty to colonize and modernize the lands of Africa. Although this is not entirely the same thing, it does make for a suitable analogy: much like their equivalents in the western world, the Japanese were trying to gain and consolidate power. In fact, people in countries like Brazil believed that Japan was the “White man” of Asia, as seen in Jeffrey Lesser’s monograph, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (1999).

As one of Japan’s educational efforts to promote Pan-Asianism, Kenkoku University was established in 1938 in what is today Changchun (in the People’s Republic of China), and it remained operational until 1945. Kishida’s book on this unique institution consists of an introductory chapter, five main chapters (“Dreaming big about Pan-Asianist education;” “Exploring the meaning of Pan-Asia;” “Calling Asia a new home;” “Learning to become ‘Chinese’ at a Japanese school;” and “Building a utopia together”), as well as an epilogue. When the Japanese Major General Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949) founded the school in 1938, he hoped that it would be a catalyst for a political alliance that would be able to stand against the West, particularly the United States of America. Ishiwara wanted all Asian countries to send young students to the university, speaking in their native tongues to one another after class to promote Pan-Asian unity. The Japanese students who attended Kenkoku University – called *Kenkoku Daigaku* in Japanese and later nicknamed *Kendai* – felt a sense of mission to push their Pan-Asian ideals on the other students, which is evidence that Kishida’s analogy of the “White man’s burden” is indeed appropriate. Yet the difference between western and Japanese imperialism can be seen in their respective foreign-policy attitudes: whereas Europeans did not want to have too much to do with the inhabitants of their colonies, the Japanese were intent on assimilating theirs. Only students who were very well educated were accepted to Kenkoku University. They had to go through a rigorous level of schooling to eliminate all but the very smartest of Japan’s prospective students. Even then, it was difficult to get accepted.

Of the nearly 1400 students who attended Kenkoku University between 1938 and 1945, only eight were Korean and twenty-five Taiwanese. For a school devoted to Pan-Asian ideals, this was not a lot of people from beyond Japan. Like their Japanese counterparts, only exceptional Korean and Taiwanese students were allowed to attend the institution. Koreans who entered *Kendai* did so with a sense of Korean national identity. For example, while at the university, they took advantage of the policy that they were allowed to talk in their native language. It is noteworthy, though, that all of *Kendai*’s Korean students, while not required to do so under Manchukuo’s (i.e., Manchuria’s) laws at the time, decided to voluntarily enlist in the Japanese Army. Meanwhile, the Taiwanese students were instantly seen as “foreign,” which led them to seek refuge in conversing with each other in Taiwanese, ultimately fostering among them a sense of national identity they had not shared before.



In addition to its Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese students, Kenkoku University featured 520 Chinese students. Not all of the latter hailed from Manchukuo; rather, they came from many different locations throughout Manchukuo and Kwantung Leased Territory (Liadong Peninsula). For these Chinese students, there was a difficult entrance exam that would have deterred many from applying. However, to those who eventually enrolled at *Kendai*, this entrance exam was, in fact, an attraction. Once they started attending, though, many of the Chinese students criticized the Japanese instructors and the courses they taught, and despite *Kendai's* end goal to unite all Asian countries, it failed to gain the Chinese students' favor. Based on the accounts of individuals who knew both Mandarin and Japanese, some of the students at *Kendai* actually agreed with the idea of Pan-Asianism. However, there were also students who were not amenable to the idea. Arguably, the notion of a Pan-Asian political power led by Japan was a daunting one; had Japan succeeded in its aims at Kenkoku University, the consequences would have been far-reaching.

Kishida's monograph is an excellent introduction to Pan-Asianism, and her analogy of the "White man's burden" serves as a useful vehicle. However, while Japan was self-motivated by the idea of Pan-Asianism to establish a military force that would be able to rival that of the West, Europeans wanted to exploit and westernize their African colonies, yet viewed them to a much lesser degree as a means to expand their own, already considerable military force.

1400 students between 1938 and 1945 may not sound like a very significant number. However, considering these students' superior intellectual and academic abilities, they could have served as highly impactful disseminators of Pan-Asian ideas. By the same token, with only eight Koreans and twenty-five Taiwanese, next to over 500 Chinese and over 700 Japanese students, Kenkoku University was ultimately not diverse enough to effect any real change across multiple countries. The eight Korean students, for example, remained close-knit; they spoke to each other in their native language, and their sentiments continued to be focused on Korean affairs. The only Koreans who may have been impacted in the process may have been the members of these students' families, and even then it is tentative whether they felt any different toward the Japanese and Pan-Asianism.

Kishida's book illustrates a fascinating and lesser-known venue by which Japan sought to spread Pan-Asianism during World War II. Ultimately, Kenkoku University failed in its Pan-Asian mission, as many of its students left, in fact, with a heightened appreciation for their own respective national identities. Kishida's work is recommended reading for those interested in the history of Japan and East Asia during the first half of the twentieth century.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Robert Fleming of Cypress, California, earned an A.A. in History (2019) at Cypress College and a B.A. in History (2021) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in history at CSUF.*

López-Ruiz, Carolina.  
*Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean.*

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2021.  
 440 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780674988187.

I am writing this review in Phoenician and you, by extension, are reading it in Phoenician as well ... well, at least in part. How is it that the civilization that gave us quite a few of our letters, as well as the word “alphabet” itself, is largely absent from our present-day common knowledge? We take phonetics in grade school, however, after that we are taught that the Greeks are the ones we should thank for just about everything. Or so we thought until *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, a 2021 monograph by Carolina López-Ruiz, who was a professor of Classics at the Ohio State University at the time of this work’s publication and who, in 2022, joined the University of Chicago as a professor of the History of Religions, Comparative Mythology, and the Ancient Mediterranean World. López-Ruiz is no stranger to the subject material, as her prior publications include the monograph *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia* (2016), as well as the co-editorship of *The Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean* (2019) and *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations* (2009). She is, of course, not the first or sole scholar to write about the Phoenicians; other relevant studies include Marc Van De Mieroop’s *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000–323 BC* (2003). What sets López-Ruiz’s book apart is that she accomplishes the first comprehensive history of the Phoenicians’ cultural impact on the ancient Mediterranean world, especially the Greeks. In an interview about *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, López-Ruiz stressed that it was the goal of her book to restore to the Phoenicians their historical agency and give them credit where it was due. The book is certainly intended for a more academic-minded audience: it consists of 426 pages, and 107 of these are dedicated to the notes and bibliography. While a casual reader might be able to read this work without much difficulty, it is certainly an uphill battle. In 2016, López-Ruiz gave a lecture on the topic of her book at Brown University, and this lecture can be found on *YouTube*. She also has an episode discussing “The Phoenician World” on the podcast titled “The Ancients.” Especially in the second part of *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean*, there are numerous illustrations and maps, which readers will find particularly helpful.

In addition to an introduction and epilogue, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* consists of nine chapters which are separated into two parts. Part 1 is titled “Beware the Greek” and features three chapters (“Phoenicians Overseas,” “From Classical to Mediterranean Models,” and “The Orientalizing Kit”); Part 2 is titled “Follow the Sphinx” and features the remaining six chapters (“The Far West,” “The Central Mediterranean,” “The Aegean,” “Intangible Legacies,” “Cyprus,” and “The Levant”). In the epilogue, López-Ruiz gives her readers four calls to action on how they can fully integrate the Phoenician element into the scholarship on the ancient Mediterranean. These calls to action are as follows:

firstly, refocus the marginalized “other” (focus scholarship on the Levant and Western Mediterranean); secondly, challenge ethnic stereotypes (move past reducing the Phoenicians to just their art and focus more on their commercial markets); thirdly, look beyond artifacts (we need to study the intangibles of their culture); and finally, move away from strict chronological parceling (we need to produce a more complete historical framework). If these are put in proper action, López-Ruiz believes the Phoenicians can be brought into the limelight they rightly deserve.

López-Ruiz provides a succinct overview of who the Phoenicians were, the extent of their empire and reach, as well as their cultural achievements. The Phoenicians, first recorded by Herodotus in his *Histories*, were migrants from the Red-Sea region, most likely seagoing Canaanites from the Lebanese coast. Their homeland was the Levant, and they emerged during the Late Bronze Age along with the Israelites, Moabites, and other biblical peoples. By the fifth century BCE, they were dominating Carthage. They were an artistic people, and many of their artifacts survive to this day. A major theme in the first part is the “Orientalizing” (almost taking a page from Bernard Cohn’s publications) of the Phoenicians by the Greeks and other ancient Mediterranean cultures, which has continued all the way into modern-day scholarship. López-Ruiz uses a quote from Herodotus—“Bringing Egyptian and Assyrian things by way of merchandise, they [i.e., the Phoenicians] arrived, among other places, to Argos.”—to demonstrate that, while the Phoenicians played a prominent role in Herodotus’s writings, he did not go to the same length and detail when describing them or their history as he did with the Persians. Thus, instead of entering the spotlight, the Phoenicians were largely relegated to footnotes.

In Chapter 1, López-Ruiz argues that the Phoenicians and their colonizing movements need to be “decolonized” from western, Greco-centric views of the Mediterranean, and she ties this to racist trends in western scholarship that started in the mid-twentieth century (25). Chapter 2 describes the different Mediterranean perspectives and the formation of a Pan-Mediterranean framework, while Chapter 3 tackles “Orientalizing,” tracing its origins and showing how the study of northwest Semitic and Greek literature led to a rebranding of Levantine cultures as more “western,” obfuscating true Phoenician art and culture. The book’s second part focuses first on the Phoenician reach to Iberia and then discusses the Phoenicians by analyzing their artifacts, their cosmologies, their landscapes, and their mercantile networks. López-Ruiz’s expertise shines through most when discussing the various artifacts, such as Figure 6.6 on page 221 which depicts the representations of divinities on Sphinx thrones; López-Ruiz discusses how the Sphinx (originally an item belonging to the Canaanites) was given new life by the Phoenicians and used on seals and kingly emblems. Another artifact we have from the Phoenicians is depicted in Figure 5.1 (129), namely, the stone statue of an archer from Sardinia. The following page (130) features Figure 5.2, a Phoenician votive stele from *tophet* precincts in Sardinia and Sicily: the votive, dating from the

third century BCE, contains an inscription to Baal-Hammon with the stele depicting a male priest. These and other artifacts offer a glimpse into the Phoenicians' religion and rituals.

As someone who did not know anything about the Phoenicians prior to reading this book, *Phoenicians and the Making of the Mediterranean* has given me a concise idea of who they were. It has allowed me to learn about a crucial civilization that once brushed shoulders with the ancient Greeks and Persians, and descended from the Canaanites. This is not a book that one should expect to read in a single sitting (nor would one want to). While I acknowledge that this book focuses more on the Phoenicians' impact on their sphere of the world, as opposed to focusing entirely on them, I do wish the author would have said more about their ancient origins. I would recommend this book to anyone who has an interest in ancient Mediterranean history. Even someone leaning more toward the modern era, or even modern nation-states, would benefit from reading this work, as the Phoenicians had a considerable impact on the Greeks who (as we have been so conditioned to believe) then impacted "everyone else." López-Ruiz's discussion of "Orientalizing" is especially poignant in this day and age.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jacob Nikolson of San Marcos, California, earned a B.S. in Business Administration (2020) at California State University, San Marcos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the History Student Association (HSA) and the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History" (2023).*

Lytle Hernández, Kelly.

*Bad Mexicans:*

*Race, Empire, and Revolution in the Borderlands.*

New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2022.  
372 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781324004370.

*¡Tierra y Libertad!* Land and Freedom! The Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) is generally considered a historical event that took place within the territorial confines of the Mexican state. Additionally, the revolution's implications for the United States are typically reduced to a singular event that occurred in January 1916 in Columbus, New Mexico, when Francisco "Pancho" Villa raided this border town, sparking an unsuccessful U.S. military expedition into Chihuahua, Mexico, to capture the revolutionary leader. Few general readers are aware of the impact that Ricardo Flores Magón (1873–1922) and the *magonistas* had in sparking the Mexican Revolution. While Mexican scholars have acknowledged the *magonistas'* significance and legendary status in Mexican history, U.S. scholars have rarely recognized their impact on the Mexican Revolution and the United States' respective economic, political, and military involvement in Mexico's fate. "Rebel historian" Kelly Lytle Hernández captures the transnational dynamics that constituted the *magonista* movement, squarely situating their rise in the context of U.S. history. A professor of History, African American Studies, and Urban

Planning at UCLA, Lytle Hernández goes against the grain as she reframes her readers' understanding of U.S. history in her cross-border narrative of migrant rebels who initiated the Mexican Revolution from U.S. soil.

*Bad Mexicans* tells the story of a group of Mexican dissidents who rebelled against the dictatorial regime of Mexican President Porfirio Díaz at the beginning of the twentieth century. The book's twenty-five chapters are organized into four parts that serve to signal a particular stage in the rebellion launched by Magón and the *magonistas*. The first part offers readers historical context on Mexico and its struggle for national stability that led to the conditions created by the Díaz regime and the latter's compliance in the invasion of U.S. capital. An infamous war hero of the Mexican Liberal Party, Díaz had been in power since 1876, seizing political control by a coup d'état. During Díaz's rule, the Porfirian regime gradually stamped out all vestiges of democracy in Mexico and opened the country to foreign investors. These investors, mostly from the United States, created new businesses and bought up more than twenty-seven percent of Mexico's arable land, displacing millions of Mexicans in the process. By the turn of the century, nearly all of Mexico's population was either landless, working under terrible conditions for these foreign investors, or forced to migrate.

After this crash course on Mexican history, Lytle Hernández introduces the incipient motley crew of Mexican dissidents. From Magón and his brothers to influential figures such as Juan Sarabia, Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza, and, later in the book, Praxedis Guerrero, readers receive a historical account of these rebels, rendering them relatable in all their complexities. Given their country's political, social, and economic climate, these dissidents began to organize in Mexico City and elsewhere. One of their most significant initial actions was to circulate their revolutionary ideals in their newspaper, *Regeneración*. Consequently, Porfirio Díaz had them arrested and imprisoned, and he issued a gag rule against these rebel writers. Thus, the *magonistas* became targets of state censure and suppression, leading them to seek other options to set up a base for their rebellion.

The book's second part discusses the efforts by the Porfirian regime to silence the *magonistas*, and it addresses the social climate the rebels were facing as they fled to the borderlands and continued their call for rebellion. By 1904, the *magonistas* had relocated to Texas and elsewhere in the United States. Committed to restarting their social movement, they relaunched *Regeneración*, established a political party, the PLM (*Partido Liberal Mexicano*), and even formed an army – an army composed of the dispossessed. The author illustrates the aspirations to legitimacy of this *magonista* army by including an image of its certification of enlistment, signed by those who had volunteered to join the coordinated uprising. The *magonistas* maintained a large network of militias throughout northern Mexico and the southwestern United States, and, between 1906 and 1908, their army conducted four raids in Mexico. These raids spread fear in both Mexico and the United States. Lytle Hernández reminds her readers that, by the early twentieth

century, prominent U.S. investors had a major stake in Díaz's Mexico, and that these U.S. investments in Mexico were a manifestation of a U.S. American empire. Extending to about a quarter of the Mexican land base and dominating key industries, including railroads and mining, about fifty percent of U.S. foreign investments were made in Mexico by some of the most powerful economic elites, including the Rockefellers and the Guggenheims.

The third part of *Bad Mexicans* sheds light on U.S. private, corporate, and government agencies that participated in a counter-insurgency campaign conducted by the Mexican government. These efforts were designed to extradite the *magonistas* and their supporters into the hands of the Porfirian authorities. As the raids by the *magonista* army were threatening U.S. investments and demonstrating Porfirio Díaz's lack of "order and progress" in Mexico, the U.S. and Mexican governments began to collaborate in earnest through this counter-insurgency campaign, devising ever-new ways to stop the *magonistas*. The U.S. Department of Justice, the Department of War, U.S. Marshals, U.S. police and sheriff's departments across the country, the U.S. Postal Service, and others all collaborated with the Porfirian regime to try to stomp out the rebellion that was being waged from the borderlands. Yet, against all odds, against constant kidnappings, arrests, incarcerations, deportations, and more, the motley crew of Mexican dissidents succeeded in restarting their revolutionary campaign and played a major role in the outbreak of the 1910 Mexican Revolution.

One of the most captivating ways in which Lytle Hernández portrays the struggle of the *magonista* uprising is her use of primary sources to depict the dissidents' strategies of evading and thwarting the efforts of the U.S./Mexican counter-insurgency campaign. For example, from Mexico City's *Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores*, the book features images of a PLM code key and a coded letter written by PLM members, documents seized by agents of the counter-insurgency campaign. In fact, many documents were seized through extralegal means, namely, by private and federal agents working in tandem with the U.S. Postal Service. Yet, these primary sources showcase how the *magonistas* were able to outrun and outsmart even the fledgling Federal Bureau of Investigation. According to the evidence from the archives provided in *Bad Mexicans*, the FBI cut its teeth trying to stop the *magonistas* from starting the Mexican Revolution but evidently failed in this endeavor.

The fourth part highlights the *magonista* uprising's impact on U.S./Mexican relations after the failure of the counter-insurgency campaign to root out the social movement that ultimately triggered the Mexican Revolution. In its heyday, *Regeneración* had between twenty and thirty thousand subscribers north and south of the border. For the Porfirian government, the *magonistas* in Mexico City constituted an annoyance at best until their revolutionary ideals began to be disseminated from *rancho* to *rancho*, eventually ending up in the hands of Emiliano Zapata and being read aloud to the masses of disenfranchised Mexicans. Moreover, the involvement of socialist labor groups and the affinity for the

*magonistas* shared by radical Black organizations in the United States led to the end of the American involvement in the counter-insurgency campaign, partly as an effort to distance itself from the negative international publicity that Díaz had earned.

Lytle Hernández does not shy away from pointing out Magón's downfall and the *magonista* uprising's failure to take the reins during the Mexican Revolution. Indeed, one of Magón's tragic shortcomings as a leader was his tendency to lash out against his fellow comrades if they refused to bend their political views to his. His failure to personally engage in the armed struggle also prevented his rebellion from taking the lead in the Mexican Revolution. Instead, he chose pen and paper as his weapons of choice to foment a popular revolution. Moreover, it was the women of the movement who held the rebellion together and prevented its premature collapse. From smuggling Magón's letters in and out of prison to carrying weapons across the border, women such as Juana Belén Gutiérrez de Mendoza and María Brousse were essential to the success of the *magonistas*. Yet, for all their complexities and contradictions, this group of Mexican dissidents challenged both the U.S. and Mexican governments, bringing them to their knees and turning the pages of history.

To bring key issues of the Mexican American experience to the forefront of U.S. history, Lytle Hernández posits *Bad Mexicans* as a gateway for all readers to deconstruct a variety of historical moments centered around the narrative of Ricardo Flores Magón and the *magonistas*. The rise of the U.S. empire, which began in Mexico under the reign of Porfirio Díaz, set the stage for the transnational movement that would become the Mexican Revolution. Readers have the opportunity to explore the origins of Mexican mass migration, reframed as a labor migration of the dispossessed as opposed to an individualized account that lacks structural and historical implications. White supremacy is discussed, as is how Mexicans and Mexican Americans experienced its manifestations north and south of the U.S./Mexican border. The rise of policing in the United States is also explained, as well as how Mexicans and Mexican Americans were central to the interwoven dynamics of police activity and white supremacy. Often marginalized in historical analyses, the women of the movement are given their due as central protagonists throughout the narrative, occasionally even clashing with Ricardo Flores Magón. Lastly, Lytle Hernández touches on the importance of support coming from Anglo-American socialist groups and African American radicals, as those relationships served to alienate Díaz from the United States. To all those interested in engaging U.S. history from a fresh perspective, *Bad Mexicans* offers the opportunity to become better acquainted with an often-marginalized Latinx history. For readers interested in continuing on this journey, *Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution* by Ward S. Albro (1992), *The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón* by Claudio Lomnitz-Adler (2014), and *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965*, by Kelly Lytle Hernández (2017) are all worth consulting.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Sergio Daniel Sifuentes of Jurupa Valley, California, earned three A.A. degrees (2017) at Riverside City College and a B.A. in History and Spanish Linguistics (2020) at the University of California, Riverside. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with concentrations in Chicana/o Studies and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the recipient of the 2022/2023 Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship. He is a first-generation Chicanx college student.

Schrecker, Ellen.

*The Lost Promise:*

*American Universities in the 1960s.*

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021.

616 pages. Hardback. ISBN: 9780226200859.

Ellen Schrecker's claim that "[at] some point around 1965, the bright promise of an expansive and liberating system of mass higher education darkened" (3), is meticulously explored in her new work, *The Lost Promise: American Universities in the 1960s*. Schrecker sets the stage for the tumultuous events of 1960s America by detailing the post-World War II expansion of higher education. This is followed by a thorough examination of university faculty members' and students' increasing involvement in the anti-war movement, student protests, and the changing political landscape in which university members had to address the social issues of the mid-to-late 1960s. Schrecker attempts to create a unified story, one that follows the birth, rise, and eventual decline of the American higher education system during a time when intellectual fortitude was sought after and thought of as the great liberator of the working class. From Berkeley and Stanford via the University of Wisconsin to Cornell, Schrecker highlights an overarching theme, namely, that American universities failed to address the needs and wants of students, faculty members, and the American public. Her monograph, while it can be enjoyed by the casual reader, aims at those who are looking for an immense amount of detail on the topic. For that reason, *The Lost Promise* should be read with a keen eye.

Ellen Schrecker is an American professor emerita of American history at Yeshiva University in New York City. Her previous research has focused mainly on McCarthyism and the American education system, and it includes works like *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (1986), and *The Lost Soul of Higher Education: Academic Freedom, Corporatization, and the Assault on the University* (2010). Schrecker is considered a leading expert on McCarthyism with an extensive publication list, as well as first-hand experience of the events during the long 1960s. Her most recent foray into the 1960s can certainly be startling due to its daunting length and sheer amount of information. Yet, while *The Lost Promise* delivers in its ability to string together a cohesive narrative, it does not really explore the social and cultural history of the time. Rock music, recreational drug use, and sexual liberation — all prevalent features of the 1960s — are largely missing



from Schrecker's discussion, which focuses a great deal on college undergraduates, graduates, and young professors.

*The Lost Promise* consists of seventeen chapters, organized into four parts: I. Expansion and Its Discontents; II. Responding to Vietnam; III. Handling Student Unrest; and IV. The Academic Left and Right Confront the Sixties. Schrecker lays the foundation for the long 1960s by examining the rapid expansion of the American university system due to the era's exponential increase in student enrollment. She then spends the rest of the first four chapters discussing the political restlessness among college faculty members and students. In post-World War II America, universities saw a dramatic influx of students between 1959 and 1969. During this ten-year period, the higher-education system went from 3 million students to around 8 million students. This increase can be credited to the G.I. Bill (i.e., the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944) which provided more than 2 million veterans access to a college education. While this certainly contributed to a vibrant exchange of ideas, beliefs, and political perspectives, most of the early unrest on college campuses involved faculty members and merely a few students. During the mid-1950s, McCarthyism was still in the air, and to come out against university policy or express major differences in political outlook would almost guarantee the suspension or expulsion from any faculty position. It was not until October 1, 1964, when thousands of students at the University of California, Berkeley, sat around and on top of a police car for thirty-two consecutive hours, that the ideals of the American university system became widely challenged. In this public showing of protecting a political activist (former mathematics graduate student Jack Weinberg) from being arrested, Berkeley's students became the shining example of advocating for social issues in the academic milieu. (1-114)

The heart of Schrecker's work are chapters five through ten, in which she discusses the United States' escalating involvement in Vietnam from 1965 onward. It was not until 1965 that college professors spoke out about the Vietnam War by organizing conferences, offering lectures and teach-ins, and placing ads in newspapers pertaining to what was happening in Vietnam and thereby drawing the public's attention to it. Schrecker goes into vivid detail on the teach-ins and how they became the new format of protest or civil disobedience on university campuses. Public demonstrations, such as marches and rallies protesting the war, also started to take shape. Both students and university faculty members were involved in the teach-ins, and public demonstrations as a general consensus of anti-war sentiment hung in the air. It is in these chapters that Schrecker balances the exciting, yet grueling, process of recounting every single major event. For readers who are invested in this topic, the reading is engaging; however, for the casual reader, the details may begin to blend into one another. (115-192)

Civil disobedience reached its peak in 1967 when service-eligible college students began opposing the U.S. draft into the Vietnam War. From burning or simply returning draft cards to outright refusing to be drafted into the U.S.

military, opposing the draft became a form of protest shared by college students and faculty members alike. Interestingly, Schrecker includes a few personal experiences at this point in her book, and it comes as a refreshing twist. While generally refraining from writing about herself, Schrecker does communicate to the reader that she was actively living and experiencing these events in real time. As the Vietnam War continued, civil disobedience expanded to the members of academic communities openly protesting government and military involvement on college campuses. Military institutions like the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), government contractors, and businesses like the Dow Chemical Company all experienced the boiling anti-war sentiment as ROTC buildings were being vandalized and company recruiters run off college grounds. (193–259)

Chapters eleven through thirteen showcase how these and other sentiments played out in American universities. The Black Power movement, for example, began to make its way onto college campuses, creating yet another issue for university administrators, law enforcement, and politicians. While much rhetoric thus far had been focused on the Vietnam War, it now started to shift to student power. Advocacy for and among Black students, the restructuring of dress codes, and opposition against student censorship became the new foci. Violence followed and included police brutality, bomb threats and explosions, and even extortion as tactics of the student population. While each and every story contributes to Schrecker's ultimate goal of creating a comprehensive narrative, the impact of these events begins to diminish, even for the invested reader. Ironically, she addresses her book's length early on: "Every chapter, sometimes every paragraph, deals with subjects that deserve entire volumes of their own, some of which have already been written." (7) Thus, while it is clear that she has a lot to say about this topic, a wide-ranging narrative of similar events can sometimes take away from a work's intended overall message. (260–340).

Schrecker spends the remaining four chapters (fourteen through seventeen) describing the political situation that ensued from the unruly events of the 1960s. Having devoted the majority of her book to looking at political unrest, Schrecker now dives straight into the splintering of political groups. By this point, there has still been no talk of the era's social and cultural changes, such as rock and psychedelic music or sexual liberation. College students must have been interested in things other than what was happening politically on their campuses, however, Schrecker does not address this in her book. Yet, social and cultural phenomena—knowing what was happening in the younger generations' circles—would facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of their political causes. Schrecker's work concludes with a brief epilogue and a bibliographic essay. The epilogue adds a final touch to the events of the 1960s and how they led to some of the issues prevalent in American universities today, such as the soaring cost of tuition and the hierarchical faculty system. (341–462) The book's final 158 pages feature a well-crafted notes section for readers interested in exploring the sources and pertinent scholarly debates.

The history of American higher education has been the subject of numerous scholarly works. For the broader context, readers may wish to consult Allison L. Palmadessa's *American National Identity, Policy Paradigms, and Higher Education: A History of the Relationship between Higher Education and the United States, 1862–2015* (2017), or Christopher P. Loss's *Between Citizens and the State: The Politics of American Higher Education in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (2012). Recently published research includes monographs on Black activism, such as Eddie Rice Cole's *The Campus Color Line: College Presidents and the Struggle for Black Freedom* (2020), as well as those pertaining to the issues driving current generations of students, such as Jerusha Osberg Conner's *The New Student Activists: The Rise of Neoactivism on College Campuses* (2020).

*The Lost Promise* delivers on all fronts of what Schrecker aims to accomplish, namely, a comprehensive narrative of how and why the American university system failed its students and faculty members during the 1960s. With its unrelenting attention to detail, Schrecker's book can be both an exciting and arduous task, regardless of the reader's comfort level or prior knowledge of the topic. While her arguments are laid out in such a way that they are easy to follow, there is little to no break in the book's sheer amount of information. However, the use of capturing each relevant event should not be downplayed. Schrecker's book is a great resource for college students, researchers, and potentially casual readers who are looking for more information on specific events. The well-placed headings throughout the book, as well as the notes section, facilitate excellent citation tracing. *The Lost Promise* is a welcome addition to any upper-level undergraduate or graduate-level History course on this topic; however, it may be a challenge for the casual reader.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Mitchell Granger of Pine City, Minnesota, earned a B.A. in History (2022) at the University of Wisconsin-Superior. He is currently pursuing an M.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).

Sohn, Amy.

*The Man Who Hated Women:*

*Sex, Censorship, and Civil Liberties in the Gilded Age.*

New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2021.

400 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781250174819.

In an America where colorful condom ads grace the pages of glossy magazines and pamphlets offering sage advice on safe-sex practices can easily be obtained on university campuses, it can be difficult to imagine that a mere 150 years ago people could be arrested and imprisoned for writing about sex, contraception, and other topics deemed obscene by self-appointed morality crusaders. In *The Man Who Hated Women: Sex, Censorship, and Civil Liberties in the Gilded Age* (2021), Amy Sohn recounts the "forgotten history of the women who waged war for the right to control their bodies" and sought to "redefine work, family, marriage, and love for a bold new era." (book jacket) These women, alongside the sexologist Ira C.

Craddock, “included the suffragist, stockbroker, publisher, and presidential candidate Victoria C. Woodhull; her sister, and partner in brokerage and publishing Tennessee Claflin; the free lover and editor Angela Tilton Heywood; the Fifth-Avenue abortionist Ann ‘Madame Restell’ Lohman; the homeopathic physician Dr. Sara B. Chase; the anarchist and labor organizer Emma Goldman; and the birth-control activist Margaret Sanger.” (16) All eight women found themselves the target of Anthony Comstock (1844–1915), the architect of the 1873 Comstock Law which made it a federal offense to send “obscene, lewd, or lascivious” material through the mail and prohibited the production or publication of information related to the procurement of contraception and abortions.

From 1873 until his death in 1915, Comstock worked tirelessly as the “nation’s chief vice hunter,” serving as a United States Post Office “inspector (a federal position with law-enforcement power) and secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (NYSSV).” (7) He enforced morality as few others had, actively targeting and investigating individuals who he believed were purveyors of the obscene, regardless of their age, race, gender, or class. Ultimately though, his quest disproportionately impacted women, the repercussions rippling across more than a century. Amy Sohn focuses on those who fought against Comstock and his eponymous law as a means of contextualizing the current fight over reproductive rights: “without understanding the sex radicals, we cannot fight the assault on women’s bodies and souls that continues even today.” (20)

*The Man Who Hated Women* is the first narrative non-fiction work in Amy Sohn’s diverse creative canon that consists of twelve novels, a children’s book, two screenplays, and a myriad of articles for *The New York Times*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Elle*, *Playboy*, and many others. In her first foray into narrative non-fiction, Sohn mines the prolific writings of Comstock and the individuals he pursued for violating federal and state obscenity laws. An abundance of primary-source evidence forms the foundation of the book with quotes from letters, newspapers, diaries, and books being directly integrated into the text. Sohn’s extensive experience writing fiction is on display as, stylistically, *The Man Who Hated Women* reads very much like a novel versus a typical historical monograph: the story transitions between eight heroic female protagonists as they battle the nefarious and wicked antagonist.

Anthony Comstock is cast as the villain of this narrative in the vein of a mustache-twirling fiend: “forty-nine years old [...] and rounding out his second decade in power, he had red muttonchops covering a scar inflicted by an irate smut dealer who stabbed him in the face.” (7) cursory biographical information is provided in chapters one and two in an attempt to flesh him out beyond a one-dimensional character, but ultimately Sohn only manages to paint him as a caricature of a man, “a monomaniac whose mission was to keep contraception and abortion from women.” (20) Comstock is portrayed as single minded in his mission to eliminate anything he deems obscene, which spans the gamut from

pornographic postcards via articles that mention sex education to advertisements for contraceptives and abortifacients. His motivations are scarcely explored beyond the idea that he was a “product of his upbringing, religion, and time [...] he was raised to believe in the Victorian ideal of womanhood – a saintly, pure wife and mother whose domain was the home.” (9) For a book that claims to be about *the man who hated women*, Anthony Comstock is frequently relegated to the background, an obsessed nuisance who serves to make life difficult for the targets of his hatred. The real focus of the text are the eight women who were charged by Comstock with the violation of obscenity laws.

Chapters three through five focus on Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, sisters who were among the first targeted by Comstock. Sohn characterizes them as follows: “hucksters since childhood, they had been born in poverty and knew how to manipulate men [...] determined, brash, and ripe with sexual power [...] they were the embodiment of the pulsing, prurient, new New York.” (35) Their outspoken beliefs, writings, and lifestyle would draw Comstock’s ire as they defied the Victorian ideals of women. As progressive women, they advocated for women’s suffrage and the “free love” movement, creating their own publication – *Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly* – to espouse such ideas. It was this paper that attracted Comstock’s attention when both Woodhull and Claflin published the sordid details of sexual scandals: Woodhull recounting the alleged adulterous affair between the prominent minister Henry Ward Beecher and suffragist Elizabeth Richards Tilton, and Claflin chronicling a potential gang rape facilitated by businessman Luther Challis. Comstock considered the articles obscene, which resulted in the arrest and subsequent trial of both women. In the end, they were found “not guilty,” an early defeat for Comstock that he would strive not to repeat.

A single chapter – chapter seven – is devoted to Ann “Madame Restell” Lohman, who was declared by her days’ media to be the wickedest woman in New York. The oldest woman to be targeted by Comstock, Madame Restell had a prolific career as an abortion provider in New York City. In 1878, Comstock raided her home for contraband items and arrested her for possession of “articles that caused miscarriage or prevented conception.” (121) When faced with the possibility of being imprisoned for such a crime – she had previously served a single year in prison for an illegally performed surgical abortion – Lohman committed suicide, viewing the sentence she received as one of death. Though her presence is felt in other parts of the book, in later chapters she serves primarily as a reminder of how dastardly Comstock was: “Whether or not he actually bragged about causing suicides, the rumor that he did would dog Comstock the rest of his life. Having caused suicides was bad enough. To boast about it – as a Christian – was unconscionable.” (128) Madame Restell appears as more of a victim of Comstock than an active combatant fighting against a man obsessed with imposing his own strict sense of morality upon others. Her connection to Sohn’s overarching narrative of sex radicals taking on the fearsome censor is ultimately lacking.

Of the eight women, Ira C. Craddock receives the most consideration from Sohn: extensive details are provided about her life, work, and battle against Comstock over the course of chapters ten through fourteen. A keenly intelligent young woman, Craddock was a freethinker and sex reformer with an academic interest in the occult and religious eroticism. Her curiosity about Spiritualism would eventually lead her to make contact with several spirits, including one named Soph, the ghost of her mother's businessman friend who Craddock had once flirted with as a girl. (176) She would later come to "marry" the ghost: "The wedding to Soph was ecstatic for Craddock. Night after night, he lay down beside her and 'made love to [her] more ardently and tenderly than ever.'" (177) Sohn lavishes attention upon the sexual relationship between Craddock and Soph as it formed the basis for her business, namely, sexual counseling for single and married individuals. It would be this business, which offered advice in person and through the mail, that attracted Comstock's attention and led to Craddock's arrest, indictment, and sentence to serve five years in a federal penitentiary.

At times, Sohn seems to delight in the sordid circumstances surrounding the lives of her protagonists; flaws are bypassed quickly in favor of focusing on romantic entanglements and sensationalist details. The inclusion of intimate relationships is at times out of place, detracting and distracting from the women's work and activism. At the end of chapter fourteen, in the final paragraph about Ida C. Craddock, Sohn includes the following passage: "One night in August, a few months before Craddock journeyed to the Borderland to be with Soph forever, the two had an ecstatic wissening [i.e., a coming-together of the minds]. It was the kind of uplifting, mind-boggling sex that makes a person think the world is as it should be." (244) When juxtaposed with the previous passages describing how Craddock had committed suicide on the eve of being sent to a federal penitentiary, this last paragraph feels out of place. The reader's final impression of Craddock is based on her sexual relationship with what amounts to a ghost rather than her efforts to advance sex-education practices. In addition, Sohn fails to critically evaluate the more troubling beliefs of the women. Nearly all of them were advocates of eugenics and hereditarianism. Sohn merely glosses over this, conflating such ideologies with the fight for women to control sex and pleasure: "Woodhull, Claflin, Lohman, Chase, Heywood, Craddock, Goldman, and Sanger placed women's bodies, and pleasure, at the center of the debate over sexuality and obscenity." (297) While she does not blatantly hide the problematic elements of the women she describes as role models, Sohn does not offer any insight or analysis of their complicated beliefs, which is a major shortcoming of this book.

The primary purpose of *The Man Who Hated Women* is to simultaneously entertain and educate a very general audience, particularly one that is interested in women's history in the United States. And in that it succeeds. *The Man Who Hated Women* is timely, given recent attacks on the rights of women to control their bodies, and it provides an accessible introduction to a time period when women were undergoing many of the same struggles. In examining the forgotten history

of women who, in seeking to control their bodily autonomy, fought back against Anthony Comstock and the 1873 law that bears his name, Sohn creates an inspirational tale that is meant to encourage a new wave of young women to fight against such attacks. To someone unfamiliar with this topic, I would offer this book as an entertaining primer on the subject, as its narrative is compelling and vivid. However, I would not go out of my way to recommend this text to individuals who have an advanced knowledge of women's history during the Gilded Age. People familiar with the sex radicals would likely find Sohn's characterization of them unsettling in its simplicity. In her attempt to connect the work of the sex radicals to that of modern feminists, Sohn oversimplifies a complex and nuanced history. For someone interested in a more academic and scholarly approach to the topic of Comstock and the policing of obscenity, Amy Beth Werbel's *Lust on Trial: Censorship and the Rise of American Obscenity in the Age of Anthony Comstock* (2018) is of particular note as it provides fresh insights into his motivations and actions as well as the complicated relationship between culture and law. Readers looking for a more straightforward biography of Comstock would also be interested in Anna Louise Bates's book *Weeder in the Garden of the Lord: Anthony Comstock's Life and Career* (1995), which details his life, connections, influence over anti-obscenity laws, and his encounters with figures such as Margaret Sanger and Victoria C. Woodhull. If you are seeking a light read with a compelling narrative pertaining to the injustices committed against women and their bodies, *The Man Who Hated Women* may be the right book for you. It was not the right book for me.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in History and English (2015) at Rider University in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she was a member of the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu-Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned a Single Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2017) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."

Venit-Shelton, Tamara.

*Herbs and Roots:*

*A History of Chinese Doctors in the American Medical Marketplace.*

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019.

368 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780300243611.

As much as it is a history of doctors, Tamara Venit-Shelton's *Herbs and Roots: A History of Chinese Doctors in the American Medical Marketplace* is a history of Orientalism. In particular, Venit-Shelton explores how Orientalism defined American approaches to Chinese medicine and Chinese immigrant communities in the American West, and how Chinese medical practitioners navigated changes in American racial and medical politics, rejecting and embracing Orientalist tropes to their own advantage. In so doing, she has written an able companion not only

to studies of Chinese medicine and its role in East-West interaction, including Linda L. Barnes's *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848* (2007) and Howard Chiang's *After Eunuchs: Science, Medicine, and the Transformation of Sex in Modern China* (2020), but also to studies of immigrant community dynamics and minority-majority relations in the United States, such as Alan M. Kraut's *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the "Immigrant Menace"* (1994) and Ellen Wu's *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (2014).

*Herbs and Roots* is not Venit-Shelton's first foray into Orientalism in the United States. Her 2013 monograph, *Squatter's Republic: Land and the Politics of Monopoly in California, 1850–1900*, investigates the politics and rhetoric surrounding land ownership in California in the late nineteenth century, and how these political ideas interacted not just with the rise of the Southern Pacific "Octopus," but with nationwide popular democratic movements, organized labor, and the Grange—as well as with the work of the Public Land Commission—in validating and voiding Mexican land grants, and the settlement, employment, and exclusion of Chinese migrants. She uses this same discursive approach in *Herbs and Roots*, expanding her view from California to all of the American West while narrowing her focus from a disparate array of interrelated, national movements to one particular manifestation of the Progressive movement—the standardization and regulation of medicine along biomedical lines—and its relationship to a particular group of people.

*Herbs and Roots* is divided into seven chapters, the latter six of which are thematically paired, as well as an introduction and an epilogue. The chapters are arranged roughly chronologically, following Chinese medicine and medical practitioners from as early as 1799, with the story of Dr. John Howard, "lately of Canton" (22), all the way to the rise of acupuncture in the 1970s and its integration into today's Complementary and Alternative Medicine. The core of the text, however, focuses on the "long Progressive Era," from roughly 1870 to 1940.

The first chapter, eponymously-titled "Herbs and Roots," situates the rest in a historical context of East-West relations. Not only have Chinese immigrants existed in the United States virtually since the country's founding, Venit-Shelton argues, but Chinese medicine—and particularly its *materia medica*—has played an important role in facilitating and defining Sino-American relations for just as long. American ginseng, prized in China for its panacean uses and abundant in Appalachia and the Old Northwest, was one of the most profitable commodities in the Old China Trade, as was analgesic opium that American middlemen imported from Turkey. Chinese herbs—like rhubarb, camphor, and cassia—and herbal remedies likewise flowed back, buoyed by the investigative and often deprecatory writings of Anglo-American missionaries and merchants. Importantly for Venit-Shelton's analysis, these writings tended to frame China in strongly Orientalist terms, be it a land of exotic and inscrutable wonder, filled with strange cures and as-of-yet-unknown panaceas, or a backwards land, ruled by



tyrannical barbarians and filled with maltreated poor who knew neither good hygiene nor the Good Word. (21–49)

The second and third chapters, titled “Transplanted” and “Translated,” move forward to the later nineteenth century and cover the social role of Chinese doctors within and beyond their communities. For Chinese immigrants, these doctors provided not only vital healthcare services where American medical practitioners often refused, but also their services as middlemen, international hiring managers, and cultural brokers, as import wholesalers, grocers, patrons and investors, and as owners and managers of recreational centers. Respect both within and beyond Chinese communities also empowered some, like Ing Hay and Lung On in Oregon, to act as trusted witnesses for immigration cases, allowing them to forge entry and relationship documents with relative impunity after the Exclusion Act’s passage in 1882. These ties between White Americans and Chinese herbalists, Venit-Shelton explains, often began with Americans treating apothecaries like Oriental curios to be explored, their “morbid fascination with the Chinese pharmacopeia” (57) abounding in popular travelogues. These modes of inter- and extra-community interaction were reproduced throughout the American West as Chinese immigrants settled further northward and eastward from the California coast. (50–92)

Chinese patients alone were often not enough to keep Chinese apothecaries afloat, however, and thus Chinese medical practitioners turned to White Americans, not just as occasional political allies, but as customers as well. In order to do so, Chinese doctors had to develop a keen sense for what services White clients were looking for, particularly those that they would be unable to find elsewhere, and advertise themselves accordingly. One major sticking point White clients, particularly women, had with biomedical practices was their invasiveness. Chinese doctors, then, emphasized their abilities to protect women’s virtue while diagnosing and curing their gynecological problems by using traditional and exotic Oriental remedies, without the need to resort to much-deplored surgeries or specula. One important note is that while many of these gynecological problems related to fertility, Chinese medical practitioners did, with some regularity, prescribe White women herbal abortifacients. The success of Chinese doctors in courting White women was often met with both Orientalist and misogynist backlash from White men: women were irrational, faddish, and easily susceptible to sweet-smelling perfumes that conniving Chinese doctors concocted; the “doctors,” inscrutable in their work, were just as womanly as those they pretended to practice on. (93–135)

The fourth and fifth chapters, “Chinese Quacks” and “Oriental Healers,” cover the attempts by biomedical associations like the American Medical Association to regulate and curtail – often by promulgating harshly critical Orientalist rhetoric – the practice of Chinese medicine in the United States, and the coordinated efforts by Chinese medical practitioners to sidestep these accusations by appropriating them in positive ways. Practitioners of what was now coming to be known as

“regular medicine” branded Chinese doctors as unscientific and overly reliant on unfalsifiable traditions, lacking in credentials, knowledge, and rigor. Newly-founded state institutions with police power, like the Medical Board of California (founded 1878) and the California State Board of Pharmacy (founded 1891), took quick action where they could. Some Chinese medical practitioners attempted to evade these state agencies by obtaining credentials in alternative medical fields that had been accepted by state boards, like homeopathy and chiropractic. Others worked to obtain diplomas from American or Chinese medical academies whose biomedical practices they often integrated with traditional ones. And some merely accepted the fines and the occasional arrest and bail as part of the “expense of doing business.” (156; 136–161)

While monopolizing medical licensure under the state did help to control and standardize how medicine was practiced in the American West, this did little to assuage those who had had qualms with biomedicine itself. Venit-Shelton describes the process by which Chinese medical practitioners appropriated Orientalist discourse for their own advantage as “self-Orientalizing.” Thus, where regular medical practitioners claimed Chinese medicine as unscientific and steeped in tradition, Chinese practitioners described it as “natural” and rooted in ancient wisdom tried by time. Where they described Chinese medicine as pastoral and unlearned, Chinese practitioners emphasized similarities with American folk medicine. And where they decried it as foreign, Chinese practitioners emphasized its novelty and exoticism, while lambasting American scientists for their uncritical prejudice. Chinese medical practitioners were not universally avoidant of sounding modern and scientific, however. Occasionally a Chinese doctor would emphasize that their ancient remedies were tried not just by time, but by modern laboratory equipment as well. Contemporaneously, the nascent field of nutrition studies, with much support from Chinese-American physician Yamei Kin, added support to these doctors’ claims by emphasizing the diversity of vital nutrients to be found in soybeans. Nevertheless, the practicality of applying biomedical standards to Chinese medical practices was hampered by the two systems having developed largely independently of each other, and in Chinese-language advertisements, Chinese medical practitioners rarely emphasized either science or nature, but instead miraculousness, personal skill, and the quality of ingredients. (162–199)

The sixth and seventh chapters, “Decline” and “Rediscovery,” follow Chinese medical practices into the twentieth century. First-generation Chinese immigrant herbalists in the late 1800s encouraged their children to pursue more honorable and secure professions, including standard American biomedicine. While some practitioners did continue to incorporate Chinese herbal remedies into their practices, the decline in medicinal exports from China during the forty-year period of warfare that followed the collapse of the Qing in 1911 and the rapid advancement in synthetic pharmaceuticals in the aftermath of World War I led to progressively more Chinese medical practitioners abandoning their herbalist

practices. Concurrently, the alliance between the United States and the Republic of China against Imperial Japan and Communist China assuaged anti-Chinese sentiments among White people in the United States, which in turn lessened the Orientalist rhetoric leveled at Chinese traditions. (200–218)

This remained the status quo for about thirty years, until the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the 1970s. With the opening of China came stories of exotic, inscrutable miracle cures yet again, this time directed not at herbal concoctions but at acupuncture. In the United States, acupuncture joined with other anti-biomedicine trends that had developed since the 1960s. Unlike previous incarnations of this dichotomy, however, Orientalism was often not invoked by White people in opposition to acupuncture but was instead wielded in support of it, in much the same way that Orientalism was contemporaneously bolstering practices like yoga and *Ayurveda*. (219–247)

Venit-Shelton's arguments and narrative are cohesive and well-reasoned from the evidence at hand. There are two notable absences, however. The first is that she relies almost exclusively on English-language primary and secondary sources, and most of the primary sources she investigates are English-language newspaper articles and advertisements, which provide only one part of this multilingual story. The second is that the book lacks discussion of herbalists and herbalist practices in the United States after 1971, choosing to instead focus on acupuncture. While the final chapter does ably connect acupuncture in the United States to the book's broader themes of Orientalism, self-exoticization in advertising, and conflicts between regular and irregular medicine, it ignores the role that Chinese herbalists have played in the suburban immigrant communities that were founded in the San Gabriel Valley (in eastern Los Angeles County) in the wake of the Sino-American immigration reforms in the 1970s, and the relationships between these communities, their doctors, and their White, Hispanic, Black, and Asian neighbors.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, *Herbs and Roots* is well-written, informative, and well-argued. It is written primarily for an Americanist audience and discusses medicine itself very little, so it may not be suited for those interested in evolutions in China and Chinese medicine in the same period. However, the book's clarity and writing style make it well-worth reading, even as an introductory text, for those interested in Orientalism, anti-immigrant discourse, minority-majority relations, East-West interaction, and American medical policy during the Progressive Era and beyond.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Andromeda Massé of Walnut, California, earned an A.A. in History (2020) at Mount San Antonio College and a B.A. in History (2023) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society).*

## Reviews (Exhibitions)

### *The Cheech Marin Center for Chicano Art and Culture.*

Riverside Art Museum, Riverside, California.  
June 18, 2022, to present.

What is Chicana/o art? And why can the city of Riverside in California claim to answer this question? The new *Cheech Marin Center for Chicano Art and Culture* of the Riverside Art Museum—better known as *The Cheech*—is a one-of-a-kind experience for art enthusiasts interested in a type of art that has long been marginalized in mainstream national and international art venues; it calls attention to scholars studying Chicanx and Latinx traditions and paradigms; and it situates its artwork within the rich history of these respective communities. While *The Cheech*—named for actor-activist Richard Anthony “Cheech” Marin—is designed as an art museum, the themes depicted in its artwork and their curation cut across topics of culture and history. Additionally, it is the only and largest Chicanx-centered art and cultural institution in the world. With diverse types of mediums and a variety of artists, styles, and themes, *The Cheech* is now home to the ineffable artistic expressions of the Chicanx community.

*The Cheech* opened its doors on June 18, 2022. Housed in the city of Riverside in Southern California, *The Cheech* represents a cultural patrimony in the region with critical implications. First, Chicanx art—and Latinx art in general—has suffered from a history of marginalization and has been relegated to the periphery of the art world. This cultural hegemonic practice runs parallel to the social structures that Latinx communities face both nationally and internationally. Second, Southern California’s “Inland Empire” has generally been seen as a region on the periphery of the Greater Los Angeles area. Taking into consideration that this area is known more for its transportation-distribution infrastructure to accommodate the logistics industry than as a cultural hub, it is fitting that *The Cheech*, with all its symbolic and institutional weight for a marginalized community, has found its home on this periphery.

Viewed from the outside, the two-story structure is imposing, proudly displaying the art museum’s nickname, *The Cheech*, as well as “Chicano Art and Culture,” in bold white letters to all passersby on foot or on wheels as an opportunity to validate a historically marginalized community. Entering through the southside entrance, the museum’s semi-open floor plan consumes the visitor in an embrace of artistic intrigue. It is recommended by the staff to begin the art-viewing experience “clockwise,” but one can hardly refrain from looking the other way, counterclockwise, up toward the staircase, and toward the other rooms, with art pieces visible from a distance. However, for a first-time visitor, the staff knows best.

So, heeding the staff’s recommendation, the visitor simply pivots toward the west side of *The Cheech*. Immediately one is greeted by an initial round of art pieces which range in medium from “mixed” via acrylic and oil paint to lenticular

printing and more. The first room, the Altura Credit Union Community Gallery, is of special significance because it focuses on art and its curation by artists and curators from the Inland Empire. In this way, *The Cheech* reaffirms the importance of the Inland Empire in shaping and being shaped by Chicax artists and professionals in fields like public history. The artwork itself depicts a wide range of characters and themes, such as Mesoamerican Indigenous warriors, Indigenous femininity, religion, and more. The visitor is informed of the Chicax community's diversity and inclusion through these artworks which serve as a prelude to the rest of *The Cheech*.

As visitors continue to make their way clockwise, they are transported to *The Cheech's* foundational mainstay, Cheech Marin's own collection of Chicax art. Comprising the remainder of the first floor, Cheech Marin's collection is organized into several sections. According to the marker that initially introduces the visitors to Marin's collection, the first section centers on "neighborhoods and communities that are deeply, artistically meaningful but have rarely been represented as such within mainstream museum spaces. These works deploy memory, creating a sense of recognition—a coming home." Indeed, this first gallery displays paintings by Jacinto Guevara that portray the façades of houses with cultural markers of the Chicax community. Artwork depicting the quintessential urban landscape of the Chicax neighborhood on the southside wall includes creations by Roberto Guitérrez, such as his large *City Terrace*. Margaret García and Joe Pena share the west side of the room with their scenes of nightlife, including street vendors, customarily seen and felt from the perspective of the Chicax community. The visitor is also introduced to a contemporary feature of the art-viewing experience at *The Cheech*, namely, utilizing QR codes that link to videos of Cheech Marin commenting on these respective artists' works and how he came to collect them. Located throughout Marin's collection, these QR codes can be found above Roberto Gutierrez's and Joe Pena's nameplates, offering visitors a shared resonance of the artwork with Cheech Marin himself.

The gallery then transitions into an L-shaped corridor, as the artwork transports the visitor into scenes of violence situated in the history and experiences of the Chicax community. Featuring Frank Romero's *The Arrest of the Paleteros* and various scenes by Adán Hernández and John M. Valadez, including Hernández's mesmerizing *Kill the Pachuco Bastard*, the gallery confronts the historical memory of the Chicax community's collective experiences. Femicides and the criminalization of the Chicax population—structural processes that have historically pushed the community to the margins of mainstream society—are portrayed in the artwork, reminding the public of the legacy of these historical practices.

After exploring the fraught histories and contemporary realities of the Chicax community and landscape, the remainder of the collection showcases the versatility of Chicax portraiture. Through diverse artistic styles and mediums, these works of Cheech Marin's collection display the inclusivity and plurality of

the Chicana community, countering mainstream depictions of a monolithic abstraction of Chicana identity. Benito Huerta's *Exile off Main Street* exemplifies this intentional curation throughout the first floor of *The Cheech*, portraying nude bodies, each with varying hues of pigmentation and degrees of gender ambiguity. Chaz Bojorquez's *Chino Latino* also addresses how racial and ethnic subjectivities are formed in relation to other groups, reminding visitors of the history, space, and conceptualization of encounters between the Chinese and Chicana communities.

Common tropes of Chicana culture are noticeable throughout Marin's collection, such as the *pachuco*, the *pistolero*, desert flora/landscapes, lowrider culture, and much more. Yet, the star of Cheech's collection is the gigantic two-story lenticular *Coatlicue* by brothers Elinar and Jamex de la Torre. Greeting visitors from the moment they enter the art museum and situated in the heart of the edifice, this monumental work portrays a hybrid interpretation of *Coatlicue*, a Nahua deity that symbolizes mother earth. Depicted as a lowrider "transformer," it bridges the Chicana communities from East L.A. to Riverside through an interstate map in the background that connects the two cities. Centering indigeneity and connecting it with the environmental issues that impact Chicana communities in the Inland Empire today, the *Coatlicue*-transformer hybrid conveys the importance of balance and energy renewability. In capturing the diversity that constitutes the Chicana community and its varied experiences, Cheech Marin's collection illuminates his awareness as a Chicana collector and the centrality of situating such dynamics in a historical context with relevance to today's realities.

The *Coatlicue* lenticular is the perfect segue for transitioning up the flight of stairs or through an elevator ride, both on the east side of the art museum, toward the second floor. Here, one encounters the Education Center, a space dedicated to engaging visitors of all ages and abilities in exploring and creating art. Committing to the clockwise navigation on the second floor, the visitor enters a four-part exhibition dedicated to the de la Torre brothers and titled *Collidoscope: De la Torre Brothers Retro-Perspective*. Influenced by their transnational experiences, the brothers' Chicana/borderland artworks range in techniques from glass blowing and lenticular printing to incorporating video and audio. Adding to the visitors' experience, every compartment of the exhibition displays art installations that escape the confines of the museum walls, occupying spaces either on the floor or ceiling.

The thematic scheme for the first room deals with systems and cycles that encapsulate the body as a mode of communication and spiritual connection between nature and technology. Perhaps the most exemplary and outstanding of these artworks is the kinetic installation *La Bella Epoch*. As visitors rotate around the installation, they may notice that the artwork resembles a Mexican ten-peso coin, with the Aztec sun stone on one side and the Mexican coat of arms on the other. Through a historical lens, this installation depicts the false promises of order

and progress of the Porfirian era, of European optimism and colonial expansion, that coalesced before the outbreak of World War I and the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The legacy of this historical correlation is reflected by references to contemporary allusions of time, consumerism, and nationalism.

In addition, the visitor has the opportunity to visit the U.S. Bank Video Gallery located in the first room. Created by students, emerging filmmakers, and digital-media artists from the Inland Empire, this video gallery features interviews with Cheech Marin and a compilation of videos on Chicana/o/x art and artists, all pertaining to the meanings of Chicana/o/x art. This video gallery further solidifies *The Cheech* as a community-centered institution.

The second room examines hybridization in place and time. Its central installation, *Colonial Atmosphere*, encapsulates this theme by portraying an Olmec head reconfigured into a spacecraft against the backdrop of a lunar landscape dotted with *saguaro* cacti, resembling the desert landscape of the U.S./Mexican borderlands. By depicting a time warp between futuristic space travel and pre-Columbian Mesoamerican culture, this installation conveys that hybridity may also imply a dislocation of time and space. The curation allows visitors to weave through the art piece as they witness the array of mixed media on display in and around the installation.

Visitors conclude their art-viewing experience at *The Cheech* with a masterfully curated theme that directly refers to the unfortunate moments of a broader perspective of Chicana/o/x art and art history with the satirical style of a vignette. Colonialism, globalism, syncretism, and other significant topics are bravely depicted and made relevant through a contemporary decolonial framework. This final portion of the exhibition is divided into two rooms, yet these are closely related. For example, *Exporting Democracy*, in the initial room, is a cartographic installation that depicts the global consequences of modernity in the form of religion and democracy to justify war. Stemming from the global map portrayed in the installation are winged crucifixes resembling monarch butterflies. Tied to the ceiling, they lead a path into the second room and connect to a second art piece, *Soy Beaner*. This second art piece depicts the fluidity of culture, identity, and language, portrayed by a massive video and mixed-media Aztec sun stone. However, as the butterfly crucifixes approach *Soy Beaner*, they begin to take the shape of fighter jets. *Soy Beaner* thus conveys the simultaneous political attacks on the Chicana/o/x community and the commodification of Chicana/o/x culture for capitalist profiteering. These final two parts of the exhibition are intended to engage the visitor in a process of healing by confronting these historical moments with a degree of humor and reflection.

*The Cheech* is “one of a kind” in both experience and content. However, other museums dedicated to ethnic communities that have been making a welcome difference include the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C., as well as the Museum of Latin American Art in Long Beach, California. *The Cheech* is of interest to all who wish to appreciate the artistic caliber

of the Chicana community. Those with a background in the field of History may want to pay special attention. Many of the artists featured at *The Cheech* were present during the mid-century Chicana/o movement. Thus, their artwork acts as undiscovered primary sources of the Chicana experience, enabling dialogues between eyewitnesses, historians, and casual visitors. As Cheech Marin asserts during an interview shown in the video gallery, “You cannot love or hate Chicano art unless you see it.”

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Sergio Daniel Sifuentes of Jurupa Valley, California, earned three A.A. degrees (2017) at Riverside City College and a B.A. in History and Spanish Linguistics (2020) at the University of California, Riverside. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History with concentrations in Chicana/o Studies and Public History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the recipient of the 2022/2023 Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship. He is a first-generation Chicana college student.*

*Dress Codes [exhibition].*

Curated by Carolyn Brucken.

Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, California.

May 21, 2022, to January 8, 2023.

“What does your clothing say about you?” “Have you ever broken a dress code?” “What’s been passed down to you?” These questions, emblazoned in white vinyl letters on button-up shirts and blue jeans, greet the visitors who enter *Dress Codes*, a new exhibition on display at the Autry Museum of the American West in Los Angeles, California, from May 21, 2022, through January 8, 2023. The exhibition is curated by Autry chief curator Carolyn Brucken who has been responsible for numerous exhibitions at the museum, including *California Style: Art and Fashion from the California Historical Society* (2007), *Home Lands: How Women Made the West* (2010), and *Investigating Griffith Park* (in development and currently on display for visitors in the museum’s lower level). Just past the museum’s entrance, a bright turquoise wall announces the entrance to *Dress Codes* in the George Montgomery Gallery. Recounting the stories of several iconic clothing styles associated with the American West, *Dress Codes* traces the various meanings associated with these articles of clothing throughout the region’s history and seeks to educate visitors on not only Western fashions, but the cultural implications of clothing more broadly.

The exhibition begins by exploring the history of one of the most ubiquitous articles of clothing in American wardrobes, past and present: blue jeans. Tracing these iconic denim pants from their origins as workwear in the West to a business casual staple, this display emphasizes the varied meanings that jeans have held for Westerners for more than 100 years. A mannequin in a glass case models the oldest pair on display: dark-wash jeans from 1890 along with a shabby denim jacket from 1903, both left behind by workers in Nevada mines. A nearby display case holds two more pairs of working men’s jeans, sold by Levi Strauss & Co. in the 1930s and 1940s. Aside from some rough stitches and patches and a few possible paint



splatters, all three pairs of jeans are in remarkably good condition – a testament to the durability that made them appealing to manual laborers. Upon closer inspection of details – such as the seams, riveted pockets, front zippers, and metal buttons – visitors may be taken aback at how little the basic structure of a pair of jeans has changed over the last century. Jeans eventually transitioned from practical to fashionable as “cowboy” jeans and button-up shirts became the standard uniform for rodeo performers and other entertainers looking to evoke the American West. Several such outfits are displayed, including a pair of boot-cut Wrangler jeans and a silky salmon-colored shirt from country singer Tex Owens, alongside 1950s catalogs advertising rodeo-style clothing. A nearby wall features photographic portraits of modern rodeo performers, highlighting women and people of color who challenge perceptions of the rodeo as an exclusively white and male arena.

Another display walks visitors through women’s subversive adoption of jeans, underscored by a large, printed quote from an 1863 municipal law that prohibited cross-dressing. Placards explain that, despite legal and cultural restrictions forbidding women from wearing pants, Western women borrowed jeans from male friends and family members for years until Levi Strauss & Co. eventually introduced women’s styles. Mannequins modeling high-waisted, wide-legged “Lady Levi’s” from the 1940s and 1950s show off the side zippers that were used in women’s jeans in lieu of the “masculine” front-button fly. But a large pillar next to the mannequins points out that women continued to flout gendered expectations. A large sign accompanied by a short video presentation tells of lesbian women at a bar in 1960s Texas who resisted prescribed dress standards in order to express their sexuality and identity, defiantly wearing front-fly jeans despite frequent police raids predicated on the still common anti-cross-dressing laws. Nearby, a pair of denim overalls, a pair of flared-leg jeans adorned with vibrant fabric patches, and black-and-white photographs of the 1960s continue to explore jeans as rebellion, this time among Civil Rights activists and hippies. *Dress Codes’* inquiry into jeans concludes with a look at modern denim, including several pamphlets published by Levi Strauss & Co. in the 1990s encouraging employers to adopt jeans as standard “business casual” wear. Mannequins display styles as recent as 2020, rounding out the iconic blue jeans’ journey from Western workwear to wardrobe staple.

Venturing further into the exhibition, visitors encounter several displays devoted to plaid. Although not exclusive to the American West, plaid flannel shirts developed particular significance for some Westerners. A cozy button-up shirt made from thick, red-plaid wool invites visitors to leave behind sunny Southern California for the Pacific Northwest, where Oregon’s Pendleton Woolen Mills, famous for their blankets, began manufacturing shirts in 1924. Visitors are then transported to a rugged plain, where a black-and-white mural of cowboys silhouetted against a herd of cattle serves as a backdrop for mannequins modeling plaid shirts in warm oranges and browns, often worn by Western workers and

performers alike throughout the twentieth century. Nearby, another wall features a watercolor painting and several black-and-white photographs documenting plaid in Los Angeles, where groups ranging from surfers to dock workers have incorporated plaid shirts into their typical style of dress. An adjacent wall plastered with album covers and band stickers considers plaid's significance among musical artists based in the Western U.S., while speakers hanging overhead play "The Sound of Plaid," a mix of songs by artists from The Beach Boys to Kendrick Lamar. On a small screen, visitors can watch a video presentation about Greenspan's, a California clothing store operating from 1928 to the present that has played an integral role in incorporating plaid into lowrider culture, even influencing Pendleton to produce plaid shirts in a wider range of sizes. A final display of photographs considers plaid in relation to LGBTQ+ identity, from the lesbian women in the 1940s who encoded covert meanings into the fabric that allowed them to recognize one another in public, to the gay men who embraced plaid in the 1970s as an adaptation of typical masculine attire.

The exhibition then transports visitors across the Pacific Ocean to paradise—a beach with white sands, lush palm trees, and bright blue waters to match the clear blue sky, all projected onto a wall serving as a backdrop for colorful displays of *aloha* wear. In the center of the space, mannequins model resort wear, dresses adorned with Hawaiian flowers made by California companies from the 1930s through the 1960s. Another display includes a black and pink *kimono* from 1920s Japan alongside a checkered *palaka* shirt worn by sailors and Hawai'i's plantation workers in the twentieth century, while signage discusses the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino influences that eventually begat the iconic *aloha* shirt. A veritable rainbow of these breezy Hawaiian-style shirts dating from the 1960s to the present lines the nearby wall. Each short-sleeved button-up merits a closer inspection, as some surprising designs hide within the familiar floral patterns, from illustrations of guitars to a California high school campus. Captions identifying the origins of each shirt, primarily collected from Autry staff members, reflect personal and family histories as varied as the fabrics themselves: "Grandfather's shirt, passed on to Josh G."; "Western *aloha* shirt. Thrifted in Albuquerque, NM. Circa 2010"; "Husband's *aloha* shirt, worn for parents' anniversary in Hawai'i." Nearby, a display delves deep into the history of one family's Hawaiian roots, featuring photographs of family members wearing floral prints from the 1960s to the present, an empty sugar bag from the Honolulu Plantation Company where a grandfather worked and went on strike in the 1920s, a shadowbox displaying a son's 2016 graduation shirt adorned with flowers and palm trees, and a quilt made by a grandmother in 1992 from pink, blue, and red fabrics leftover from handsewn clothing. Visitors may be surprised by Hawai'i's inclusion in the museum, as the lush islands do not fit with the dusty brown desert or rocky arid mountains often associated with the West. But lying approximately 2,000 miles further west than the United States' West Coast, Hawai'i represents a significant milepost in the nation's westward expansion.

In a far corner of the gallery, visitors are invited to ponder cultural appropriation compared to cultural exchange while learning about another trend often associated with the Western United States: fringe. Mannequins model several jackets in warm leather tones, some embellished with intricate floral embroidery, and all adorned with leather fringe on the shoulders and sleeves. These jackets, crafted by Cree, Dakota, and Cherokee makers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, represent a long history of fringe used as “sustainable fashion” among Native people to avoid wasting material. Nearby, a glass display case holds a black dance shawl, created by a Blackfeet artisan in 1972, ornamented with turquoise and red geometric patterns and red and white ribbons, while a quote written on the wall above explains the significance of fringe’s dynamic movements within Native dance traditions. The exhibition then considers the incorporation of fringe into the myth of the American West. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century Western dime novels are displayed alongside photographs of fringed outfits worn by “Wild West” performers” and an actual circa-1900 jacket belonging to William “Buffalo Bill” Cody, covered with embroidery fusing the stars and stripes of the U.S. flag with buffalo skulls and arrow patterns. Next to a fringed leather shirt worn by Mohawk actor Jay Silverheels as Tonto in *The Lone Ranger*, a plaque explains that fringed costumes in American popular culture often functioned as “a visual stereotype that erased real, contemporary Native people.” The display concludes with a few final fringed leather jackets and a vest alongside a photo of Jimi Hendrix, representing the adoption of fringe by counterculture movements in the later part of the twentieth century.

The exhibition then takes visitors out of the gallery and down a hallway, where a small display of cowboy boots and accompanying plaque outline the style’s origins as nineteenth-century workwear and its eventual adoption by Western performers as a regional symbol. Visitors subsequently enter the Norman F. Sprague, Jr. Gallery, where a final display models the distinctive *china poblana* dress. Catholic artifacts and paintings from as early as the seventeenth century tell of the style’s mythologized origins with an enslaved woman from India who became a Mexican folk saint. Consisting of a simple blouse, a sash or belt, and a full skirt in patterned, embroidered, or beaded fabric, *china poblana* developed and spread throughout eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mexico, combining styles and fabrics from India, Europe, China, and Indigenous Mexican cultures. Today, the style remains closely tied to Mexican and Mexican American identities. An early twentieth-century outfit on display consists of a white blouse embroidered with flowers, a striped sash, and a skirt featuring a horse and rider formed with intricate beadwork. A black and red ballgown worn at a 2017 *quinceañera* in Dallas, Texas, adorned with sequined florals and a Mexican eagle, represents a modern manifestation of the style.

Throughout *Dress Codes*, the displays are detailed and exceptionally well done, with varied artifacts, from photographs to pamphlets, perfectly complementing the displayed clothing. The accompanying placards and infographics are not only

informative but visually engaging, with a cohesive visual style throughout. Additionally, an interactive portion of the exhibition invites visitor participation, including an electronic poll asking if style is the same as fashion, walls covered in sticky notes recording visitors' stories about suffering for fashion, and rows of clothespins where visitors have displayed drawings of their favorite articles of clothing. The exhibition even continues into the museum gift shop with an impressive display of books about fashion within and beyond the West. Informative, energetic, and inviting, *Dress Codes* provides an engaging—even fun—visitor experience.

Overall, *Dress Codes* views its subject matter through a distinctively cultural-studies lens, considering questions of identity, rebellion, and ongoing imbalances of power while inviting visitors into the hidden histories behind the very clothes they are wearing. The exhibition's treatment of *china poblana* unfortunately suffers from its lack of proximity to the main exhibition; although well curated, this display of Mexican American culture and identity feels a bit underwhelming compared to the larger gallery. Additionally, the exhibition's textual descriptions of artifacts may not contain enough detail to satisfy the serious fashion historian. But *Dress Codes'* strength lies in its accessibility, and its focus on the everyday people who wear and use fashion to establish and maintain identity offers a refreshing departure from the many fashion exhibitions that center on prestigious designers and artists, such as *Lee Alexander McQueen: Mind, Mythos, Muse* at the LACMA (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) or *Art of Costume Design in Television* at the FIDM (Fashion Institute of Design & Merchandising) Museum. An engaging exploration of the meaning of everyday articles often taken for granted, *Dress Codes* is a standout addition to the Autry Museum. Like all of the Autry's exhibitions, *Dress Codes* undoubtedly deserves the attention of scholars studying the American West—but this exhibition proves that the Museum can be enjoyed by anyone with even a passing interest in not only the American West but American history and culture more broadly.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Melissa B. Garrison of Torrance, California, earned a B.A. in American Studies (2016) at Brigham Young University. She is currently pursuing an M.A. in American Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*The Fantasy of the Middle Ages [exhibition].*

Curated by Larisa Grollemond and Bryan C. Keene.  
The Getty Center, Los Angeles, California.  
June 21 to September 11, 2022.

At some point in our lives, perhaps while reading the nostalgic childhood book series *Harry Potter* or while watching HBO's pop-cultural mainstream fantasy drama *Game of Thrones*, we all must have wondered what life in a medieval fantasy would be like. As all things medieval have been reinterpreted and reimagined in creative outlets like books, films, TV shows, and games, the era itself has become a historical and cultural reference to the imagination. Capturing the fantastical

elements that have found their way into the expressive arts and storytelling, the J. Paul Getty Museum's exhibition *The Fantasy of the Middle Ages* intertwines the historical context of iconic medieval artistic pieces with the mythical icons of folk legends that have inspired fantasy writers paying homage to the era.

The Getty, residing in the hills above Santa Monica, is known as one of the premier educational centers of Los Angeles. It showcases works of art of outstanding quality and historical importance to the curious audience. The journey to our exhibition begins with a long and winding trip on their tram, followed by climbing the solid travertine limestone steps toward the welcoming museum entrance hall. Past that, the courtyard's glistening paved floors guide you to the museum's various pavilions, as well as other admirable attractions and places of interest. To your left, in the North Pavilion, our exhibition awaits you, as you are greeted by the studio lighting and mysterious pieces of art carefully arranged in its rooms. As all stories start, we begin at the beginning of the exhibition and time-travel back to the Middle Ages.

The exhibition's first section, "The Medieval Imagination," dissects the relevance and relationship of medieval historical works in fashion trends, architectural designs, and other cultural settings. One of the most eye-catching exhibits in this section is the manuscript illumination "St. George and the Dragon" by Master Guillebert de Mets, contained in a 1450-1455 prayer book (Ms. 2 [84.ML.67], fol. 18v). On one single page, it depicts the classic chivalrous tale of a knight in shining armor (St. George) saving a damsel in distress in her locked tower. The illumination's hints of golden hues creates a fantastical impression. As the imaginative world of medieval affairs aligns with romanticism, adventure, and chivalry, the desire to be a hero manifests itself in our dreams. This section's collection of manuscript illuminations also presents "King Haldin Accusing the Sultan's Daughter Gracienne of Dishonorable Behavior," attributed to Levian van Lanthem and David Aubert (1464), a homogenous blend of fantasy and history in their *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* (Ms. 111 [2013.46], fol. 150v). This exaggerated account of the travels of a medieval nobleman to Egypt is embellished with fictional settings inspired by European architectural designs and costumes. This particular image presents colorfully dressed nobles alongside their king inside a majestic castle. The beautiful designs continue in the folio's border which is filled with intricately designed animals, plants, and mythical beasts.

And what would a fantasy story be without mythological creatures and monsters to complement the world-building of our favorite stories? The exhibition's section "A Magical Middle Ages" does a wonderful job of presenting iconic creatures of fantastical origins, from the dwarves of *Lord of the Rings* to the wizards of *Harry Potter*, showcasing these beings as complementary to the Middle Ages via their association with medieval culture. Magical creatures in these settings include fabled dragons, witches, fairies, trolls, and other beings that have become associated with the Middle Ages as lore that brings a mystical element to this time period. An oil-on-canvas painting, *Fairies in a Bird's Nest* by John Anster

Fitzgerald (circa 1860; on loan for this exhibition from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco), captures the mystical aura in its rendition of woodland fairies mischievously frolicking around an abandoned nest. Arguably the epitome of medieval monsters is the fire-breathing dragon that a knight must slay in many a fabled legend. A reference to this fantastic being, the illumination “A Dragon” (1270), included in a bestiary featuring treatises by Hugo de Fouilloy (Ms. Ludwig XV 3 [83.MR.173], fol. 89) captivates an unknown medieval artist’s interpretation of a horned legendary beast with feathered wings attached to a reptile’s body, immortalizing the creature in all its oddity. Reimagined into more recent media, Smaug, the dragon, becomes the respective antagonistic character in J. R. R. Tolkien’s *The Hobbit* who will ultimately be slain by Bard the Bowman in a heroic feat.

A perfect example of history intermingling with folklore is the tale of King Arthur, a legend pervasive as an inspirational cornerstone for fabled knights. The exhibition’s section “King Arthur and Camelot” juxtaposes what is known about the “historical” King Arthur against the stuff of legends. As myths create grandiose illusions—for reimagined tales are always greater than their original inspirations—the question arises: What is the “real” story of King Arthur and his Round Table? To address this question, the exhibition introduces a collection of well-preserved manuscripts that feature the adventures of Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, for example, the fourteenth-century illumination “Tristan Rescuing King Arthur” (1320) by an unknown artist, included in the *Roman du Bon Chevalier Tristan, Fils au Bon Roy Meliadus de Leonois* (Ms. Ludwig XV 5 [83.MR.175], fol. 148). Arthur’s fantastical medieval world is reflected in more recent media, such as the 1949 Paramount film based on Mark Twain’s eponymous 1889 novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, in which the main character, Hank Morgan, time-travels to Camelot and interacts with the knights of the Round Table.

The following section, “Staging the Middle Ages,” turns to the dramatic world of knightly tournaments attended by noble ladies in fantastical dresses. This room explores the gendered lifestyles of iconic knights and ladies via fashion and presentation. As women in medieval paintings are adorned in textile garments of flamboyant colors, their dresses have inspired costume designs all the way into the modern era. To illustrate this, the exhibition features a dress created by French fashion designer Paul Poiret in 1925 (on loan from New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art) that takes its cues from the silhouetted gowns of medieval ladies with their modest cut, various layers, and beautiful embroidery. In addition, this section exhibits Mary Kay Dodson’s 1948 costume sketch of Virginia Field as Morgan Le Fay in the film *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court* (on loan from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art). This particular sketch features an elegant white gown with decorative patterns affixed to its bodice, contrasted by a majestic black cape that curtains the gown. Juxtaposed with the feminine icons of medieval fashion are the period’s knights who often participated in showcases of

spectator sports, including jousting, fencing, and the like. The exhibition emphasizes this by displaying the *Il Fior di Battaglia* manuscript (circa 1340/1350–1450; Ms. Ludwig XV 13 [83.MR.183]), a fencing and fighting manual originally written by Fiore Fulran di Liberi da Premariacco in the late 1300s. It is a “how-to” manual of the art of combat, both on horseback and on foot, and it explains how to wield swords, axes, lances, and daggers.

The exhibition’s final section, “The Middle Ages on Location,” presents set references in popular culture that are embedded in famous projects and easily recognizable. These sets have become timeless as they blend reality and fiction. A classic example is the HBO series *Game of Thrones* (2011–2019) which used the picturesque Croatian city of Dubrovnik as the setting for Westeros’s King’s Landing. Other art projects captivate the majestic grandeur of towering castles as settings for their fantasy stories to enchant the audience. Thus, the concept art of *Sleeping Beauty* (Walt Disney Productions, 1958) by Eyvind Earle could be considered a fantastical representation of the medieval world in art and animation. As its vibrant hues welcome viewers into the world of *Sleeping Beauty*, Eyvind Earle’s castle builds a bridge to a time and place far, far, away to begin the story. While this alleged medieval castle has become a signature feature of the Disney franchise (as evidenced by its physical manifestations in Anaheim, Orlando, and all around the world), it was inspired by the architectural design of Neuschwanstein Castle in Germany, a magnificent neo-medieval structure that was itself a take on numerous original medieval buildings (including the Château de Pierrefonds in France).

As you step away from your time-travel and return to reality by exiting the main exhibition, you will come across the atrium which showcases modern items of medieval designs. Here, the Getty has curated a personal collection of staff memorabilia that displays pop culture’s homages to the Middle Ages. Truly wonderful in their presentation, royal purple banners surround these items to evoke nostalgia, as we ourselves might have some of these very items in our homes. For example, there are board- and role-playing games, including *Dungeons and Dragons*, *HeroQuest*, and *Magic: The Gathering*. Believers in the mystical elements of magic may relate to *Tarot* cards with their medieval illustrations. Geeks of popular fandoms will recognize famous collections like *Harry Potter*, *Lord of the Rings*, the *Dragonlance* novels, *Warhammer 40K*, and even *Star Wars* (after all, the Jedi Order echoes the medieval Templar Knights). These collections show how widespread the ideas of medieval culture have become in our society. History may not repeat itself, but it sure does rhyme.

To anyone seeking to connect to a historical era, I highly recommend the Getty’s *The Fantasy of the Middle Ages*, and while this exhibition will have run its course by the time this review is published, a brilliant and beautifully illustrated catalog (144 pages), *The Fantasy of the Middle Ages: An Epic Journey through Imaginary Medieval Worlds* by Larisa Grollemond and Bryan C. Keene (2022), is bound to keep it alive for years to come. This exhibition creates a magnificent

dialogue between medieval artifacts and modern media, and it stimulates a conversation on how impactful the Middle Ages continue to be in our modern society.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jesus Vazquez of Anaheim, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*USS Midway Museum*

*[built as an aircraft carrier 1945; museum since 2004].*

910 North Harbor Drive, San Diego, California 92101, at Navy Pier.  
Permanent exhibition.

A weapon built for war turned into an instrument of knowledge ... In 1945, the USS [United States Ship] *Midway* was commissioned as the largest ship in the world, a title this aircraft carrier would hold during the first decade of its service for the U.S. Navy. Between 1945 and 1992, it participated in numerous operations, including “Operation Frequent Wind” (1975), when it housed refugees after the evacuation of Saigon, and its designation as flagship during “Operation Desert Storm” (1991). The USS *Midway* was decommissioned in San Diego in 1992, subsequently moved to storage in Washington, and returned to San Diego in 2004 for its opening as a naval aviation history museum.

The USS *Midway* Museum experience begins as soon as you arrive since the museum’s primary parking area is located on a pier directly adjacent to the ship itself. There is no building to traverse prior to entering the USS *Midway*; rather, there are exterior stairs and a bridge that bring visitors directly into the aircraft carrier’s hangar deck. From there, the museum provides audio-tour devices that offer additional information (e.g., context, background, and anecdotes) on many of the ship’s rooms and displays. A QR code can also be scanned to bring up these audio files on a personal device, allowing visitors to use their own cellphones and earbuds rather than the equipment provided by the museum. However, there are areas of the carrier where the cellular signal is weak or – in my case – completely lost, rendering the audio files temporarily inaccessible. Nevertheless, it is highly recommended to listen to the audio information as one explores the museum.

Upon entering the hangar deck, “The Battle of Midway Theater” is situated to the right of the entrance. Every 30 minutes, the theater plays a 15-minute film, *Voices of Midway*, that focuses on the 1942 Battle of Midway during World War II’s Pacific naval campaign, the aircraft carrier’s namesake. This film combines historical footage and reenactments to tell its story with an emphasis on Ensign George H. Gay Jr. (1917–1994), the only surviving member of Torpedo Squadron 8’s attack on the Japanese aircraft carriers. Having the story primarily revolve around one individual makes this significant, large-scale event appear more personal since it connects the audience with a name and a face. While it is a fairly short film, *Voices of Midway* provides plenty of information regarding the naval battle’s importance, the events that transpired during the engagement, and its



outcome. The film is suitable for an audience of all ages and a wide range of historical knowledge, and I would recommend it to all visitors.

Moving beyond the hangar deck, visitors can explore the carrier's living quarters and naval operations areas (e.g., navigation and communication) that are adjacent to the hangar deck. This area housed the crew of the USS *Midway* during its decades of active service; now there are mannequins in their stead. The bedrooms are reminiscent of college dorms: there is just enough room to sleep and store some belongings, but not much space to move about or for privacy. Visitors then have the opportunity to visit "ready rooms" that served multiple purposes for a squadron's officers (e.g., as offices or briefing rooms). The seats in these rooms are arranged in rows and columns that face a screen and a whiteboard, which contributes to the sense of order and organization throughout the museum. Traversing this area of the carrier takes visitors to office areas where crew members would type and file reports, messages, orders, and the like, and to areas with consoles, screens, and various electronic equipment. Essentially, this section of the ship was responsible for carrying out the orders of the USS *Midway*. Walking through this deck offers visitors insights into the complex system of operating an aircraft carrier.

Meanwhile, the lower deck was responsible for sustaining the crew while the USS *Midway* was deployed. Visitors are allowed to walk through the galley and take a closer look at the enormous cooking pots required to prepare the 13,000 daily meals. The dining area for the enlisted men was nothing out of the ordinary (i.e., barren tables and chairs in a large room), but the (much smaller) dining area for the officers featured cloth covers for the tables and chairs. The carrier was equipped with industrial-sized washers and dryers, as well as large clothing irons, to clean and press 2 million pounds of laundry each year. All this clean laundry went well with the clean haircut and shaven face provided by the onboard barbershop that provided 80,000 haircuts per year. Due to its services and role in creating a sense of familiarity similar to living on land in a typical town or city, this deck is aptly titled "City at Sea."

The area that removes one from this familiarity is the flight deck with its display of a wide range of fighters, bombers, and helicopters from different decades. Each aircraft is accompanied by an information sign that contains its official name, role (e.g., attack or cargo transport), brief history, manufacturer, crew size, dimensions, gross weight, powerplant, and performance. Two areas on the flight deck are designated for talks given by volunteers, utilizing a screen to display footage and diagrams. One talk is focused on launching (catapult), the other on landing (trap). While visitors can admire and take photographs of the flight deck at their own pace, there is the opportunity for a guided tour of the island on the flight deck which takes visitors to the bridge and the captain's seat. This section of the carrier is the most crowded area, yet there is a sense of wonder because this tour offers the unique perspective to walk, quite literally, in the footsteps of the ship's leaders.

One detail that adds to this unique museum experience is that many of the volunteers are U.S. Navy veterans, and a handful of them actually served on the USS *Midway*. These veterans serve in a wide range of capacities, providing the aforementioned talks, directing foot traffic in the lower decks, or giving tours in specific areas (e.g., the bridge). Since there are numerous fighters, bombers, and helicopters from different decades on the flight deck, a few of the volunteers are able to point out the aircraft they piloted during their service, which makes the visit to the USS *Midway* Museum feel even more immersive.

This immersion is further enhanced by interactive experiences throughout the site. Firstly, there are two flight simulators in the hangar deck that visitors can pay to ride. One simulator is a two-seater, allowing visitors to act as pilot and co-pilot, while the other is intended for large groups as passengers. Secondly, there are various recreated cockpits that visitors can access for photo opportunities or to play with the equipment. Thirdly, there are numerous areas on the aircraft carrier for visitors to sit down at a console, view a navigation or targeting screen, flip switches, and pretend to work on the carrier. Lastly, there is equipment displayed in various rooms, ranging from pilot helmets to the muzzle of an aircraft's onboard gun. Other rooms contain timelines that walk visitors through the evolution of airplanes, helicopters, aircraft carriers, and the roles they played during warfare, rescue, and relief operations. These different components of the museum complement one another and bring naval aviation history to life.

Since it is, after all, an aircraft carrier, the USS *Midway* Museum does have shortcomings. With the exception of the "Battle of Midway Theater," there is no air conditioning throughout the museum. During my visit, I noticed (and this was confirmed to me by the staff) that there were not many visitors on that particular day. Despite this fact, though, it did not take long for the heat and humidity to set in when moving through the narrow inner decks. The staff did place fans throughout the decks, but these can only do so much to alleviate the situation. While this may seem like a mere nuisance at first glance, it can quickly lead to health and safety issues during California heatwaves. There was at least one individual during my time aboard who became lightheaded and required a checkup by the health staff before continuing their visit.

Furthermore, certain areas of the carrier are inaccessible or difficult to navigate for visitors with physical disabilities. The museum has put two measures in place to tackle this issue. Firstly, elevators have been installed where possible to allow for expanded access. Secondly, in areas where the installation of elevators is not feasible, the museum has set up video tours as an alternative to walking through the carrier. These two issues (i.e., the lack of air conditioning and the limited accessibility throughout the carrier) are unsurprising since the USS *Midway* was built toward the end of World War II and served as a fully-functioning, active aircraft carrier for several decades. Thus, visitors should forgive these faults since the USS *Midway* was not intended to be a museum, and the staff has taken steps to address these issues.

While it has been renovated to accommodate museum visitors rather than a naval crew, the USS *Midway* Museum still retains many of the details that bring history to life, such as tools and equipment, aircraft on the hangar deck, and passionate volunteers who are more than willing to share their service history. Those who have visited other aircraft carrier museums, such as the Patriots Point Naval & Maritime Museum (in Charleston, South Carolina) with the USS *Yorktown*, those who are interested in military history, or those who have a rekindled interest in aircraft after watching *Top Gun: Maverick* (2022) will certainly enjoy a visit to this museum in the beautiful city of San Diego. The USS *Midway* Museum is an awesome example of a living relic, and it excels at paying tribute to World War II, naval aviation history, and the USS *Midway* proper.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Anthony Chavez of Fontana, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) and his Single-Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science (2019) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

*Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows / Podcasts)*

*Elvis* [film].

Directed by Baz Luhrmann. 2022.

Warner Bros. Pictures; Bazmark Films; The Jackal Group. 159 minutes.

*Elvis*, the 2022 film from director Baz Luhrmann tracing the life of pop-culture icon Elvis Presley (1935–1977), can only be described as a whirlwind. Starring Austin Butler in the title role, its dizzying montages whisk viewers through the entirety of Elvis's life in just over two and a half hours. Following a destitute childhood in rural Mississippi, Elvis spends his juvenile years in Memphis, Tennessee, frequenting Beale Street, an area teeming with Black life and culture in the 1950s. Audiences travel through Elvis's rise to rock'n'roll stardom in the 1950s, watching him shimmy and thrust in his signature style to the delight of screaming fans. After a brief tour of his 1960s Hollywood career, viewers eventually arrive at his final residency among the bright neon lights of 1970s Las Vegas. Elvis's infamous manager, Colonel Tom Parker (starring Tom Hanks), narrates the tale from his own deathbed, years after Elvis's passing, regaling listeners with tale after tale of the pair's most profitable triumphs. While the film celebrates Elvis's vibrant life and legacy, capturing his zeal for music and enthralling stage presence, it also interrogates Parker's role in building and eventually tarnishing that legacy. The film ultimately suggests that Elvis Presley was turned into a commodity, continuously packaged and repackaged by Parker, and sold to an eager public, all at the expense of the artist's humanity.

The film begins with Parker's sudden collapse sometime in the 1990s, around twenty years after Elvis's death. Chaotic flashes of Las Vegas, roulette wheels, and newspaper headlines invite viewers into Parker's troubled mind, while the disembodied voice of an anonymous newscaster recounts numerous claims against Parker, from mismanaging Elvis's finances to causing the artist's death. A frail Parker abruptly leaps from a hospital bed to refute these claims and transports the audience back to 1955. Parker, who was managing country singer Hank Snow at the time, is camped with a traveling carnival along the Texas/Arkansas border when he hears a hot new record sweeping the South, "That's All Right," recorded by a young up-and-comer from Sun Records. Hank Snow discerns "Negro rhythms" (07:36) throughout the song, and when his teenage son dramatically reveals that the artist—Elvis Presley—is white, Parker's eyes widen as he considers the incredible money-making potential of a white singer with Black musical roots.

Later that same day, a nervous young Elvis prepares backstage for his first performance on the Louisiana Hayride show. Encircled by his bandmates and family, he shakes out his nerves while his mother (starring Helen Thomson) softly sings a hymn, "I'll Fly Away." Parker then begins to narrate Elvis's family background, and the audience enters the dusty Mississippi town where the star

spent his childhood. A sandy-haired, preteen Elvis (starring Chaydon Jay) hides outside a dilapidated wooden building, spying as Arthur “Big Boy” Crudup moodily strums a guitar and sings “That’s All Right” in a bluesy falsetto with couples nearby dancing to the convulsing rhythm. Suddenly, a new sound in the distance pulls Elvis away. Dashing to a nearby tent, he enters a religious service where a rapturous congregation sings “I’ll Fly Away.” Overcome by the blues and gospel rhythms, young Elvis’s body begins to quake, and back on the Louisiana Hayride stage, grown Elvis in an oversized pink and black suit starts to sing. As his performance builds, Elvis’s body moves, his legs and hips shaking along with the beat. The teenage girls in the audience, and even some older women, lose control, letting out involuntary shrieks in response to the performer’s immodest movements. The song ends with screaming female fans crowding the stage, ripping Elvis’s jacket away as he rushes offstage.

The film goes on to depict Elvis’s early partnership with Parker, touring across the Southern U.S. with Hank Snow and drawing crowds of excited young women. Eventually, Parker parts ways with Snow to exclusively represent Elvis. Parker draws Elvis away from Sun Records to a contract with national label RCA and convinces the artist’s reluctant parents to sign on by forming “Elvis Presley Enterprises,” with Elvis’s father (starring Richard Roxburgh) as business manager. Relishing the incredible success of his first RCA recordings, Elvis soon purchases a pink Cadillac for his mother and a two-story colonial-revival home on the estate that will eventually become Graceland. Elvis’s growing fame garners him an invitation to perform on *The Milton Berle Show*, where his suggestive dancing draws the ire of U.S. Senator James Eastland from Mississippi. While Eastland was indeed a critic of Elvis, in the film he takes on a more prominent role, representing the cumulative moral panic over Elvis’s risqué creative choices. The film depicts Colonel Parker acceding to pressure from Senator Eastland and subsequently forcing Elvis to clean up his act – but after finding himself stuffed into a tailcoat singing “Hound Dog” to an actual basset hound in a top hat on *The Allen Show*, Elvis flies into a rage. After exchanging harsh words with a gaggle of friends and family members (commonly called the “Memphis Mafia”) hanging around Graceland, Elvis heads to Club Handy on Beale Street where he complains to his friend B. B. King about the powers seeking to stifle his artistic expressions. But when the frustrated artist voices his fears that his dancing will land him in jail, King laughs and explains, “They might put me in jail for walking across the street, but you’re a famous white boy. Too many people are making too much money off you to put you in jail.” (49:44)

Elvis Presley was not actually close friends with B. B. King, but in the film, King’s words bolster Elvis’s confidence. In a highly dramatized recreation of his 1956 performance at Memphis’s Russwood Park, Elvis decides to forego Colonel Parker’s advice and suggestively dances his way through a carnal rendition of “Trouble” before members of law enforcement unceremoniously drag him off the stage and into the back of a police car. Interestingly, Senator Eastland features

prominently in these scenes, leading a pro-segregationist rally a few miles from the park. Shots of Elvis warming up the crowd before his defiant performance are interspersed with clips of the senator decrying the spread of “Africanized culture” (54:57), a juxtaposition that casts Elvis’s gyrating hips as an act of rebellion, somehow integral to the fight for racial integration and equality. While *Eastland* did, in fact, hold a rally nearby on the same day as Elvis’s concert, Elvis was not actually detained for dancing, and the ensuing riot portrayed in the film—led by hysterical fans—did not occur. However, this fictionalized climax effectively sets up the film’s next major plot point: Elvis’s 1957 draft notice and his 1958 enlistment in the U.S. Army, which the film paints as a convenient solution to his exaggerated legal woes.

After a highly publicized haircut, Elvis leaves for basic training only to return home shortly thereafter to mourn the death of his mother. He then ships off to Germany, where he meets his future wife, Priscilla. He returns home to the United States just as the 1960s begin, and a stylized musical sequence on a tour bus introduces a new iteration of the Memphis Mafia, made up of family members, friends, and advisors in Elvis’s inner circle. The artist’s novel career ambition also takes center stage: acting. The tour bus montage continues throughout the 1960s, with cheerful clips showing Elvis and Priscilla welcoming their daughter, Lisa Marie, while Colonel Parker arranges for Elvis to take Hollywood by storm, but after numerous films, Elvis’s acting career starts to sour as he (and audiences) tire of his two-dimensional roles. As video clips of the decade play in the background, from *The Beatles* to a Saturn V rocket launch, Elvis watches the nation move forward, seemingly leaving him behind. Suddenly, a gunshot rings out, marking the 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and bringing Elvis to a complete halt. Still reeling from the news, Elvis partners with director Steve Binder (starring Dacre Montgomery) and record producer Bones Howe (starring Gareth Davies) to revitalize his image through an upcoming Christmas television special orchestrated by Parker. But while filming the special—an energetic sequence of musical numbers featuring kung-fu choreography, gospel singers, risqué female dancers, and Elvis in an iconic black leather jumpsuit—another gunshot rings out, this time signaling the 1968 assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy. In response, Binder and Elvis add a new finale to the special, a soulful ballad in which the artist searches for answers and mourns along with a hurting nation. Even Parker, who vehemently disliked Binder’s and Howe’s artistic direction, is moved by the number, and the television broadcast is an immediate hit.

Elvis hopes to take this newfound momentum on an international tour, but here, Colonel Parker’s manipulation of the artist becomes undeniably apparent. Illegally living in the United States under an assumed identity, Parker cannot leave the country—and with a mountain of gambling debts, he fears losing Elvis, his cash cow. Feigning worry over financial risks and security threats, Parker convinces Elvis to remain stateside, putting on a new performance at a Las Vegas hotel and embarking on a fifteen-city U.S. tour. In exchange for Elvis’s five-year

residency, Parker negotiates for the hotel owner to subsidize his (i.e., Parker's) personal gambling habit. Elvis thus remains in Las Vegas for the remainder of his career, growing increasingly unhappy, while Parker enlists the services of Dr. George "Nick" Nichopoulos (starring Tony Nixon) to care for the deteriorating artist by pumping him full of medication. Although, in reality, Parker's true identity did not surface until after Elvis's death, the film lets Elvis in on the secret—and in response, an angry, slurring Elvis fires Parker onstage during a performance, only to reluctantly reconcile after discovering he cannot sever financial ties with him. Resigned to his lot in Las Vegas with the duplicitous Parker, a final scene shows Elvis conversing with his now ex-wife on an airplane runway after visiting his daughter. Priscilla pleads with Elvis to seek help for his drug dependency as the singer laments, "Nobody's gonna remember me. I never did anything lasting." He brushes off Priscilla's encouragement, confessing, "I'm all out of dreams." (2:21:35) After Elvis bids Priscilla goodbye, a montage of news coverage from 1977 announces the famed singer's death at age 42 from a heart attack at his Memphis home. The film concludes with archival footage showing a momentous outpouring of public grief after this loss.

Sticklers for historical accuracy may balk at *Elvis*, as the film undoubtedly exaggerates and fabricates some aspects of Elvis Presley's story in the name of good storytelling. Still, Baz Luhrmann's interpretation arguably maintains emotional and thematic accuracy, effectively communicating the overall trajectory of the artist's life and career. *Elvis* joins several recent biopics about twentieth-century musical artists, including Freddie Mercury (*Bohemian Rhapsody*, 2018), Elton John (*Rocketman*, 2019), and Aretha Franklin (*Respect*, 2021), but Luhrmann's glitzy aesthetic lends itself well to Elvis Presley's dazzling persona, making *Elvis* a stylistic standout. The film features a distinctly "Baz Luhrmann" soundtrack, blending old sounds with the new à la the director's other films *Moulin Rouge* (2001) or *The Great Gatsby* (2013). Classic Elvis tracks—mostly sung by Butler, with some snippets of Presley's recorded voice blended in—were remixed to suit the emotional atmosphere of each scene, from booming bass lines to an ethereal echoing effect distorting the singers' vocals. "Can't Help Falling in Love" was rerecorded by Kacey Musgraves, serving as the auditory backdrop for Elvis's and Priscilla's first kiss. New tracks were commissioned for the film as well, such as Denzel Curry's rap that accompanies an angsty Elvis on a drive through Memphis, and artists like Doja Cat, Eminem, and CeeLo Green also lent their talents to the film's soundtrack. Some viewers may not enjoy the liberties Luhrmann takes with Elvis's music, but the director's creative decisions—from the soundtrack to the occasional departures from historical fact—compellingly tie together the emotional threads of Elvis's life story.

It is worth highlighting that *Elvis* consciously and constantly draws attention to the Black musical artists who influenced Presley's work, even pointing out songs that originated with Black artists before they became Elvis's greatest hits, beginning with "Big Boy" Crudup's "That's All Right." In another notable

example, Elvis hears Big Mama Thornton (starring Shonka Dukureh) singing his future hit “Hound Dog” while visiting Beale Street early in the film. Still, the film perhaps fails to fully reckon with the implications of a white singer gaining fame for borrowing from Black musical styles, casting Elvis’s embrace of Black music as complimentary with only minimal references to the barriers faced by Black artists in Elvis’s era. But in a biographical drama about such a beloved performer, this acknowledgement is still a welcome addition. Overall, *Elvis* tells an enthralling story about a pop culture icon’s struggle to maintain his humanity and artistic identity, while an exploitative manager—and perhaps an exploitative culture—gradually breaks his spirit. While *Elvis* will be of particular interest to scholars studying popular culture in either the twentieth century or the present day, all who consider themselves students of history or culture will undoubtedly find something to capture their attention in this film.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Melissa B. Garrison of Torrance, California, earned a B.A. in American Studies (2016) at Brigham Young University. She is currently pursuing an M.A. in American Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

*The Last Duel* [film].

Directed by Ridley Scott. 2021.

Scott Free Productions; Pearl Street Films; TSG Entertainment. 153 minutes.

You have come home from a brutal war, ill and physically spent. You are trying to provide for your family, yet are bankrupt even after years of attempting to gain a more favorable standing in life. Now, upon your return, you must travel a considerable distance yet again to claim the wages for which you have spilled your blood. While you are practically at your breaking point, you find your beloved wife in shambles and hysterically describing how the man you once considered your greatest friend raped her while you were away at war. This is *The Last Duel*, a film adapted from the 2004 book of the same title by Eric Jager, an American literary critic and medievalist at the University of California, Los Angeles. Jager was brought on to provide feedback on the film’s script and consulted its team on historical accuracy. *The Last Duel* takes place in France during the Caroline War (1369–1389), the second part of the Hundred Years’ War between England and France. It is director Ridley Scott’s twenty-sixth film and the first of two released in 2021 (the second being *House of Gucci*). Scott is no stranger to the ancient and medieval world, to fantasy, and to the epic genre, as evidenced by some of his previous films, such as *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014), *Kingdom of Heaven* (2005), *Robin Hood* (2010), and—perhaps his most famous and critically acclaimed contribution to the genre—*Gladiator* (2000). Considering his cinematographic achievements to date, I would say that *The Last Duel* most resembles *Gladiator* thematically and *Kingdom of Heaven* visually and historically. If one took the medieval period of *Kingdom of Heaven* and combined it with *Gladiator*’s themes of violence, masculinity, and revenge, one would have *The Last Duel*. With regard to its storytelling, the film is a medieval European version of the Japanese film



*Rashomon* (1950) in which the characters' stories are presented separately and are contradictory to one another. *The Last Duel* presents three different accounts, one by Jean de Carrouges (starring Matt Damon), one by his former friend Jacques Le Gris (starring Adam Driver), and one by Jean's wife Marguerite (starring Jodie Comer). Ben Affleck joins the cast as Count Pierre d'Alençon. What starts as a tale of fraternity and aspiration quickly turns into one of treachery, conspiracy, and revenge.

The film opens on the battlefield during the 1370 siege of the city of Limoges with the English and French engaged in war. Bodies lay across the field indiscriminately, some of them decapitated. While this is realistic, Scott might also be alluding to *Gladiator* as that film, too, opens with two opposing armies facing each other on the battlefield. Jean de Carrouges and Jacques Le Gris are in the mud, fending off the enemy and looking out for each other. After some time, the English retreat, whereupon Jean decides to lead a spontaneous charge against the fleeing English despite Jacques's urging in favor of caution. The men return from their campaign to a hero's welcome and celebrate with the others in a like-mannered fashion. Eventually, they meet up with Count Pierre d'Alençon who had been appointed Jean's overlord by King Charles VI of France (or, as some referred to him later, "The Mad"). Jean and Jacques swear allegiance to Pierre, and the snowball that will eventually result in their duel begins to roll. There is a certain "prince and pauper" undertone when Jacques is placed in charge of collecting war levies and comes to Jean to collect. Jean, given his current financial situation, cannot pay, and thus he asks Jacques to petition for leniency on his behalf. As Jean continues to be down on his luck, Jacques's life could not be any better. Upon discovering that Jacques is well-read and knowledgeable in accounting, Pierre elevates him to a position at his court. As the saying goes, it is not money or status that changes a person; it only amplifies who they already are.

In Jacques's case, this certainly rings true as he becomes an accomplice in Pierre's frequent debaucheries including (on Pierre's part) adultery and sexual assault. At one point, Pierre seizes a girl against her will and wrestles her into submission, arguing that this is something she had wanted, and Jacques follows suit. The focus then returns to Jean who is taking an interest in the lovely Marguerite de Thibouville. After a courting period, Jean meets with Marguerite's father Robert to discuss the dowry. Robert, a nobleman, owns many valuable estates, including the one Jean desires most, namely, Annou-le-Facoun, located in northwestern France. After much debate, Robert concedes the property as a portion of the dowry. Jean and Marguerite are married in a beautiful ceremony, and everything seems to be going Jean's way for once. He is happily married, and his socio-economic status is bound to be on the upswing, or so it would seem.

Meanwhile, under duress to settle an outstanding tax debt, Robert has been forced to surrender the coveted Annou-le-Faucon to Pierre who, adding insult to injury, gifts it to Jacques. Enraged, Jean first attempts to go to Pierre to settle his claim but is promptly brushed aside. Now furious, Jean takes the matter to King

Charles himself, only to find himself dismissed yet again. After learning of this, Pierre takes his revenge by appointing Jacques as captain of the Carrouges family estate following the death of Jean's father, thus robbing Jean of his birthright – the ultimate insult. Jean and Marguerite have been unsuccessful in conceiving a child during this time, which puts further strain on Jean who, in addition to losing his birthright, might now also lose his legacy. Jean harbors rage and hurt toward Jacques who, in his eyes, did not defend him as a friend and former comrade, nor did he utilize his connection with Pierre to alleviate Jean's situation. Alas, the two meet at a celebration and, upon kissing each other on the cheek, declare to all present that the feud between them is now dissolved, which is met with thunderous applause. As the festivities go on, Marguerite and her friends catch Jacques's eye who has been observing them for some time. Despite Jacques's reputation as a womanizer, Marguerite approaches him to gain his favor, and the two strike up a conversation about books. Marguerite compliments Jacques's knowledge of literature and reveals that Jean is not interested in books. Jacques interprets this as Marguerite being somehow unsatisfied or unfulfilled in her marriage to Jean, and the seed of adultery is planted in his heart.

The film's defining moment arrives when Jean returns home from a failed military campaign in Scotland. Although he has been knighted for his efforts, he is still bankrupt and therefore must leave for Paris to collect his wages, leaving Marguerite by herself to attend to their estate. Jacques intrudes on the home and assaults Marguerite, a barbaric act shown in both her and Jacques's subsequent accounts of the story. After his return, Jean finds out what has happened and immediately proceeds to pursue legal action. Since the courts fail to act, Jean takes the matter to the king himself, and an ecclesiastical court interrogates Marguerite to see whether she has been truthful, as "a woman who didn't enjoy it can't conceive." The king then decides to grant Jean's request for a judicial duel, and the two men enter the arena. In the end, Jean pins Jacques to the ground, demanding that he confess, and finally ends Jacques's life by kneeling his blade into Jacques's throat. Marguerite is declared innocent due to her husband's victory, and the two live out the rest of their days, parenting their children until Jean's eventual death fighting in the 1396 Crusade of Nicopolis.

Considering the film's star talent, I would recommend it to anyone who enjoys the acting of Matt Damon, Ben Affleck, and Adam Driver. I would especially recommend it to anyone who loves medieval times, revenge stories, great fight choreography, and films with some grounding in actual past events. However, I would not recommend this film to anyone sensitive to the theme of sexual assault as it is featured prominently on several occasions. While I appreciated the film when it first came out, I felt that many of the scenes involving Pierre could have been cut as they gave him and Jacques the appearance of fraternity brothers as opposed to powerful members of the French aristocracy. In addition, I wish the film would provide more information about the "aftermath," following the duel itself. Eric Jager's book covers this rather well by describing Jean's and

Marguerite's firstborn son and how he grew up to realize that Jacques might be his real father. The book also states that this trial was widely covered during its time and for centuries after, with people even disputing the outcome and arguing in favor of Jacques's innocence. At the end of the day, it is a Ridley Scott film, so at the very least you know that it will be good, if not great.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jacob Nikolson of San Marcos, California, earned a B.S. in Business Administration (2020) at California State University, San Marcos. He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where he is a member of the History Student Association (HSA) and the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). He also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History."*

*Stuff the British Stole [podcast].*

*Hosted by Marc Fennell. 2020 to present.*

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Podcasts. 10 episodes (28-38 minutes each).

Dressed in all black, a yellow tote bag slung over one shoulder, the woman walks briskly along a nondescript city street, her phone held up, recording her journey. She beams at the camera before asking in a gleeful voice, "You know how – when you get robbed – you never see your stuff again? Well, apparently, there's a place in London where you can go and see all the stuff that's been taken." The camera angle shifts to reveal a stately building, Ionic columns lining the entryway. "So we just got to the British Museum," she deadpans before the screen goes dark. At first glance, @lostwithlucy's video is just another social media post, but it raises an excellent point. Many of the collections housed in the British Museum and other such institutions across the United Kingdom (and the western world) are subjects of contentious debates. For numerous ethnic groups and entire countries, the items found in these exhibitions are antiquities pilfered by invading forces and a reminder of the destruction wrought by the British Empire. Books like Sharon Waxman's *Loot: The Battle Over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World* (2008) and Geoffrey Robertson's *Who Owns History? Elgin's Loot and the Case for Returning Plundered Treasures* (2019) have previously addressed the conflict over who should own the great works of ancient art, examining the implications of preservation and the demands for restitution. *Stuff the British Stole*, a podcast hosted by Marc Fennell, is a welcome addition to the subject as it provides insight into the less-than-straightforward history of why certain objects are found in British museums, delving into the complex history of colonialism and the debates surrounding the return of artifacts to their places of origin.

*Stuff the British Stole* is the brainchild of its host Marc Fennell, a Walkley Award-winning journalist, author, documentary-maker, television presenter, and podcaster from Australia. It is produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) (season one and two) and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) (season two). Fennell has generated several other podcasts, including *It Burns*, a documentary on the scandalous race to breed the world's

hottest chili, and *Nut Job*, an investigative series on California's million-dollar nut heists. Based on his catalogue of work, it is clear that Fennell has a flair for storytelling, delving into unusual but compelling narratives that few others have examined. It is his family background, solidly based in the history of the British Empire, that has inspired him to create *Stuff the British Stole*: Fennell labels himself a "genetic potluck" to explain his varied ethnic background with family roots in Singapore, India, and Ireland. In each episode, Fennell selects a single artifact and guides the audience through its turbulent and often tragic journey to its current location. Through interviews with experts, historians, and people from the affected communities, Fennell reveals the "not-so-polite history" behind the objects, emphasizing the lasting damage of these thefts. While each item provides insight into larger stories of imperialism and colonialism, the podcast itself goes beyond simply examining the past; rather, it also reflects on the world of today, making sense of the repercussions of history.

The inaugural episode, "A Tiger and a Scream," delves into the story of how a mechanical toy, *Tipu's Tiger*, ended up in London's Victoria and Albert Museum. Every day, visitors stream past what Fennell describes as an "almost life-sized soldier with the dilated pupils of a career stoner lying supine as a wild orange tiger plunges its fangs deep into the side of his neck." (01:55) The automaton consists of a life-size wooden tiger mauling a life-size wooden European man dressed in the uniform of the East India Company. Mechanisms inside the tiger's and man's respective bodies cause one hand of the man to move and the man himself to wail while the tiger emits grunting sounds. This mechanical toy was created for Tipu Sultan, otherwise known as the Tiger of Mysore, an eighteenth-century ruler of the kingdom of Mysore in South India. A fierce fighter, Tipu Sultan opposed British colonial forces until his death (1799) in battle during the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War. Upon his death, British forces looted the stronghold of Seringapatam, stealing the wooden figure and bringing it to the London Zoo. From there it bounced between archives and museums before permanently landing in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection.

Tipu Sultan's legacy is as complicated as the story of how his automaton made its way to England. Tipu was demonized by the British as a fearful dictator, a villain who needed to be stopped, and his involvement in massacres and slavery is undeniable. Fennell does not shy away from presenting critical perspectives on the matter, and he features a diverse cast of voices such as Maya Jasanoff, a professor at Harvard University; Zareer Masani, an author of several texts on Indian nationalism; Shashi Tharoor, an author and Indian member of parliament (MP); and Alice Procter, an art historian. Procter's inclusion provides an interesting analytical point of view, which is necessary to address the complex history of British colonialism. She acts as a sort of undercover historian, offering unofficial (and originally secret) guided tours of British museums as a means of discussing the uncomfortable side of history, "specifically about the stuff that people don't want to talk about, which is colonial history. The kind of darkest parts

of empire and imperialism [...] the objects on display that have really violent histories” that no one mentions. (08:01) A recurring theme across the podcast is the concept of what it means for an item to have a “contested history.” As Procter points out, “a lot of museums use [the] term of “contested histories” as this way of glossing over what’s actually being contested, which is that – nine times out of ten – they were stolen in very violent circumstances or taken as part of looting after conflict.” (08:10) *Stuff the British Stole* sets out to address the deficits left by the polite plaques that litter museums to offer a window into the violent and tragic pasts of artifacts and lends insight into their theft.

Fennell includes stories from a wide swath of countries impacted by British colonialism. Episode four of season one, “The Headhunter,” dives into the history of *tā moko* and *mokomokai*, which became a highly coveted memento across Britain in the nineteenth century. To begin the episode, Fennell interviews Roki Maika, a tattoo artist who practices *tā moko*, a form of traditional *Māori* tattooing which communicates a person’s story and connects them to their ancestry through intensely detailed and stylized curves and patterns. The tattoos may appear anywhere on the body, but the face is the most significant location. Traditionally, after someone with facial *tā moko* had passed, their body would be decapitated and their head preserved through a process in which “it would be steamed, smoked, dried, and then sealed with shark oil.” (08:35) Such heads, referred to as *mokomokai*, were created for two reasons: as trophies of war and as a means of memorializing revered loved ones. When Captain James Cook, the British explorer, landed in New Zealand in 1770 aboard *The Endeavor*, the *mokomokai* became a point of curiosity and soon sparked a dangerous trade centered on exchanging heads for muskets, which fueled bloody tribal warfare. Soon, *mokomokai* were scattered across the Western world, finding a home on people’s mantles, between the shelves of medical institutions, and in British museum collections. Now, in the twenty-first century, the government of New Zealand is working to track down and repatriate the *mokomokai*.

The voices of *Māori* are heard throughout the episode, expressing the importance of the *mokomokai* to their culture and the pain felt by the people due to their theft. Te Herekikie, a member of the Te Papa Repatriation Unit, explains that “there have been over one thousand ancestors taken from our country. We’ve been able to achieve six hundred of those coming home. The job isn’t completed until all our ancestors come home. I’m connected to every ancestor that comes home because they are me, and I am them.” (27:16) There is a promise in Te Herekikie’s voice. It is an incredibly different experience to hear him say these words versus reading them in an article. As an auditory medium, *Stuff the British Stole* underscores the emotional nature of the stories told throughout the podcast. Something must also be said for Fennell’s ability to conduct an interview. His skills are outstanding as he draws out information. From that, he crafts an enthralling narrative arc that guides the audience through a range of emotions and thoughts.

*Stuff the British Stole* is an exceptional podcast that succeeds beyond measure in entertaining its audience. I would recommend it to friends and family members who have even the smallest passing interest in history. A person does not need an in-depth knowledge of British colonial history to comprehend the subjects being examined and discussed. Each episode of *Stuff the British Stole* confines itself to a single story, typically running around twenty-eight to thirty-eight minutes. At the time of writing this review, there were ten total episodes across two seasons, and a television show based on the podcast was in production and scheduled to begin airing in late 2022. In addition to the artifacts discussed above, the episodes produced so far address bronzes from Benin, puppies from Imperial China, a Gweagal shield from Australia, the Motunui Epa panels from New Zealand, the Parthenon Marbles from Greece, the Mount Keefe Chalice from Ireland, the remains of the so-called “Hottentot Venus” (Sarah/Saartje Baartman) from South Africa, and a dodo skull from Mauritius. As both writer and narrator, Fennell recognizes how to construct a compelling narrative that presents complex histories in an understandable and accessible manner. The sound engineering and editing are excellent, accentuating the superb storytelling. Truly, this podcast is worth the time, and I cannot recommend it enough. If *Stuff the British Stole* catches your attention, then *Sidedoor*, the official podcast of the Smithsonian, should be added to your list of must-listen-to podcasts. In a similar manner, *Sidedoor* combines narrative storytelling with interviews from prominent historians, artists, biologists, archaeologists, and other experts in the field to relay the stories of items found in the Smithsonian’s vaults. Whether you are a serious historian or a commuter needing to fill the silence of an hour, *Stuff the British Stole* is the perfect podcast.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned a B.A. in History and English (2015) at Rider University in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she was a member of the Iota-Epsilon Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society) and the Nu-Phi Chapter of Sigma Tau Delta (English Honor Society). She earned a Single Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science and English (2017) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF, where she is a member of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta (History Honor Society). She also served as an editor for volume 50 (2023) of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History.”*

*Vinland Saga: Season 1 [TV series].*

*Directed by Shūhei Yabuta. 2019.*

Wit Studio, Inc.; Netflix. 24 episodes (25–29 minutes).

Sagas are grandiose stories—based on ancient oral traditions—of the amazing feats and accomplishments of legendary Norse heroes. One of these tales, the *Vinland Saga*, has recently been adapted into a TV series via the Japanese medium of anime. Directed by Shūhei Yabuta, it is an on-screen adaptation of Nordic lore, myths, and legends regarding the famous medieval Icelandic explorers. The first season reviewed here is set in the early eleventh century and follows a young warrior named Thorfinn on his journey to avenge the death of his father by

defeating the latter's killer in a duel. However, it must be noted that setting sail and embarking to Vinland does not yet happen in this first part of the series. Rather, the first season's arc primarily focuses on the events and experiences that dramatically change and shape Thorfinn.

The first four episodes serve as a prologue to showcase Thorfinn's early childhood, but they mainly demonstrate the moral compass by which Thorfinn's father lives. The opening scene reveals a young Thors Snorrsson, Thorfinn's father and an astounding warrior, as he dispatches groups of enemies with ease. Despite his skill and triumph, he abruptly flees the battle, leaving behind his former life as an exalted Norse warrior, a Jomsviking. It is revealed that, ever since the birth of his first child, Thors has begun to feel uneasy in the face of death and started to get scared of battle. These transformative sentiments lead him to turn to a philosophy of nonviolence, and he forswears harming anyone ever again.

However, fifteen years later, his past continues to haunt him, as the Jomsvikings have discovered that he is living in Iceland and demand that he join their upcoming war against England. Despite his resolution of nonviolence, Thors is forced to comply, as they threaten to annihilate his village and its people. Unbeknownst to this threat, the village is filled with excitement because such is the Viking way. The young men are eager, as they will finally have a chance to prove to themselves and their village that they are warriors. Together with the other boys, six-year-old Thorfinn is especially excited as he hopes to cement himself as a great warrior like his father. When Thors learns of his son's aspirations, he confronts him, cautioning him that no one has any enemies and that it is not acceptable to hurt anyone. Haunted by the trauma and the weight of guilt he has incurred from inflicting pain upon others, Thors seeks to prevent Thorfinn from experiencing that same guilt. He forbids Thorfinn from traveling with him, but Thorfinn sneaks onto his father's boat, revealing himself only when they are past the point of safely returning home.

The audience is then introduced to the leading antagonist, Askeladd, as he is being hired by the Jomsvikings to kill Thors for his insubordination fifteen years earlier. Askeladd is the charismatic leader of a band of Danish mercenaries who will ambush Thors's party as they are traveling. Thors defeats wave after wave of Danish forces with his bare hands, thus allowing him to kill none of them. He eventually challenges Askeladd to a duel to prevent a further escalation of violence. Thors handily defeats Askeladd but refuses to kill him, which Askeladd cunningly takes to his advantage, forcing Thors to surrender his life to save the lives of his men and his son. This causes a dramatic change in Thorfinn as he becomes filled with hatred and rage. In that moment, he pledges to kill Askeladd to avenge his father.

The events following the death of Thors are the focus of the remainder of the anime, with Thorfinn living the kind of life his father had desperately sought to keep away from him. Moving forward, Thorfinn will experience a life that is relentlessly violent and unforgivingly tragic. The most prominent example of this

is the episode *The Journey Begins*, which exhibits the loss of Thorfinn's innocence and his descent into violence as he grows up pursuing Askeladd's group to avenge his father. The young Thorfinn joins battle campaigns and even works for Askeladd to be rewarded with duels against him. This episode particularly demonstrates Thorfinn's commitment to revenge. After skirmishes with English forces, Thorfinn is injured as he attempts to scout an English village. As he is found injured by a stream, he is taken in and shown forgiveness by an English woman who protects and cares for him while English soldiers are searching for him. Thorfinn inevitably betrays this woman's trust and signals the Vikings to begin their plunder and destruction of the village. Clearly saddened by his own decision, he nonetheless participates in the raid.

Despite all the gruesome violence and brutality it has to offer, *Vinland Saga* still manages to sustain its beautiful underlying story of humanity and the search for what it means to be a true warrior. This is showcased through the amazing character exploration and development. What makes the characters in this series so great is that all of them are conflicted with regard to their own identity or purpose. In an interview, the author of the *Vinland Saga* manga, Makoto Yukimura, explains how he has sought to portray individuals confronting violence. His concept is clearly reflected by the characters themselves as they live during a time of barbarity and cruelty. For instance, Thorfinn has reached such a point of obsession with revenge that he will stop at nothing to achieve his goal. This is characterized by the approach he takes when trying to earn duels from Askeladd. He chooses to confront violence with violence. On the other hand, Thors is haunted by the trauma of inflicting violence. He is someone who has the supreme capacity for violence but chooses not to use it in order to seek redemption from his past; he has chosen to counter violence with unyielding peace.

In terms of the relationships between characters, Askeladd and Thorfinn have the most interesting connection. In fact, their relationship adds a layer of depth to the story, as they develop a pseudo mentor-student connection and even, to a certain extent, a father-son relationship. Thorfinn is forced to learn from his own father's murderer how to survive in a ruthlessly violent environment. Much like a father, Askeladd does not internalize the anger and contempt that Thorfinn expresses toward him but rather attempts to counsel him to help him grow and develop. In Thors's absence, Askeladd essentially raises and mentors Thorfinn during his developmental years. Throughout the rest of the season, he almost gives the impression that he wants Thorfinn to succeed in his quest for revenge.

As an animated series, *Vinland Saga* takes immense liberties with regard to production value and design, offering a no-holds-barred approach when it comes to theatrics as everything is amplified to the next level of spectacle, especially given the monumental amount of action. Hyperbolic feats of strength and agility are on full display as our beloved heroes somersault onto fortress walls, cleave their enemies in half, and carry longships overhead with their bare hands whilst running full-sprint. For an anime, this level of action is considered typical or even



tame. Furthermore, the animation itself is a masterpiece. Critical moments and action scenes are stunningly and beautifully animated. The director and producers are able to fully realize their visions of depicting full-scale battle scenes, dynamic and fluid duels, and unique character expressions and emotions. Such an astounding level of work is scarcely found in any other form of “historical” anime.

*Vinland Saga*'s telling of a story based on Nordic folklore and legends through a Japanese medium is truly remarkable. In terms of historical accuracy and realism, the anime does fall short, but it also does not detract from or ruin the experience. In the abovementioned interview, Yukimura states that focusing on pure historical realism often creates a certain distance from entertainment. By deviating from such realism and paying attention to viewer satisfaction, Yukimura has created incredible scenes and events. It is abundantly clear that he has done extensive research to use Viking lore in order to maintain a high level of historical authenticity. There are many connections to the original sagas that find their way into the anime. However, at times, it is the author's choice to tell the story his own way. For instance, in the original sagas, particularly the *Saga of the Greenlanders* and the *Saga of Erik the Red*, the character that Thorfinn is based on, Thorfinn Karlsefni receives no references to his childhood. Other characters, such as Askeladd, do not appear in any of these sagas as well. The only trace of Askeladd is under the name of Askeladden in Norwegian folklore.

The first season of *Vinland Saga* is a masterwork of historical fiction. With the release of the second season in January 2023, there is no better time to start watching the *Vinland Saga* unfold than right now. Casual viewers without much preliminary knowledge of Nordic and Viking history will nonetheless be entertained by *Vinland Saga*'s action-packed battle scenes, tear-jerking emotional encounters, and jaw-dropping plot twists. Viking-history buffs who have been enjoying the vast array of recent “Norse” TV series on Netflix and elsewhere, but have never watched an anime, will likely be enthralled by the “historic” moments and bits of Nordic folklore woven throughout *Vinland Saga* and will probably be fascinated by the sheer scale of what a Japanese anime is able to achieve in terms of story development, animation, and design.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Wesley Ha of Temple City, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

*The Woman King* [film].

Directed by Gina Prince-Bythewood. 2022.

TriStar Pictures; Welle Entertainment; JuVee Productions; et al. 135 minutes.

Arguably one of Viola Davis's most notable cultural films (next to *The Help*), *The Woman King* provides a jaw-dropping experience. From the realistic fight scenes to the inspirational speeches delivered by the main characters, it was hard for me to turn away from the silver screen. *The Woman King* is a testimony to the limitless potential of our community: regardless of race, creed, or gender, we are all capable of what we put our minds to. Throughout the film, there is a wide range of actions

taken by the main characters that serve to inspire those who watch, whilst maintaining reasonable references to past events.

To express somewhat chronologically my emotions and reactions throughout the film, I turn to the opening scene's high level of intricate detail and my corresponding level of elation. In the film's first ten minutes, the brute force and technical demonstration of martial arts gives way to the resounding knowledge in the community that the "woman king" will not just match but outperform traditional kings. In my experience with history, kings and queens usually "fight" with pen, paper, and seal. In *The Woman King*, the sweat and blood of battle, often associated with "manliness," is that of females. Izogie (starring Lashana Lynch), a character who embodies all the features of a 1980s Marines drill sergeant, receives plenty of screen time. Her savagery in battle earns her the reputation of a fearsome, honorable, and ruthless warrior, which is why her death (addressed later in this review) is not just shocking but emotionally distressing to the audience.

*The Woman King* touches on the political and social dynamics in Africa during its colonial history, including gender roles and issues pertaining to both the African and global slave trade. Shortly after the film's 1823 opening battle scene, the "Agojie" warriors, an all-female combat unit led by General Nanisca (starring Viola Davis), along with the Dahomey women they have just rescued from Oyo slavers, are seen marching back to a large welcoming ceremony where community members are not allowed to make eye contact with the Agojie out of respect. This relatively simple detail really connects the women's fighting superiority to their political and hierarchical status among their male counterparts. To this day, not looking someone in the eyes remains a sign of reverence or fear in some communities. Igozie represents this theme of female power in a scene that depicts a show of strength between the two prominent branches of the Dahomey army, namely, the Agojie and the unnamed male force. In this scene, Izogie is positioned roughly five feet from a member of the male contingent. A spear is placed between them, and the person who can apply the most forward pressure is to be declared the winner. After a painful twelve seconds, Izogie, representing the strength of the Agojie, takes a step forward as the spear's sharp end makes its way through her shoulder, its other end simultaneously moving toward the man. When the man, reluctantly yet swiftly, removes the spear from his shoulder, his facial expression almost resembles that of a young child forced to yell "Uncle" when their older sibling has them pinned in a helpless position. I simply had to clap in my reclining chair in the movie theater as I had just witnessed something that has never been so accurately shown on the silver screen before. *The Woman King* features many such moments that elicit similar emotional responses, especially those involving the main protagonist, General Nanisca.

Nanisca and her "abandoned" daughter Nawi (starring Thuso Mbedu) represent the film's compassionate aspect. There is a scene in which, after an intense training session of the new Agojie recruits, Nanisca realizes—with the assistance of her trusted friend Amenza (starring Sheila Atim)—that the recruit

who is at the top of the class is, in fact, her long-lost daughter. That Nanisca, when she was a younger, lower-ranking member of the Agojie, had abandoned her child is explained as a consequence of the norm that the Agojie are not permitted to have families or bear children, due to the assumption that love causes weakness. As a member of the audience, it was never clear to me why the Agojie were not allowed to have children or marry, whereas their militant male counterparts could experience both. To me, this felt like a lop-sided policy in which women had the “short end of the stick.” Throughout the film’s second half, we witness Nawi struggling with this policy as she makes eye contact with male members of the community and eventually falls in love with Malik (starring Jordan Bolger). Jordan Bolger brilliantly portrays this complicated, complex, and conflicted young man of Dahomey blood who has recently come to Africa aboard a Portuguese ship. The reason for this is revealed when he shares with Nawi that his Dahomey mother had been carried off to Brazil as a slave, but had always dreamt of her son being able to see her beautiful African homeland. While Malik intrigues both the audience and Nawi, she heeds the warning from her commanding officer Nanisca to obey the policy of abandoning her desire for a family, let alone a relationship.

Toward the end, there is a rescue mission that, unfortunately, costs Izogie, the most aggressive and resilient of the Agojie warriors, her life when she is killed by a gunshot. However, Izogie’s bravery tattooed her name on my mind for the remaining portion of the film. In fact, all of the film’s main characters earn unique places of their own, usually identified by their actions rather than mere words. Despite directly disobeying the king’s order not to conduct the rescue mission, Nanisca is awarded the ceremonial title of “woman king.” Nanisca’s bravery and leadership earn her this title, but at that moment, when she seemingly has it all, her mind wanders back to thoughts of her daughter whom she had abandoned as a child to earn this crown. The film’s most wholesome moment comes when Nawi approaches Nanisca, her mother, at the festival and asks for a dance. This symbolizes the slow beginnings of a, hopefully, blossoming relationship between mother and daughter, but it also represents that the wounds inflicted on Nawi psychologically, thinking that she was unwanted, are obstacles she still has to face; however...not tonight.

The brilliance of Dana Stevens’s screenplay is obvious, but this film, along with others released in recent years, proves that all aspects—including props and thorough historical research—contribute to the excellence of the final product. The film’s executive costume designer Gersha Phillips went all out in her creative choices to consider historical depictions. The socio-cultural research conducted to bring *The Woman King*’s story to life accounts for the film’s authentic feel. Many people do not really know what, who, or how Africans worshiped prior to their indoctrination by European settlers; therefore, it was a strategically sound plan to include some worship scenes in the film. After watching *The Woman King*, I felt compelled to conduct some of my own research into the film’s African communities in order to assess the film’s artistic and cultural contributions. It is

clear that *The Woman King* holds considerable sentimental value, not only as a demonstration of female power and African culture as a whole but also as an inspirational tribute to African American ancestry.

Another powerful component is the film's perfect placement of sound effects as well as its use of cultural music, particularly songs. The music, scored by renowned Jazz trumpeter and composer Terence Oliver Blanchard and celebrated with a "best-original-score-in-a-feature-film" win at the 2022 "Hollywood Music in Media Awards, sets the mood for the various fight scenes, and it is truly "jump-out-of-your-seat" stirring. To me, the most beautiful example from the film's soundtrack is a cultural chant sung by the warriors (01:21:00). In addition, *The Woman King's* closing credits feature Jessie Wilson's Grammy-nominated song "Keep Rising" (featuring Angélique Kidjo), which has you enraptured until the very end.

As an African American historian, I am deeply grateful for and thoroughly impressed by this film. After watching the previews, I had not been thoroughly intrigued, but now, knowing the full story and how it all plays out, it would have been a shame to not have seen *The Woman King* in a movie theater. Coincidentally – although I am sure this was not a coincidence to its protagonist – the film's September 2022 release occurred only a few months after the publication of Viola Davis's autobiography, *Finding Me: A Memoir* (April 2022), underscoring this artist's tremendous versatility, strength, and creativity.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Marcus Arnwine of La Palma, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

## Reviews (Games)

### *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla*

[*action-adventure open-world video game*].

Developer: Ubisoft Montreal.

Platforms: Xbox One, Xbox Series S/X, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Microsoft Windows/PC.

Release date: November 10, 2020.

The year is 855 A.D. The longhouse is filled with people dancing, horns are overflowing with mead, and two Viking clans celebrate their newly established union. Young Eivor presents Styrbjorn, her new Jarl (leader), with a token of unity, and the longhouse breaks out in song. Suddenly, a rival clan led by Kjetve the Cruel attacks the village, and Eivor's parents are executed before her very eyes. She attempts to escape by horse but ends up being attacked and forced onto a frozen lake. A wolf seizes the opportunity and grabs hold of her neck. Whether by skill, luck, or the will of the gods, she survives the attack and slays the wolf with an axe. So begins the saga of Eivor "Wolf-Kissed" Varinsdottir. *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla*, developed by Ubisoft Montreal, follows the story of Eivor, now an adult, as she departs Norway in late 872 A.D. with her adoptive brother and the Raven clan to establish a settlement in England in early 873 A.D. Eivor's goal is to form alliances with the various kingdoms, though this proves to be complicated as she navigates her relationship with other Danes, Saxons, and Britons in this foreign land. Ubisoft Montreal has created a story that showcases the interesting dynamics of different cultures and ideologies interacting with one another. Ubisoft Montreal is also responsible and acclaimed for its work with the *Far Cry* (since 2005) and *Tom Clancy's Rainbow Six* (since 2003) franchises.

*Assassin's Creed: Valhalla* is the latest installment of the ever-growing *Assassin's Creed* franchise, and it is the biggest departure from the earlier games for two reasons. Firstly, in *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla*, Ubisoft Montreal fully embraces the concept of an open-world game. Although there is the clear storyline of expanding the Raven clan's diplomatic ties, the player does not have to advance through this plot in a linear fashion. The map of England is divided into regions of varying sizes (e.g., Oxenefordscire, Lunden, Snotinghamscire, etc.), and they have storylines that fit into the larger plot. Players can either choose to complete the main quests within any of these kingdoms all at once, or they can explore other regions and engage in side quests in between main quests (i.e., pursue self-contained storylines with little to no effect on the overall plot). Players can return to these kingdoms at any point to complete anything they have missed, or they can explore the new home of the Raven clan, Ravensthorpe, a settlement that can be expanded at the players' discretion. Players collect raw materials and decide which buildings to create or upgrade (e.g., armory, tattoo shop, etc.).

Secondly, the weaponry used by Eivor suits her role as a Viking warrior but does not fit with the idea of the hidden assassin popularized by the *Assassin's Creed*

franchise thus far. Players have several weapons they can choose from to wield on the battlefield, each with their unique attributes (i.e., different defensive capabilities, weight, attack strength, etc.): swords, one-handed or two-handed axes, shields, and different types of bows and arrows. The well-known assassination blade is also available for use, but it does not fit well with the rest of the weaponry. Players must decide what type of warrior they would like to be and choose equipment that will suit their play style (e.g., fast attacks with low attack damage, high defense and high attack damage with low movement speed, etc.). Additionally, each time players earn enough experience, they are granted a skill point which allows them to upgrade certain attributes, such as prolonged health or dealing out more damage with a certain weapon type (e.g., five percent more damage for all bows)—all by means of a skill tree, a menu which lays out these options. However, *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla's* wide choice of weaponry only scratches the surface of Ubisoft Montreal's admirable commitment to create an accurate portrayal of the Vikings.

Every Viking settlement features the longhouse as its most prominent building, and this is where the Jarl is typically found since many important interactions take place there. *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla* portrays the Jarl as an administrator of justice during times of altercations between the people and also as a fierce warrior on the battlefield. On several occasions during the game, an *althing* (i.e., a meeting of clan leaders) is hosted by a powerful Jarl to discuss serious matters. Even renowned warriors such as Eivor defer to the Jarl out of respect and custom. The Viking armies are comprised of both male and female warriors who move around by foot, horseback, or longship. While traveling on the river, members of Eivor's crew either recite personal tales or sing songs (like sea shanties). One type of side quest is purely focused on raids: the player takes command of a longship, sails to a coastal village, blows the horn, and leads fellow Vikings on an attack to plunder the village. Since the majority of the storyline is set in England, Eivor frequently encounters Christians during her adventure, and these interactions play out in various ways: they label each other as "heathens" and as "delusional," or both parties accept that they adhere to different religions and choose not to dwell on the subject, or they recognize the similarities of their beliefs and use this to foster the growth of their partnership. All of these elements work together to allow players to feel enthralled by the world Ubisoft Montreal has created.

This world and its stories draw on Norse mythology. Throughout the main storyline, Eivor experiences visions involving the god Odin advising her, explaining the repercussions of her choices, and attempting to give her orders. Many characters share their desire to be escorted by Odin's Valkyries to Valhalla, the resting place for warriors. When faced with death, these characters only request that they be slain with their weapon in hand to guarantee their entrance to Valhalla. In addition, Eivor experiences the realms of Jotunheim (Land of the Giants), Asgard (Land of the Gods), and Svartalfheim (Land of the Dark Elves)

through side quests in visions where she inhabits the body of Odin; however, Svartalfheim is only available as a paid expansion to the game.

No matter which realms players are exploring, they will encounter stunning graphics. The character models are extremely detailed, making some cinematic scenes to appear as if they are videos of real people interacting with one another. Throughout the regions, there are various environments that are clearly distinct from one another. Forests in the fall have a yellow-orange hue from the leaves covering the trees and the ground in addition to the sunset beyond the horizon. Some hills and mountains are rich with vibrant green grass, while others are buried underneath fog and snow. From crumbling statues to weathered buildings, remnants of the Roman civilization are scattered throughout England. There are also many places where the player can climb to the top of a building or the peak of a mountain and be greeted with the view of a bustling town or a beautiful landscape cut by a flowing river, respectively. The game's visual beauty cannot be overstated.

However, there are shortcomings that also deserve attention. Firstly, the skill tree that *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla* utilizes to upgrade attributes is overwhelming, to say the least. The upgrades are not organized by type of attribute, so the player cannot solely focus on upgrading assassination damage or health. Rather, the upgrades are spread across the menu haphazardly, and it can be time-consuming to plan an upgrade path, though all upgrades increase the player's overall power level (i.e., strength). Secondly, as the game progresses, the minimum power level of the enemies increases. If players decide to focus on the main storyline and forgo the side quests for any reason (e.g., due to time constraints) – which is what I did, they will be underpowered because they cannot earn enough experience to keep their power level on par with the suggested minimum. That said, the game does allow players to lower the difficulty level at any point. Thirdly, while the storyline itself is interesting, the game eventually does feel repetitive. Nearly every story in the various regions ends with the same quest: storm the outer walls of a fortress, storm the inner walls, storm a central building, and assassinate the leader. Lastly, due to the emphasis on Viking combat, the assassin component of the franchise takes a backseat in this game.

*Assassin's Creed: Valhalla* fully embraces the concept of an open-world game as the latest installment in the *Assassin's Creed* franchise. While the game does have its drawbacks, these are really the result of the studio's ambition to create an immersive game. Those who have played *God of War* (2018) will also enjoy this game since these two games have very similar combat systems and connections to Norse mythology. Like *Assassin's Creed: Origins* and *Assassin's Creed: Odyssey*, *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla* does not play it safe and fully commits to the play style these earlier games have introduced. Fans of the original games may find this latest release unfamiliar in terms of combat and pacing, but players who enjoy games with an expansive map, numerous side quests, a riveting story, and a

complex system of customization will happily get lost in Ubisoft Montreal's new creation.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Anthony Chavez of Fontana, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) and his Single-Subject Teaching Credential in Social Science (2019) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

*Mafia: Definitive Edition*

[single-player action-adventure video game].

Developer: Hangar 13.

Platforms: PlayStation 4, Xbox One, Microsoft Windows/PC.

Release date: September 25, 2020.

What does family mean to you? Family are people you care about, people you hold close to your heart, and people you would make sacrifices for. They are the same people you fight and argue with. They are people you would kill for. Yet family are also people who may betray you, people who may lie to you, or even hurt you. What does family really mean to you then? What would you do for your family? *Mafia: Definitive Edition* tells the story of Tommy Angelo, a hardworking cab driver who is scraping by in the fictional Midwestern American city of Lost Heaven around 1930. One fateful night, Tommy has an inadvertent brush with the Italian Mafia that showcases a life of reward too big to ignore. Soon he is embedded in the brutal world of organized crime, doing jobs for Don Salieri's "family" as it wars with the vicious Morello crime organization. As Tommy, you will have to establish yourself in Lost Heaven's treacherous underworld, where all is not as it seems, including who your friends and foes really are.

*Mafia: Definitive Edition* is a rebuilt game from the original *Mafia* video game, first released back in 2002. *Mafia* is an open-world single-player video game that serves as the beginning story of the *Mafia* franchise. This modern revamp of the original game is entirely redone from the ground up by Hangar 13. The game runs similarly to a previous game created by Hangar 13, namely, *Mafia 3*. *Mafia: Definitive Edition* copies *Mafia 3*'s gameplay aspect but that will be addressed later on. The new, "definitive" version of *Mafia* is rebuilt in a manner that can keep up with today's standard of video games while maintaining the first game's originality, albeit with enhanced mechanics, visuals, and audio. The game brings you into its world with a stunning view of the city from a bird's-eye point of view, including the glare from windows and the chrome bumpers of 1930s-era cars. The graphics of this initial cinematic pan of the game's city are absolutely breathtaking. The game itself does not even feel like a game; rather – from its opening title to our eventual encounter with the main protagonist – it feels as if we are about to watch a movie about the Mafia.

The game, overall, has a great storyline. Its main chapter-based story is fantastic, and any cutscene with Tommy speaking to Don Salieri always seems to generate some sort of suspense or a rather tense sort of vibe. The face camera technology used to make these cutscenes is the star of the show. Expressions of



guilt, anger, sorrow, and joy are all captured fantastically in this game. I will compare the gameplay difficulty from my first playthrough at a moderate difficulty level to my second playthrough at the game's highest difficulty level. During my first playthrough, I encountered hardly any challenges compared to the game's "classic mode" which is its highest difficulty level. Apparently, in this latter mode, ammunition left unused in a magazine is lost when a gun is reloaded, the cops are more alert to law-breaking, enemies are more dangerous, and the missions feel harder. The game does a great job of relating Tommy's past life as he recalls the major events he has experienced. Keep in mind, the story is that of Tommy sharing with a cop everything he has done—from before joining the "family" up until the present—in order to obtain protection from his former employer. Every so often we are brought back to this "intermission" cutscene as if we are watching a play. Forcing us to watch these scenes reminds us that what we are playing in the game is what Tommy has already done and is simply retelling in his firsthand accounts. These intermission scenes enable us to better understand what Tommy is doing and why.

The gameplay across all difficulty levels is the same, and the game mechanics, too, remain unchanged across all difficulty levels. Perhaps the only thing that is actually problematic across all difficulty levels is the game's driving feature. As the gameplay follows that of *Mafia 3*, so does its driving feature. Having played *Mafia 3*, I have to say that I disliked driving in that game just as much as I did in *Mafia: Definitive Edition*. Although driving and speeding feel perfectly fine, everything else related to it is a letdown. Hitting the brakes on your car never feels light enough or strong enough with respect to what is really needed in the moment. Turning the car left or right onto a different road makes it feel as if you are drifting rather than just driving casually. Although the vehicles are historically appropriate for the time period, it feels as though the game thinks you are driving an American muscle car from the 1970s rather than the game's 1930s automobiles. Speaking of driving, *Mafia: Definitive Edition* is also the first *Mafia* game to implement motorcycles as drivable vehicles. Riding a motorcycle feels even harder to handle. In each chapter, the game requires you to drive a lot to get to certain locations, and some chapters seem to consist of nothing but driving. For instance, having been a member of Salieri's crew for some time, Tommy is tasked with fixing a race to have the rival gang's driver lose so that Tommy's "family" can win their bets. Rather than simply taking out the driver, we steal his racecar and bring it to the other side of the city to a mechanic who has agreed to "tune-up" the vehicle in our favor. Once the car has been tampered with, we have limited time to return it to the racetrack. Besides these time constraints, the car itself misbehaves by steering more to the right or more to the left than we would like it to, and when we drive too fast, the engine is stalling. Once we are back at the racetrack, we learn that Morello's crew has roughed up our driver, so we are asked to drive the race in his stead. We lose the mission if we do not finish first and cannot progress in the story until we complete it. This must-win race is absolutely annoying and a

total headache to play at the highest difficulty level. I must have played this race over twenty times before I finally finished first, and all this just because the driving in this game is so challenging to get a proper handle on.

One of the best missions in the game by far is the attempted assassination of Don Salieri. The cutscene for this mission is something straight out of a classic gangster film, showing Tommy observing the outside of a restaurant as several cars pull up, men get out, reveal their guns, and just start to wreak havoc by shooting anything and anybody in the restaurant, including just about every innocent civilian, all in order to kill the Don. The remainder of this mission is nothing particularly interesting, but this main cutscene was great to re-watch when I had my second playthrough of the game. In the game's "classic mode" (i.e., its highest difficulty level), you really have to work on making certain shots count, given that your ammunition count works differently. It is much better to try and aim and shoot precisely, even with that infamous "Tommy Gun." It is a let-down that hip-firing the "Tommy Gun" is not really useful, considering that this weapon was mainly fired from the hip due to its weight of 10 pounds alone without any bullets or magazine inserted. Bullet spread is something you always have to control, otherwise, you are just wasting your much-needed ammunition.

The game still has a few glitches even though it has been released for two years now. Although these glitches are nothing major or make the game in any way unplayable, one glitch did become a bother as an enemy would appear at the last minute on our screen when we were trying to be stealthy and our cover would be blown. There was even a glitch that occurred in a cutscene during my second playthrough when a car clipped through our vehicle while Tommy was talking to Sam and Paulie. Speaking of Sam and Paulie, these two characters are like brothers to Tommy. They are omnipresent from Tommy's days as a cab driver to when he eventually becomes one of Don Salieri's caporegimes. Apart from some small disagreements, there is trust between these three. Sam, however, always feels a little more distant from Tommy, compared to Paulie. He usually sits on the other side of the table from Paulie and Tommy, and we hardly ever have a mission where we do not have to protect Sam from the brink of death. For example, during the bootlegging mission, which features one of the most intense gunfights of the entire game and does not even take place in the city but, rather, in the countryside, a booze deal turns out to be a setup for the border cops to ambush us. While we manage to escape through gunfire with the booze, we repeatedly have to save Sam's life. Considering the game's theme of "family," it hurts to know that, as close as these three friends are, Sam will be the one to kill Paulie and try to kill Tommy as well in the game's final chapter. In the end, we cannot trust Sam to help us, nor can we trust Don Salieri himself who keeps information to himself that he has lied to us about. Throughout the game, we witness moments when Tommy believes that his choices or actions are not right and they do not sit well with him morally in the end. Stopping himself from killing or interfering with the attempted murder of innocent people or of one of the family's former associates, the game

shows that Tommy is not just a cold-hearted gangster but, rather, a caring individual, especially to his own (non-crime) family. Family, as Tommy would say, is a person's greatest weakness, but also a person's greatest strength. His own (non-crime) family is what ultimately gives Tommy the strength to testify against Don Salieri for all his criminal actions, which in turn allows Tommy to keep his wife and children safe in witness protection for over two decades.

While *Mafia: Definitive Edition* features great cutscenes that do not relate to any other games in this franchise, its best cutscene does relate to the sequel game. It shows the killing of Tommy Angelo by two of the sequel game's characters, Vito Scaletta and Joe Barbaro. In the original game, Tommy's death was brought about by two unnamed characters, so it was a welcome "reveal" to see and hear Vito Scaletta speak those final words to Tommy, "Mr. Salieri sends his regards," before Joe Barbaro guns Tommy down. While the game ends with Tommy's death, he does get to say to his wife, children, and grandchild that they will finally be safe now, and that – while friends come and go – family is forever.

Speaking as a historian, *Mafia: Definitive Edition* does make the Prohibition era come to life, and being able to play this game in its "noir"-style mode makes it feel even more classic. *Mafia: Definitive Edition* is far from being a perfect rebuild of the original video game, but it does bring the first installment of the *Mafia* franchise back to life with enhancements all across the board. With its historically accurate cars and weapons, as well as its authentic period feel, this game is suitable for any player who enjoys a great single-player story, especially if said player is a fan of the *Mafia* game world.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Carlos J. Marin of Whittier, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

### *Trek to Yomi*

[*side-scrolling action game*].

Developer: Flying Wild Hog.

Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5, Xbox One, Xbox Series X/S.

Release date: May 5, 2022.

Developed by Flying Wild Hog (the Polish studio of *Shadow-Warrior* fame), *Trek to Yomi* is an intense action game situated in premodern Japan. Its opening sequence introduces us to the main character, Hiroki, as he is learning the art of the sword from his *sensei*, Sanjuro. At the end of their training lesson, their village finds itself under attack. Since Sanjuro is the community's best *samurai*, he has to go and fight the intruders. Hiroki, feeling a sense of honor and the need to help, initially hesitates to follow his master, but then decides to go anyway. It is a beautiful scene in a premodern Japanese village with many different shops and buildings that Hiroki has the option to explore. Once he gets further along, though, he starts slashing through the intruders. Eventually, he works his way to the edge of the village to find the head of the snake: Kagerou. Kagerou is a powerful *samurai* who

has abandoned all sense of honor and only seeks power and control of the land. The two get into an intense sword fight, leaving Hiroki the loser. However, Hiroki is able to give Kagerou a scar that changes his looks forever, cutting off his nose and exposing his nasal cavity for the world to see. Infuriated, Kagerou proceeds to attack Hiroki, however, Sanjuro arrives just in time to save him. Using Hiroki's *katana* (sword), Sanjuro kills Kagerou, but finds himself mortally wounded. With his final breath, he entrusts the village and his daughter Aiko to his pupil Hiroki.

In the next chapter, we encounter Hiroki and Aiko as leaders of the village. They discuss an attack by intruders against a neighboring village and decide to go to their aid and defend them against the intruders. Joined by their village's best *samurai*, Hiroki slashes through many enemies, but they eventually realize that this has been a diversion. As they all rush back to their own village, they find it in ashes. Chapter three explores their village—still burning and falling apart—with most of the villagers either dead or injured on the side of the roads. Slashing through many enemies, Hiroki eventually makes it to the end of his village to join Aiko, only to find out that she has been killed by the very man who is supposed to be dead: Kagerou. With his signature scar on full display, he tells Hiroki that he has killed Aiko. The ensuing duel between Hiroki and Kagerou theoretically offers a first possible ending to the game; in total, there are four possible endings. If you—as Hiroki—are able to defeat Kagerou, this is the first possible ending. However, it is practically impossible to defeat him, even in the easiest setting. If you cannot defeat Kagerou, Hiroki dies from being slashed in the stomach. He then wakes up in chapter four.

In this next chapter, we find out about the *yomi*, namely, the Japanese “underworld.” This is an afterlife where, in *Trek to Yomi*, everyone goes after they die. Hiroki sees the soul of Aiko, and he must follow her through the entire *yomi*. In this world, there are dead *samurai* who have turned into what the game dubs as the “blighted.” Slashing through them, as well as some other *samurai* ghosts and demons along the way, Hiroki eventually finds his deceased master, Sanjuro, and has to face the question which path he will choose: that of honor, that of love, or that of vengeance. The path of honor would be to return to the world of the living and take his village back. The path of love would be to stay in the *yomi* alongside Aiko. And the path of vengeance would be to return to the world of the living, seize his village, and take Kagerou's place. This is a preliminary question, intended simply to get the player ready for the final decision that will have to be made in chapter six. Chapter five continues in the same vein as chapter four, with Hiroki eventually meeting Aiko who asks him the same questions that her father, Sanjuro, had asked him earlier. Aiko then directs Hiroki to the end of the *yomi*, where he has to face a sequence of puzzles and more of the “blighted” to reach the end, a major boss battle. In chapter six, after the major boss battle, Hiroki sees his former *sensei*, as well as Aiko, and a younger version of himself, and he has to make the decision to follow either love or honor or vengeance. Regardless of his decision, Hiroki must return to the land of the living to defeat Kagerou, so Hiroki is let back

into his burning village where he must find his way to the villainous *samurai* and fight him in a duel. Kagerou's ensuing defeat leaves Hiroki with three options. In the way of love, he does not kill Kagerou, stops the latter from killing himself, and – as the picture pans out and the burning building collapses around them – Hiroki is presumably able to return to his love, Aiko, in the *yomi*, sending Kagerou back down there as well, never to be resurrected. In the way of honor, Hiroki kills Kagerou, walks out of the burning building, and becomes the leader of the village; he then does his duty, repenting for allowing the village to be decimated. In the way of vengeance, Hiroki kills Kagerou, slicing off his head, and then becomes exactly who Kagerou had been, aspiring to greatness for himself as the leader of many *samurai*.

I played *Trek to Yomi* on a custom-built PC, with an Intel core i7 9700k and a 3080 ti, as well as 48 gigabytes of RAM on a 2560x1440p monitor, which is a 2k monitor. The game initially looked like it was clear, but it has a tinge of vintage. There is an option for a grainy texture, which I decided to utilize, as it added to the effect and made premodern Japan look older. Not only was the texture grainy, but the graphics were also rendered in black and white. *Trek to Yomi* likely could be played on a computer not nearly as powerful as the one that I used, but it was absolutely beautiful.

The game mechanics are fairly straightforward. The sword-fighting duels occur in a two-dimensional scene while roaming around takes place in a three-dimensional setting. Fighting involves light slashes, heavy slashes, poking, and other forms of attack. These are not complicated to learn, but it does take about an hour to understand all of the controls. However, after this, the game is fairly intuitive. I would left-click my mouse for a light attack or right-click for a heavy attack. I would then use any combination of pressing the keys on my keyboard to switch between stabbing, turning around, throwing *bo-shuriken* (hand blades), using a bow and arrow, or discharging the gun in the game. The health system is also straightforward. For each bar you have on the bottom left, you can usually take one strike during a light attack, while two or three bars are required for a strike during a heavy attack. There is also stamina: if you run out of it, you are no longer able to run or attack easily. To refill your health, you have to go to one of the game's many designated shrines, where you tap the button "e," upon which your health is restored to "full" and your game's checkpoint set. Stamina can also be regained very quickly just by standing still or walking slowly.

There are many different side quests in this game that mean nothing to the main story, like saving an insignificant character. However, these side quests offer opportunities to pick up items that increase both your stamina and health. You can also pick up more *bo-shuriken*, arrows, or bullets, as you are limited with regard to the number of these you may carry. To throw them, you must be in the two-dimensional mode, and you must press the button "q." To switch between the three options, you would press "1" for *bo-shuriken*, "2" for bow and arrow, or "3" for the gun. To talk to people, as part of the side quests, you press the letter "e."

*Trek to Yomi* offers a rendition of premodern Japan that is devoted to historical accuracy, which is reflected in its classical architecture, as well as the amazing fighting scenes and the prevailing sense of hierarchy. The game is fun to learn, and the controls are not too difficult to master. The two-dimensional fighting feels like a classic video game (transporting me back to the days of playing on the original Nintendo Entertainment System), while the sophisticated graphics and awesome effects add a new level. However, once the game hits chapter four, it leaves past realities behind. This is where historians are likely to lose interest in the game, while hardcore gamers may just start getting into it. The entire “trek” through the *yomi* feels quite long and drawn out. I did enjoy, though, how it showcases both former friends and foes, and both groups are, in fact, trying to kill Hiroki: his former foes just want him dead, while his former friends are mad that he has abandoned the village. The idea of the “blighted” does change up the story from a *samurai* fighting only other *samurai*. However, after chapters four and five, I was ready to be out of the *yomi* and return to the world of the living. Even the main character, Hiroki, states in the game that he is tired of the mind games, and he just wants out already. The game’s three possible endings are a commendable feature. The path of love takes Hiroki’s and Aiko’s story to its somewhat romantic conclusion. The path of vengeance essentially turns the player into a new version of Kagerou. And the way of honor is the one that any true *samurai* would take, which is the path I originally took.

The first half of this game is playable and enjoyable by everyone, as it is a classical Japanese-style sword-fighting game with a somewhat compelling story. The grainy texture of the black-and-white screen makes the game seem mysterious and classic at the same time, giving it the feel of an old movie. After the beginning of chapter four, many players might start to feel lost, and this is the part that was not personally enjoyable for me (it is the game creators’ interpretation of the *yomi*). I also did not enjoy that the *yomi* felt drawn out much longer than it needed to be. However, after returning to the land of the living, my excitement returned. Those with an interest in premodern Japan, as well as those who appreciate video games involving *samurai* culture—from *Sekiro: Shadows Die Twice* (2019) to *Ghost of Tsushima* (2020) – will likely enjoy *Trek to Yomi* as well.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Robert Fleming of Cypress, California, earned an A.A. in History (2019) at Cypress College and a B.A. in History (2021) 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 currently pursuing an M.A. in history at CSUF.

### *War on the Sea*

[real-time strategy game].

Developer: Killerfish Games.

Platform: Microsoft Windows/PC, MacOS.

Release date: February 2, 2021.

A large blast of anti-aircraft fire explodes near American Helldivers as they rapidly descend toward the Battleship *Yamato* of Japan. Right before the American aircraft

drop their bombs, six torpedo explosions happen all along the left side of the Japanese battleship. The culprit is the silent hunter of the seas, a United States Navy Tambor-class submarine that has managed to sneak through the destroyers screening the largest battleship ever built in history. This is one of many scenarios players can experience in the real-time strategy game *War on the Sea* (2021) by Killerfish Games. Set during World War II, the game's factions are the United States of America's Navy (U.S.N.) and the Imperial Japanese Navy (I.J.N.) in the Pacific theater between 1942 and 1945. Killerfish Games, a small independent studio from Adelaide, South Australia, is not a newcomer to strategy games. Their previous titles include *Cold Waters* (2017), *Pacific Fleet* (2014), and *Atlantic Fleet* (2016), so it is no surprise that *War on the Sea* is a naval strategy game as well. The game is similar to other real-time strategy games with both a strategic and a tactical level of gameplay, such as *Star Wars: Empire at War* by Petrograph (2006), *Wargame: Red Dragon* by Eugen Systems (2014), or any of the *Total War* games by Creative Assembly (2000–present).

When starting up the game, the main menu allows the player to choose between single missions in which the player plays through a historical battle, for example, the sinking of the Battleship *Yamato* during the Battle for Okinawa in April 1945 as either the U.S.N. or the I.J.N. Not all of the battles are between aircraft and ships. Other battles include ship-to-ship fighting or submarine and anti-submarine warfare (A.S.W.). These battles are good practice for understanding the game's many different controls. I made the mistake of not completing the tutorials (which are very helpful). In fact, the tutorials are essential since controlling the naval units is more involved than playing your average game. For example, in this game, you are given control of the speed of ships, their rudders, damage control, and weapons. Additionally, the submarines give the player control over how deep to dive underwater. Once I had mastered the skill of maneuvering my ships, I got to the "real" thing: weapons control. While not as detailed as in simulation games, weapons control in *War on the Sea* is still more intricate than just shooting at the enemy. Ship combat in the game often occurs when ships are 5,000 to 30,000 yards from each other. It is like trying to hit a moving car with a football while one is oneself in a moving car and a football-field length away. If this sounds impossible, it is not, but it is hard, so hits and kills do not happen as fast as in other games. One needs to formulate a high-target solution using the Fire Control Directors (F.C.D.) on each ship to score a hit. This number is affected by the size of the ship, the speed of both vessels, how often they change direction, and the weather. The game has a numbers detail for the sea weather or how much the waves are causing ships to pitch and roll. The lower the number the better, to add to my earlier car-and-football analogy: imagine that your car is going 50 miles per hour and the other car is going 30 miles per hour on a football field with many potholes. These variables affect the target solution when firing at surface ships and hunting for submarines. If this sounds super hard to do, it is not after a bit of practice.

The campaign for the game is set during the 1942 Battle for Guadalcanal in the Pacific Ocean's Solomon Islands. Much like the real battle, the Americans and the Japanese aim to control the island, as well as the surrounding islands, and build a level-5 airfield. I first played as the Americans, choosing to bring an aircraft carrier (C.V.) and destroyers (D.D.) to escort my merchant fleet (M.V.), which I needed to ferry troops and supplies to build and upgrade the airfield. I also got a few submarines (S.S.) since I used most of the starting command points to get the C.V., the basic currency in the game. The player earns command points at the end of each week or by sinking enemy ships. As the Americans, you are the aggressive faction since the I.J.N. is already in control of Guadalcanal, but I first had to defeat the enemy fleet guarding the island before landing any troops. So I sent in one of my S.S., and before I could fire on a heavy cruiser (C.A.), the I.J.N. D.D. quickly found me, began dropping depth charges (which I tried the best I could to dodge), and quickly sank my S.S. due to flooding. A recurring action happened to most of my American S.S. because of the difference in technology of both factions. After my first S.S. had sunk before it could even fire on the I.J.N., I launched an air strike from my carrier, *Enterprise*, consisting of twelve planes called Avengers and armed with torpedoes. Once I found the five I.J.N. ships guarding Guadalcanal again, I started the tactical battle, and my planes quickly found their targets. After dropping their payload, the I.J.N. ship's anti-aircraft (A.A.) fire only shot five of my planes down. However, out of the twelve torpedoes launched, only three hit, and out of those three only one was not a dud. This is one of the many balancing aspects of the game, and it is optional, along with friendly fire, dud bombs, and ships crashing into each other, but I did not turn these off. So, my first air attack was not a success. Still, I found during the next attack, using the Dauntless dive bomber, that I had more success due to there being no dud bombs, and after a few more attacks I sunk a C.A. and one light cruiser (C.L.) before night came at 6 p.m., meaning that I could no longer launch aircraft until 5 a.m. the next day. Thankfully the game has a fast-forward and pause button in both strategic and tactical modes due to it taking place in real hours and minutes. Once I could launch aircraft, I used my remaining Avengers planes as scouts, since they have the longest range between the Dauntless bombers and the Wildcat fighters, to find the I.J.N. ships. When I found them again, they were sailing away from the island, so I sent in my M.V. with a D.D. escort to unload supplies at Guadalcanal, but an hour before we reached it, my convoy got attacked. When starting this tactical battle, my ships were sailing along when I got an alert that there were torpedoes in the water. I tried to maneuver my ships out of their path, but two of the merchants took hits in their bow. I started damage control on them while I got my D.D. to speed over to where the shots were coming from. But it was like the I.J.N. S.S. just disappeared due to the American sonar being inadequate compared to the I.J.N., which is another balancing aspect of the game. These encounters became a continuous thing throughout my play-through. Every once in a while I would find an I.J.N. S.S., but that was just the beginning of A.S.W. To sink an S.S., the player has to line



up the D.D. to pass parallel over the top of the S.S. before dropping depth charges. After several attempts, I finally scored a hit, and sinking them satisfied my thirst for retribution after they had damaged some of my ships. For a couple of weeks, I built up my troop strength on Guadalcanal by having my M.V. convoy travel between Guadalcanal and the main base of New Hebrides and by using air attacks during the day to turn back any I.J.N. M.V. which tried to do the same. But on September 15, an I.J.N. task force managed to land more troops and build a level-2 airfield with Val dive bombers. This was due to the *Enterprise* being out for repairs since it had become low on attack aircraft. Now that the island had I.J.N. attack aircraft, I thought I had to have my C.V. provide air escort to my M.V. to Guadalcanal. It turns out that this was not as big a threat as I thought it was. The I.J.N. would launch Vals, but since there were only four of them, I found that, by adding a couple of C.L. to the M.V. as an escort, they could stop these attacks before they could damage any ship because an American strength in the game is good radar and even better A.A. on their ships. After two weeks of moving troops and supplies to Guadalcanal, I finally took control of the island when one of my scout aircraft spotted a task force with two battleships (B.B.) and two C.A. Still, it was already past the time to launch an air attack, so, thankfully, I managed to save enough command points for a second task force with a couple of light and heavy cruisers of my own. That night, I fought my first night battle, which resulted in a draw. I managed to sink one enemy B.B. and both C.A., but most of my ships, except for two, were sunk. The two which survived were badly damaged and required to be out for repairs for a week. In night battles, because it is so dark, the player has to have his ships launch star shells over the enemy targets to have any chance of a hit. You have to get close, and this is a terrible idea when going up against I.J.N. B.B. since they have so many guns, and it makes the threat of I.J.N. torpedoes greater since most I.J.N. C.A., C.L., and D.D. have more and faster torpedoes (and not many of these are duds). Later on, when I got a South Dakota-class B.B. to rebuild a second stack force to guard Guadalcanal at night, I got into another night battle, and my B.B. got hit with a couple of torpedoes. Luckily, the damage was very little, and I did not need to pull it off the front line. Toward the end of my American campaign, I spotted the B.B. *Yamato* coming toward Guadalcanal. I had two C.V. at this point, so I launched 24 Dauntless and was able to cripple her severely. When I found *Yamato* again, I launched a second attack, and this time I chose a mix of eight Avengers, armed with rockets, from Guadalcanal and twelve Dauntless from *Enterprise* and *Hornet*, which was enough to sink her. Within the next couple of days, I won the campaign by building the level-5 airfield.

The second time I played as the I.J.N., and – unlike the U.S.N. – they are more of a defensive faction since they have access to more B.B. at a lower price. Their smaller ships have twice the number of torpedoes as the U.S.N. I started with a few Tone-class C.A. with a couple of D.D., but I put more points into S.S. since the I.J.N. torpedoes would explode on impact. I sent all my ships to Guadalcanal to

fend off the Americans, and my first battle was similar to my American campaign. Still, this time – as the I.J.N. – I was about to sink a U.S.N. Brooklyn-class C.L. and get my S.S. away without the U.S.N. D.D. ever finding me. Once I got my surface ships near Guadalcanal, it was a different story since the U.S.N. had brought a C.V. to the fight, and immediately my ships were hit by Dauntless. Though none sunk, they were all badly damaged and had to be sent back to the I.J.N. main base at Rabaul (Papua New Guinea) for repairs. This is another balance feature in that most I.J.N. ships lack radar and are very vulnerable to air attacks, which is why the airfield at Guadalcanal is so essential. My M.V. was near Guadalcanal at this point, but I decided to wait for nightfall before offloading my supplies since I did not want to repeat the same mistake I had made before. Over the next few weeks, I saved enough points to create S.S. groups comparable to the German Wolfpacks in the Battle of the Atlantic. Like the Germans, I would use aircraft to find the I.J.N. M.V. coming out of New Hebrides and then attack in groups, sinking two or three U.S.N. ships at a time, then retreat and subsequently proceed to sail ahead of the M.V., wait, and attack again. Only a couple of times did the U.S.N. find my silent killers, and I still lost a few in action. Often, if they did find my S.S., they would do one depth-charge run before losing me due to stormy seas or rain. Still, this was often due to getting under the thermal layer, which is perfect for hiding from D.D. and is another detail in this game that makes A.S.W. so exciting.

While the game lacks voice dialogue, the design features make sense when playing, unlike so many other games. I do not want to hear a constant voice telling me that they are taking fire while I am micromanaging ten different ships in a surface battle. *War on the Sea* also lacks a CO-OP campaign mode or a multiplayer, single-battle feature, which is disappointing since fighting the A.I. (Artificial Intelligence) can get tiresome. This game is for players who do not mind games that are not straight shooters but require patience and strategy to win. The complexity of the controls makes the management of each ship a task in itself, but this is due to how detailed the game is. Another complexity involves the controls to move the camera on the opposite side of the keyboard as the rudder controls. I used a program to reprogram the key binding when playing, which made my play-throughs so much easier. The game is beautiful, featuring gorgeous sunsets as well as the accurate portrayal of the American torpedo detonators, which failed so often that an officer once dropped one from a crane, nose first, in front of a group of generals, confident that it would not explode. All these elements assist in making *War on the Sea* the fulfillment of any naval or World-War-II fanatic's dream of launching submarine attacks, fleet night battles, and air attacks.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Anthony Lambright of La Palma, California, earned a B.A. in History (2018) at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.*

# Department of History (Awards) 2022/2023

## **Student Award Recipients**

Matthew Reinoehl ♦ *Academic Support Scholarship*  
Ricardo Luna ♦ *Bakken Book Fund Award*  
Amalia Contreras ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
Kristian Guillen ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
Reymundo Moreno ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
Ashley Yniguez ♦ *Black Family Fellowship in History*  
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Joshua Stout ♦ *Carmen Delphine Bayati Memorial Scholarship*  
Marian Navarro ♦ *Hansen Fellowship in Oral and Public History*  
Aixa Martinez ♦ *Jorice Maag Local History Scholarship*  
Sergio Daniel Sifuentes ♦ *Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship*  
Natalie Vandercook ♦ *Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship*  
Isabella Praslin ♦ *Nancy Fitch Women and Gender History Award*  
Jesus Eugenio ♦ *Ronald Rietveld Fellowship on the Era of Abraham Lincoln*  
Joseph Ortiz ♦ *Seymour Scheinberg Jewish Studies Award*  
C. J. Quion ♦ *Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award*  
Andrew Estaras ♦ *Wendy Elliot Scholarship in Family History*  
Sean Morkus ♦ *Wendy Elliot Scholarship in Family History*

## **Faculty Award Recipients**

Benjamin Cawthra ♦ *James Woodward Faculty Achievement Award*  
Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi ♦ *Leland and Marlita Bellot Research Fellowship*

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# Submission Guidelines for Volume 51 (2024)

*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., of manuscripts, oral histories, and historical photographs); as well as reviews (e.g., of books, exhibitions, films, documentaries, TV shows, podcasts, and games that are of interest to historians) for publication consideration; reviews must pertain to items with a publication/release date of January 1, 2021, 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 2024); 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* (Notes-Bibliography 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.

Authors must attach their submission as a MS Word document and send it via e-mail by the respective deadline (see below). The following must be included in the original e-mail:

1. *the author's full name, e-mail address, and cell phone number;*
2. *a very brief bio of the author (consult the bios in the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
3. *the title of the submission;*
4. *the type of submission (i.e., article, essay, edition, or review);*
5. *a brief abstract (for articles and essays only; consult the journal's current volume as a guideline);*
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 2023) during which the submission was completed;*
9. *the institution (e.g., CSUF) where the submission was completed;*
10. *a statement whether a plagiarism report (e.g., Turnitin) was generated for the submission;*
11. *for archival material and images only, a statement whether copyright clearance and permission to publish has been obtained; if yes, the respective paperwork must be scanned and attached (PDF);*
12. *this statement: "If my submission is accepted, I, [insert author's name], will cooperate with the editorial staff of 'The Welebaethan' in a timely fashion to prepare my submission for publication. I declare that the work submitted herewith is mine, not AI-generated, and constitutes original, previously unpublished scholarship not currently under publication consideration elsewhere."*

Complete submissions will be acknowledged via e-mail within thirty business days. All submissions will undergo triple-blind review (usually by CSUF's matriculated scholars, faculty members, alumni, and external reviewers). Decisions will be communicated to authors within thirty 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.

First deadline for submissions:

Monday, **August 28, 2023**, noon (PDT).

Second deadline for submissions:

Monday, **December 18, 2023**, noon (PST).