

THE ELEBAETHAN

A Journal of History



Volume 49 (2022)

California State University, Fullerton

Department of History

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

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Editors' Preface

With great excitement we present *The Welebaethan's* Volume 49 (2022). This year's journal production was an interesting undertaking, as we returned to an in-person format, albeit with safety precautions in place. Despite our weekly face-to-face meetings, things did not quite feel "back to normal;" however, a different sense of normalcy developed once we were able to see our colleagues and have conversations that did not require typing into a Zoom chat, clicking the "raise hand" function, or being sent into break-out rooms. This volume of *The Welebaethan* once again offers a variety of articles, essays, editions, and reviews that, we hope, will interest our readers. It features pieces of scholarship that were researched and written by undergraduate and graduate historians at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), as well as an article by Alison Jean Helget, a recent M.A. (2022) from Fort Hays State University in Kansas. By publishing works written by guest authors via our journal's open submission guidelines, we hope that others will feel welcome to show us their manuscripts. The original cover art, "Red Olympiad Menagerie," is a photo collage by our fellow CSUF historian James Marshall Novak (B.A., 2022). Using recolored fragments of historic images housed at CSUF, it is a tip of the hat to an article in this volume on the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles 90 years ago.

Volume 49 (2022) contains fifteen articles and essays on a wide range of topics: the history of pasta since ancient times; agency and propaganda in illuminated medieval manuscripts; the secularization of French education; Ho Chi Minh's transition to communism; German Expressionist films by F. W. Murnau; the 1932 Olympic village in Los Angeles; the formation of fascism in Italy; American state-building in postwar Japan; the remembrance of the Holocaust through music and the preservation of memorials; the perspectives of gay conservatives in America; the decline of Romania's population in the post-communist era; the portrayal of the American Jezebel stereotype; and the decline of U.S. imperialism from the 1990s to the present.

Previously unpublished archival documents and oral histories from CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections (UA&SC) and the Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History (COPH) can also be found in this volume: letters from the Durkee Family as they transitioned from fighting in the Civil War to becoming homesteaders in Nebraska (1862-1895); Hiroko Nonoshita's reflections on Japanese American internment at Manzanar (1942-1944); letters from Sidney Goldman who worked as a U.S. Army tire repairman in Manila (January 1946); an interview with police officer Alan Bond who served the people and mentored the youth of Santa Ana (1973); the recollections of CSUF's Ronald Rietveld on his career as a Civil War historian (1997); and an interview with Los Angeles Chicana artist and activist Margaret Garcia (2017). This volume's final section presents reviews of books, in-person exhibitions,

films, documentaries, TV shows, games, and, for the first time in *The Welebaethan's* history, a podcast. 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.

This year's publication of *The Welebaethan* would not have been possible without the substantial support of the faculty members in CSUF's Department of History and the College of Humanities and Social Sciences. Sincere gratitude goes to Jochen Burgtorf, our faculty advisor, who offered words of encouragement, guidance, and support throughout the production process. We especially thank all the faculty and alumni (triple-blind peer) reviewers, as well as the members of CSUF's "History and Editing" seminar (HIST406A) and the members of CSUF's Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, for their time and effort to ensure the quality of this journal. We give special thanks to Jasamin Rostam-Kolayi, the Chair of CSUF's Department of History and historian of the Modern Middle East, for her unwavering support of *The Welebaethan* and our History program as a whole. We are also deeply thankful to Natalie Navar Garcia and Patrisia Prestinary, head archivists of CPH and UA&SC respectively, for providing us with the manuscripts and oral-history interviews used in this volume's editions. Finally, our journal's online presence is made possible thanks to the enthusiastic support of Mariea Daniell Whittington, the administrator of <https://www.welebaethan.org/> and an alumna of our department. As editors, we hope that you, the readers, will enjoy engaging with the works presented here and appreciate the efforts of all involved in the making of this journal.

Fullerton, June 30, 2022

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Amanda Morell

*Past(a), Present, and Future:
The Story of a Starchy Staple*

ABSTRACT: Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, this article examines the history of pasta from its beginnings as durum wheat, via its much-debated arrival and establishment in Italy, to its eventual adoption as a significant food item and spread on a global scale. It demonstrates how pasta attained its remarkable role in Italian culture and, by extension, how foods find new homes in cultures beyond their regions of origin.

KEYWORDS: ancient history; medieval history; modern history; Italy; U.S.; pasta; industrialization; globalization; culture; cookbooks

Introduction

For centuries, pasta has been one of the most commonly consumed foods worldwide.¹ It is made from a dough that consists of durum wheat combined with water for dried pasta or eggs for fresh pasta, and it is then shaped and boiled in water.² While it is a global staple, pasta has been most strongly associated with Italy where it has deep roots in the peninsula's national, regional, and local culture.³ To examine pasta's historical journey, this article considers its beginnings as durum wheat, the various theories on how it made its way to Italy, its global spread, and its continuing popularity as a global food phenomenon. In doing so, it demonstrates how pasta attained its remarkable role in Italian culture and, by extension, how foods find new homes in cultures beyond their regions of origin.

I. The Origins of Durum Wheat

The history of pasta begins with its primary component, durum wheat. Today, durum wheat or *Triticum durum* is produced worldwide with Turkey and Canada as its largest producers.⁴ It is used to make pasta as well as other foods such as couscous and unleavened bread.⁵ About 10,000 to 12,000 years ago, durum wheat was domesticated, probably in the Levant region of the Fertile Crescent, from wild emmer wheat.⁶ Wild emmer wheat, or *Triticum turgidum* subsp. *dicoccoides*, had been domesticated around 8,000 BCE in the Karacadag mountains of modern-day

¹ Rosalba Giacco, Marilena Vitale, and Gabriele Riccardi, "Pasta: Role in Diet," in *The Encyclopedia of Food and Health*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Paul Finglas, and Fidel Toldrá (San Diego: Elsevier Science & Technology, 2015), 4: 242.

² David Alexander, "The Geography of Italian Pasta," *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 3 (2000): 553-566, here 560.

³ Alexander, "Geography," 553, 563.

⁴ Amadou Tidiane Sall et al., "Durum Wheat (*Triticum durum* Desf.): Origin, Cultivation, and Potential Expansion in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Agronomy* 9, no. 263 (2019): 1-20, here 1-2.

⁵ Sall et al., "Durum Wheat," 1-2.

⁶ Sall et al., "Durum Wheat," 4.

Turkey.⁷ From wild emmer, the selection of hulled tetraploid wheat genotypes (i.e., four times the number of chromosomes in their genetic makeup) evolved into durum wheat.⁸

While the Fertile Crescent is considered durum wheat's most likely region of domestication, Ethiopia may have been a "second center of origin."⁹ Studies conducted by Hafssa Kabbaj and others indicate that Ethiopian landraces of durum wheat contain a germplasm (i.e., a genetic material) that is distinct when compared to other areas, especially the Fertile Crescent,¹⁰ and the research of Marco Maccaferri and others has revealed that Ethiopian durum wheat differs the most from *Triticum turgidum* subsp. *turanicum* in the Fertile Crescent in terms of its germplasm.¹¹ This lack of genetic similarity between Ethiopian and Levantine durum wheat suggests that durum wheat was domesticated in both Ethiopia and the Levant.¹² Studies by Michela Janni and others on gluten levels, specifically Glu-1, show that durum wheat is likely to have "diversified" in the Fertile Crescent, North Africa, and Ethiopia.¹³ Thus, research on Ethiopian durum wheat presents an alternative to pasta's—or its main ingredient's—traditional origin story.

That said, the Fertile Crescent remains durum wheat's most widely accepted region of origin. According to Fernando Martínez-Moreno and others, durum wheat spread during the first millennium BCE with the help of Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans from the Fertile Crescent to the areas surrounding the Mediterranean Rim, thus securing its precedence over emmer wheat.¹⁴ Later on, durum wheat was further disseminated via the migrations of Arabs and Ottomans, which played a significant role in the establishment of pasta in Italy.¹⁵ As it settled in the areas surrounding the Mediterranean Rim, durum wheat became well adapted to the regional climate,¹⁶ and this eventually facilitated the spread and adoption of pasta throughout the Italian peninsula.

⁷ Fernando Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat in the Mediterranean Rim: Historical Evolution and Genetic Resources," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 67, no. 6 (2020): 1415-1436, here 1416.

⁸ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1419.

⁹ Hafssa Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity Within a Global Panel of Durum Wheat (*Triticum durum*) Landraces and Modern Germplasm Reveals the History of Alleles Exchange," *Frontiers in Plant Science* 8, no. 1277 (2017): 1-13, here 1.

¹⁰ Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity," 8.

¹¹ Marco Maccaferri et al., "Durum Wheat Genome Highlights Past Domestication Signatures and Future Improvement Targets," *Nature Genetics* 51 (2019): 885-895, here 891.

¹² Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity," 8.

¹³ Michela Janni et al., "Gene-ecology of Durum Wheat HMW Glutenin Reflects Their Diffusion from the Center of Origin," *Scientific Reports* 8, no. 16929 (2018): 1-9, here 7.

¹⁴ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1415.

¹⁵ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1431.

¹⁶ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1415, 1416.

II. Theories on the Arrival of Pasta in Italy

How pasta came to Italy has been the subject of several theories. Perhaps the most famous of these is that Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, brought pasta from China to Venice.¹⁷ Meanwhile, according to Ayşe Nevin Sert, a “nationalist” theory asserts that pasta had already made its way to Italy centuries earlier, namely, under the Etruscans, and that methods for cooking pasta may have already been known to the Greeks and the Romans.¹⁸ A third theory suggests that pasta was brought to Sicily and southern Italy around the ninth century by the Arabs.¹⁹

Taking these theories chronologically, the Etruscan theory is based on archaeological findings in a fourth-century BCE tomb near Cerveteri, the Tomba dei Rilievi, located to the north of Rome.²⁰ The images in this Etruscan tomb are difficult to interpret, rendering them inconclusive as evidence.²¹ Supposedly, the frescoes in the Tomba dei Rilievi depict pasta-making.²² They feature household objects, and one of these may be “an ancient spianatoia, a board for rolling out pasta.”²³ However, according to Phyllis Pray Bober, this board may, in fact, have just been a board game.²⁴ Even if these frescoes do not depict pasta-making tools, the possibility that the Etruscans engaged in the production and consumption of pasta cannot be ruled out. It is conceivable that they used other tools, such as metal needles, to make macaroni.²⁵ In addition, as Rosalba Giacco, Marilena Vitale, and Gabriele Riccardi Giacco have asserted, the Etruscans may have made pasta by using a technique that involved the grinding of cereals and grains, mixing it with water, and subsequently baking it in an oven rather than boiling it.²⁶

While the evidence from the Etruscan tomb is not clear, Apicius’s collection *De re coquinaria* (“On the subject of cooking”) dates pasta on the Italian peninsula at least to the ancient Romans.²⁷ Apicius supposedly instructs his readers on how to make fresh pasta with eggs and dried pasta with water, associating fresh pasta

¹⁷ Ayşe Nevin Sert, “Italian Cuisine: Characteristics and Effects,” *Journal of Business Management and Economic Research* 1, no. 1 (2017): 49-57, here 55.

¹⁸ Sert, “Italian Cuisine,” 55.

¹⁹ Sert, “Italian Cuisine,” 55.

²⁰ Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

²¹ See also the detailed 2004 nomination file of this UNESCO world heritage site, [online](#), accessed June 13, 2022.

²² Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

²³ Phyllis Pray Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 117.

²⁴ Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 117.

²⁵ Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 117.

²⁶ Giacco, Vitale, and Riccardi, “Pasta,” 242.

²⁷ Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

with the wealthier class and dried pasta with commoners.²⁸ Marcus Gavius Apicius, the author of *De re coquinaria*,²⁹ lived between 80 BCE and 40 CE,³⁰ thus predating Marco Polo by well over a millennium. There are references to pasta in Apicius's work, for example to *vermiculi* (according to the index "'little worms,' noodles"), similar in both name and description to modern-day vermicelli.³¹ An annotation to Apicius's recipe for creamed chicken with paste refers to "noodles, macaroni," while another annotation states, "The noodle paste should be cooked separately in the water."³² These findings in Apicius's *De re coquinaria* suggest a knowledge of early pasta in Italy long before Marco Polo and appear much more conclusive than the imagery in the Etruscan tomb.

We now turn to the theory that Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324) brought a recipe "for flour-based dough noodles that were to be cooked in boiling water" from China to Venice in the thirteenth century.³³ In his *Travels*, ghost-authored by Rustichello of Pisa, Marco Polo refers to pasta when discussing the kingdom of Fansur. He describes the mixing of flour with water in tubs, stating that "[t]he water is then thrown away, and the cleaned flour that remains is taken and made into pasta in strips and other forms."³⁴ This assertion adds weight to the idea that Marco Polo may have come into contact with pasta while traveling in Asia. However, as he refers to what is being made as "pasta," he may have already known what pasta was, thus rendering the theory that he was the first to bring pasta to Italy improbable. While his *Travels* claim that "Messer Marco often partook of, and brought some [i.e., pasta] with him to Venice,"³⁵ pasta would not have been a new product to the Venetians; after all, it may have already been known to Apicius.

Evidence for the existence of pasta in pre-modern China appears in the poem "Rhapsody on Pasta," or "Bing fu," written by the Western Jin scholar Shu Xi in the third century CE.³⁶ The term *bing* 餅 was used during Shu Xi's time to refer, in

²⁸ Alexander, "Geography," 553.

²⁹ According to Joseph Dommers Vehling, the text's English translator, this work may not have been written by Apicius but, rather, merely been dedicated to him: [Marcus Gavius] Apicius, *Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome: A Bibliography, Critical Review, and Translation of the Ancient Book Known as Apicius de re Coquinaria*, ed. and trans. Joseph Dommers Vehling (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), introduction and preface.

³⁰ Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 9, 10.

³¹ Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 300.

³² Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 153-154.

³³ Alexander, "Geography," 553.

³⁴ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), 305.

³⁵ Polo, *Travels*, 305.

³⁶ David R. Knechtges, "Dietary Habits: Shu Xi's 'Rhapsody on Pasta,'" in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, ed. Wendy Swartz et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014; ProQuest Ebook Central), 447-457, here 447.

general terms, to foods made with dough.³⁷ Pasta fits into this description, which may explain why the English title of Shu Xi's poem is "Rhapsody on Pasta." The Chinese term translated as "pasta" is *bing*, which appears in various forms, namely, for a noodle called *tang bing* and for another noodle referred to as *suo bing* which is much closer to Italian spaghetti.³⁸ When discussing such noodles or pasta in his poem, Shu Xi connects the respective consumption habits with changes in the seasons. For instance, boiled noodles were eaten in the summer as part of the "Day of Concealment."³⁹ In the third stanza of the "Rhapsody on Pasta," which is likely situated in the summer, Shu Xi says, "If in this season we make pasta, / There is nothing better than *bozhuang*."⁴⁰ In the fifth stanza, when referring to the colder season, Shu Xi writes, "For filling empty stomachs and relieving chills, / Boiled noodles are best."⁴¹ Shu Xi's "Rhapsody on Pasta" indicates that pasta or noodles were well established in China by the third century CE—several hundred years before the Arabs may have brought this staple to Sicily and southern Italy.

One of the most significant features of the Arab origin theory is the term *itriya(h)*, which refers to noodles and supposedly appears in Isho bar Ali's ninth-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary.⁴² The term is used to denote noodles in Aramaic texts, but Patience Gray has speculated that it may derive from the ancient Greek word *itrion* and its plural *itria*.⁴³ While this Greek etymology is uncertain, historian Charles Perry has pointed out that *itriya*'s earliest known Arabic occurrence can be traced to the fifth-century Jerusalem Talmud, where it refers to boiled noodles.⁴⁴ According to Anthony F. Buccini, the term *tria* or *tri* was used in southern Italy during the Middle Ages, which perhaps corroborates an Arab influence on Italian pasta habits,⁴⁵ yet where this term appears in medieval writings is unclear. In addition to *itriya*, another term pointing to the Arab introduction of pasta into Italy is *tumace*, an Albanian word found "from Molise to Sicily" and generally referring to "home-made pasta."⁴⁶ This term supposedly dates back to the eleventh century

³⁷ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 448.

³⁸ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 449.

³⁹ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 451.

⁴⁰ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 453.

⁴¹ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 453.

⁴² Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1425; George Cassar, *What They Ate: Food and Foodways in Mdina and Beyond from Roman Times to the Middle Ages* (Malta: Heland Project, 2015), 19.

⁴³ Cited in Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 116-117.

⁴⁴ Cited in Giacco, Vitale, and Riccardi, "Pasta," 242.

⁴⁵ Anthony F. Buccini, "The Merchants of Genoa and the Diffusion of Southern Italian Pasta Culture in Europe," in *Food & Markets: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2014*, ed. Mark McWilliams (London: Prospect Books, 2015), 54-64, here 55.

⁴⁶ Francesco Altimari, "Italo-Balkan Linguistic Interactions in the Italian-Albanian Food Lexicon: A Short History of *Tumacë* 'Home-Made Pasta' from the Caucasus to the Apennines," in *Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy: Languages, Dialects and Identities*, ed. Thede Kahl, Iliana

or earlier, based on Mahmud al-Kashghari's Turkish lexicon, the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, which references *tutmac*.⁴⁷

The Arab conquest of Sicily (827-902) brought Arab culture and *itriya* to the Italian peninsula.⁴⁸ According to Buccini, the Arabs introduced dried pasta to Italy's south, where fresh pasta may have already been known to the Greco-Latin Sicilian population.⁴⁹ Thus, pasta became well established there before the Norman conquest of Sicily a century later (999-1039). From Sicily and southern Italy, pasta, especially in its dried form, expanded toward the north in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁰ As Buccini points out, northern Italians and Catalans played a significant role in facilitating the spread of Arab-introduced dried pasta beyond southern Italy.⁵¹ Among the main sources for the Arab influence on pasta in Italy are the writings of Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100-1165), a scholar who wrote a geography of the world during his employment at the court of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily in Palermo.⁵² In 1154, al-Idrisi refers to trade from the town of Trabia (southeast of Palermo), where *itriya* was produced and then exported "to Calabria and other Muslim and Christian lands."⁵³ This suggests that, by the twelfth century, dried pasta was an in-demand trade product, at least in southern Italy. Whether the Arabs introduced pasta to Italy remains uncertain, but they did contribute to its popularity and early commercialization.

III. The Growing Significance of Pasta in Italy: Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

By the time of the Renaissance, pasta had become well established in Italy. This is evidenced by one of the oldest Italian cookbooks, the *Liber de coquina*, likely written during the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ In the following century, Maestro Martino of Como created another Italian cookbook, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* or *Book of Culinary Art*, which became better known due to its adaptation in Bartolomeo

Krapova, and Giuseppina Turano (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 2-31, here 6-7.

⁴⁷ Altimari, "Italo-Balkan Linguistic Interactions," 27. Kashgari's lexicon has been edited and translated: Mahmūd al-Kašgarī, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, Turkish Sources VII, Part I-III (Harvard: Harvard University Printing Office, 1982-1985).

⁴⁸ Claudia Roden, *The New Book of Middle Eastern Food* (New York: Random House, 2000), 12.

⁴⁹ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 54, 59.

⁵⁰ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 63.

⁵¹ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 63.

⁵² David Abulafia, "Local Trade Networks in Medieval Sicily: The Evidence of Idrisi," in *Shipping, Trade, and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 157-166, here 157.

⁵³ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 55. Al-Idrisi's Arabic text has been edited: Al-Idrisi, *Opus geographicum: sive Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrare studeant*, 9 fascicles, ed. Alessio Bombaci and Umberto Rizzitano (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1970-1984).

⁵⁴ Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table*, trans. Beth Archer Brombert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015; ProQuest Ebook Central), 18, 19.

Sacchi's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* or *On Guiltless Pleasures and Good Health*.⁵⁵ Bartolomeo Sacchi (1421-1481), also known as Platina, translated Martino's recipes from the author's vernacular Italian into Latin,⁵⁶ the European *lingua franca* of the Renaissance. Martino's cookbook contains various pasta recipes, which indicates that pasta was an established dish in Italy by this time. For example, to prepare Roman-style macaroni, Martino instructs that the pasta be cut into strips that are then to "be boiled when you cook them [...]. When they are done, place [them] on a platter with some good cheese, and butter, and sweet spices."⁵⁷ In the sixteenth century, another cookbook joined the works of Martino and Sacchi, namely, the *Opera* ("Works") of Bartolomeo Scappi (1500-1577).⁵⁸ Scappi's recipes address various types of pasta, including macaroni, ravioli, and lasagne, each of which he advises to "boil in water, broth, or milk, or to fry in oil."⁵⁹ In his recipe for Roman-style macaroni soup, Scappi explains how to shape the pasta, instructs to cook it by boiling it, and suggests to sprinkle it with cheese, sugar, and cinnamon.⁶⁰ As these Renaissance cookbooks show, pasta culture was already flourishing in Italy.

The establishment of pasta led to dietary changes on the peninsula. This was, for example, observed and reported in Naples as early as the seventeenth century.⁶¹ The Neapolitans, formerly known for their habit of eating leaf vegetables, now became known as "macaroni-eaters,"⁶² increasingly consuming pasta prepared for them by street vendors.⁶³ According to the Greek-Italian journalist Matilde Serao (1856-1927), "[a]s soon as they have two *soldi*, the poor of Naples buy a plate of hot pasta with sauce. In every street of the city's four poor neighborhoods, there is one of these taverns with a cook's stall set up outdoors, in

⁵⁵ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 22, 23.

⁵⁶ Luigi Ballerini, "Introduction," in Maestro Martino of Como, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. and trans. Luigi Ballerini and Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 1-46, here 2.

⁵⁷ Maestro Martino of Como, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. and trans. Luigi Ballerini and Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 67-68.

⁵⁸ Bartolomeo Scappi, *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi (1570): L'arte et prudenza d'un maestro cuoco*, ed. and trans. Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 6-7.

⁵⁹ Scappi, *Opera*, 48.

⁶⁰ Scappi, *Opera*, 228-229.

⁶¹ Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, *Italian Cuisine: A Cultural History*, trans. Áine O'Healy (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003; ProQuest Ebook Central), 57.

⁶² June di Schino, "Pasta Eating in the Streets of Naples," in *Public Eating: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1991*, ed. Harlan Walker (London: Prospect Books, 1992), 76-79, here 77.

⁶³ Gabriele Basile, "From Maccaronaro to Street Food: A Cultural and Linguistic Study," in *The Wor(l)ds of Neapolitan Arts and Crafts: Cultural and Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. Raffaella Antinucci, Carolina Diglio, and Maria Giovanna Petrillo (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 12-25, here 14.

which pasta is always on the boil.”⁶⁴ As Serao describes it, pasta was a popular street food, readily available to and consumed frequently by Neapolitans. The growing significance of pasta in the Italian diet did not go unnoticed by visitors to the peninsula who increasingly came to experience it first-hand.

In the eighteenth century, Italy saw regular waves of visitors, including young aristocrats and artists who experienced Italy’s pasta culture during their “grand tours” of Europe.⁶⁵ One such visitor, the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), described his experience with pasta during his visit to Naples in 1787: “The macaroni, the dough of which is made from a very fine flour, kneaded into various shapes and then boiled, can be bought everywhere and in all the shops for very little money.”⁶⁶ While staying in Naples, the Welsh painter Thomas Jones (1742-1803) kept a detailed account book in which he supposedly recorded his purchase of macaroni in 1780, as well as an additional twenty-four pounds of macaroni at the end of his trip in 1783 to take home.⁶⁷ In his *Memoirs*, Jones mentions that, after receiving assistance due to his difficulties using the Italian language, a man led him and his family to “the Refectory, where we were served with a Mess of Macaroni.”⁶⁸ The Scottish writer Charles MacFarlane (1799-1858) describes his first visit to Naples (1816-1827) in his *Popular Customs, Sports and Recollections of the South of Italy*,⁶⁹ recalling that “[i]n respectable Neapolitan houses, macaroni is on the dinner table at least twice or thrice a week—in many, every day.”⁷⁰ MacFarlane also compares Italian pasta (with Neapolitan pasta being his favorite) to pasta made in England, stating, “[m]acaroni is incomparably superior to that pappy, greasy, indigestible substance, a positive disgrace to the name it bears, which is sometimes intruded on our English tables.”⁷¹ Thus, early modern visitors to the Mediterranean regions certainly recognized Italian pasta as one of the peninsula’s culinary specialties.

IV. The Industrialization of Pasta

With the increase in pasta consumption by Italians and non-Italians, pasta-production needed to become more efficient to keep up with demand. Prior to the

⁶⁴ Matilde Serao, “On Naples, 1878-1884: Six Translations,” trans. Jon R. Snyder, *California Italian Studies* 3 no. 1 (2012): 1-17, here 2.

⁶⁵ John A. La Boone III, *Around the World of Food: Adventures in Culinary History* (New York: iUniverse, 2006), 51.

⁶⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey: 1786-1788*, trans. Wystan Hugh Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), 324.

⁶⁷ Melissa Calaresu, “Thomas Jones’ Neapolitan Kitchen: The Material Cultures of Food on the Grand Tour,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 24 (2020): 84-101, here 84, 85, 99-100.

⁶⁸ Thomas Jones, *Memoirs* (London: Walpole Society, 1951), 109.

⁶⁹ Basile, “From Maccaronaro to Street Food,” 16-17.

⁷⁰ Charles MacFarlane, *Popular Customs, Sports, and Recollections of the South of Italy* (London: C. Knight & Company, 1846), 12.

⁷¹ MacFarlane, *Popular Customs*, 12, 13.

industrialization of pasta, the staple's production was limited by how much work individuals could do with the equipment available to them.⁷² The shift toward industrialization occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when small manufacturers connected with larger centers of production, thereby creating a network of pasta-producers providing for the increased consumption of pasta.⁷³ In addition, machinery was introduced to improve productivity. Among the earliest of such machines was Giovanni Branca's baker's brake, proposed in 1629 to mechanize the process of kneading dough,⁷⁴ one of the most laborious tasks in making pasta by hand,⁷⁵ and the extrusion press which was subsequently introduced to support a larger output of shaped pasta.⁷⁶ Together with the brake, the extrusion press shifted pasta-making toward a more industrialized model.⁷⁷ In 1767, Paul Jacques Malouin published a monograph on the work of millers, pastry makers, and bakers,⁷⁸ apparently including guidelines for pasta-making, for example, the use of boiled cow brains mixed with oil as a lubricant for a pasta press.⁷⁹ Eventually, steam-powered and electric machinery facilitated pasta-making in quantities that rendered it a suitable staple for national and international trade,⁸⁰ and – since it no longer needed to be hand-made – it came at a much lower cost.⁸¹

V. The Story of Pasta beyond Italy

While pasta was mostly associated with Italy, it also developed elsewhere. In the early years of its industrialized production, there was very little competition outside of the Italian peninsula.⁸² For example, the city of Bologna, well known for its egg pasta, was facing competition from Alsace, a region between France and Germany,⁸³ while other regions were producing their own types of pasta, for

⁷² Silvano Serventi and Françoise Sabban, *Pasta: The Story of a Universal Food*, trans. Antony Shugaar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002; ProQuest Ebook Central), 63.

⁷³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 63-64.

⁷⁴ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 78.

⁷⁵ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 83.

⁷⁶ Fabio Parasecoli, *Al Dente: A History of Food in Italy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014; ProQuest Ebook Central), 138.

⁷⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 91.

⁷⁸ Paul Jacques Malouin, *Description et détails des arts du meunier, du vermicelier et du boulenger, avec une histoire abrégée de la boulengerie, & un dictionnaire de ces arts* (Paris: n.p., 1767).

⁷⁹ John Dickie, *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and Their Food* (Riverside: Atria Books, 2008), 152.

⁸⁰ Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 156.

⁸¹ Oretta Zanini De Vita, *Popes, Peasants, and Shepherds: Recipes and Lore from Rome and Lazio*, trans. Maureen B. Fant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013; ProQuest Ebook Central), 46.

⁸² Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 119.

⁸³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 98.

example, northern Africa, specifically Morocco, where couscous was made, a granular-like pasta commonly served with stews.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, pasta was produced in the form of vermicelli as well as another type referred to as *makaronya* in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, where it was considered a “novelty” cuisine.⁸⁵ France, too, engaged in pasta-production, yielding about 1,300 tons of pasta in Paris alone by 1856,⁸⁶ yet their product did not hold up to the same taste standards as Italian pasta due to their different drying methods.⁸⁷ The latter also caused French pasta to be comparatively fragile; however, this was not a major concern as French pasta was mostly consumed with broth.⁸⁸ In addition, France imported pasta from Genoa and Naples to satisfy French customers.⁸⁹

The nineteenth century also saw the rise of Germany as a leading pasta-producer.⁹⁰ A British catalogue for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 lists pasta under the “Apparatus and Processes Used in Agricultural Works, and in Works for the Preparation of Food,” suggesting an emphasis on the staple’s manufacturing.⁹¹ However, from 1878 onward, the Paris Exposition offered an opportunity to international pasta-producers to showcase their unique culinary qualities.⁹² Alsace, a territory influenced by German culture, had established its own production of egg pasta,⁹³ yet Alsatian and German pasta-makers, who had had an established egg-pasta industry in the Rhineland since at least the mid-seventeenth century,⁹⁴ were excluded from the Paris Expositions of 1878 and 1889 due to the French opposition against Germany’s 1870 annexation of Alsace.⁹⁵ In 1900, German pasta-makers attended the Paris Exposition where representatives from the Knorr company received an award for their vermicelli.⁹⁶ In his

⁸⁴ James LeRoy Morgan, *Culinary Creation: An Introduction to Foodservice and World Cuisine* (Burlington: Elsevier, 2006), 10, 11.

⁸⁵ Özge Samancı, “The Cuisine of Istanbul between East and West during the 19th Century,” in *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500-1900*, ed. Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu (Boston: Brill, 2018; ProQuest Ebook Central), 77–98, here 83, 91.

⁸⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 119, 181.

⁸⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 110.

⁸⁸ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 110.

⁸⁹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 122.

⁹⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 173.

⁹¹ *Catalogue of the British Section, Containing a List of the Exhibitors of the United Kingdom and Its Colonies, and the Objects Which They Exhibit, in English, French, German, and Italian, with Statistical Introductions, and an Appendix ... Together with a List of the Awards Made to British and Colonial Exhibitors by the International Jury* (London: Her Britannic Majesty’s Commissioners and sold by Spottiswoode, 1868), xxii.

⁹² Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 172.

⁹³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 121–122.

⁹⁴ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 185.

⁹⁵ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 174.

⁹⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 174.

description of the 1900 Paris Exposition, James Penny Boyd mentions pasta as being catalogued under “Farinaceous [i.e., starchy] Products and their Derivatives.”⁹⁷ It is noteworthy, though, that those participating in the Paris Exposition from across the Atlantic, especially from countries with large Italian immigrant populations, were routinely recognized for their products if their names sounded Italian,⁹⁸ proving that pasta that was not actually made in Italy was prized over other pasta as long as it could somehow be associated with Italy.

VI. Italian Immigrants and the Americanization of Pasta

The most influential force in the spread of pasta beyond Italy were Italian immigrants who created booming pasta industries elsewhere. From the 1850s on, the United States of America experienced waves of Italian immigration, and by the end of the nineteenth century, over 480,000 Italian immigrants had arrived in the U.S.⁹⁹ During the same time, considerable numbers of Italian immigrants made Argentina their new home, thereby introducing the industrial production of pasta to Latin America.¹⁰⁰ By 1907, the U.S. and Argentina combined received around 90 percent of Italian immigrants per year. The U.S. became a leading importer of Italian pasta,¹⁰¹ which underscores the role of Italian immigrants in taking the pasta industry abroad. As for Argentina, the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires, described it, in 1908, as a “second Italy” due to its sizeable population of Italian immigrants who were establishing a booming pasta industry there.¹⁰² In a publication celebrating Argentina’s 1910 centennial, Carlos M. Urien and Ezio Colombo praised Italian cuisine, especially pasta and ravioli, as symbols of “national progress and cosmopolitanism.”¹⁰³ While pasta was openly welcomed in Argentina, the U.S. dealt with the issue of tariffs restricting foreign foods that, according to olive-oil importer C. A. Mariani, “starved migrants by denying them homeland olive oil, pasta, cured meat, and cheese, the only foods that truly replenished Italians physically and psychologically.”¹⁰⁴

Regardless of such restrictions, Italian immigrants used pasta as a means to celebrate and strengthen their national roots. In U.S. cities with large communities of Italian immigrants, such as New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Argentina,

⁹⁷ James Penny Boyd, *The Paris Exposition of 1900: A Vivid Descriptive View and Elaborate Scenic Presentation of the Site, Plan, and Exhibits* (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Company, 1900), 331.

⁹⁸ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 175.

⁹⁹ Teagan Lehrmann, “Steam and Deliver: How Canning Revolutionized, United, and Globalized Italian Cuisine,” *The Midway Review* 7, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 13-25, here 16.

¹⁰⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 175.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Zanon, *Migrant Marketplaces: Food and Italians in North and South America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018; ProQuest Ebook Central), 26.

¹⁰² Zanon, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 56.

¹⁰³ See Zanon, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 59; Carlos M. Urien and Ezio Colombo, *La Republica Argentina en 1910* (Buenos Aires: Maucci, 1910).

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Zanon, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 70.

they established their own pasta factories.¹⁰⁵ According to the 1910 Argentine Industrial Census, the country had 177 pasta factories in operation that year, and Argentina's international trade in pasta continued to rise in subsequent years.¹⁰⁶ In 1929, as Renato Rovetta observed, 550 pasta factories were operating in the U.S., making it the second-largest manufacturer of pasta.¹⁰⁷ This increase may in part be attributed to 1920s print-media coverage of Italian Americans, which "celebrated [...] their ability to cook meals without meat," thus popularizing the consumption of pasta and other Italian foods among non-Italians.¹⁰⁸ With the engagement of Italian immigrants in their pasta industries, the U.S. and Argentina rose to become serious competitors to Italy's pasta-production. As Italian author Remigio Baldoni put it in 1940, "The influence of our fellow countrymen living overseas has thus given rise to a thriving flow of exports from Italy [...] [with] cheese, pastas, and tomato preserves [...] finding a place not only on the tables of Italians but on those of many foreigners as well."¹⁰⁹

While Italian immigrants gave a significant boost to the Americas' pasta industry, the staple itself had arrived there considerably earlier. Thomas Jefferson may have been the first to import a pasta-making machine to the U.S. in the eighteenth century while serving as Minister (i.e., ambassador) to France; he apparently wrote a letter to a friend in 1789, asking about purchasing a macaroni press.¹¹⁰ Once American manufacturers were able to produce pasta from durum wheat grown on American soil, the pasta industry took off, making the country one of the leading pasta-producers of the twentieth century.¹¹¹ In the process, pasta secured a foothold in cultural diets across the U.S. and was adapted to American eating habits. Lidia Motika (Bastianich), who immigrated with her family from Italy in 1958, was shocked at the difference between American-made pasta and the Italian pasta her family was used to: "I was still puzzled at how different the food was from what we prepared and served at home. I can't say that I did not recognize everything [...] spaghetti and meatballs was another dish that I had not encountered [...] but we never had the two served together."¹¹² Similarly, Italian immigrant restaurant owner Tony recalled in an interview with Joan

¹⁰⁵ Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 85-86.

¹⁰⁷ See Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 171; Renato Rovetta, *Industria del pastificio o dei maccheroni*, 3rd ed. (Milan: Hoepli, 1929).

¹⁰⁸ Melissa E. Marinaro, "From *Cucina* to Grocery Store: The Evolution of Pasta-Making in the American Home," *Western Pennsylvania History* 97, no. 3 (2014): 18-19, here 19.

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Lehrmann, "Steam and Deliver," 121.

¹¹⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 189.

¹¹¹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 193, 194-195.

¹¹² Cited in Simone Cinotto, "Immigrant Tastemakers: Italian Cookbook Writers and the Transnational Formation of Taste in Postindustrial America (1973-2000)," in *New Italian Migrations to the United States*, ed. Laura E. Ruberto and Joseph Sciorra (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017; ProQuest Ebook Central), 139-166, here 129.

Nathan, “They called it Italian, but I didn’t recognize the spaghetti they served.”¹¹³ As an Americanized dish, spaghetti is commonly served with meatballs, but this was (and is) not the norm in Italy where the two items are served as separate dishes.¹¹⁴

While Italian immigrants encountered Americanized pasta, they were still craving homemade pasta. Between 1907 and 1974, Leonard Covello conducted interviews in New York’s Italian immigrant community,¹¹⁵ and he recalls that it was common for Italian students at Columbia¹¹⁶ to refer to their hunger by saying, “Boy, what I wouldn’t give for a great big platter of macaroni!”¹¹⁷ This shows the continuing significance of pasta to the diets of Italian immigrants, as well as pasta’s role in connecting them to their culture. More recently, Lynne C. Anderson interviewed and interacted with Italian immigrants, including Fausta Scarano Finkemeyer.¹¹⁸ Anderson describes Fausta’s mother, Rosalba, and her son, Matthias, rolling out pasta by hand to make strips of fettuccini to be served in the traditional Italian way as a dish by itself.¹¹⁹ Covello’s and Anderson’s interviews show how pasta remained a significant cultural connection for Italian immigrants who were seeking the comforts of their home country.

VII. Pasta in Twentieth-Century Italy

While the early twentieth century witnessed international pasta-production and consumption on the rise, pasta was receiving some pushback in its “homeland” of Italy. During the interwar years, as fascism was on the rise, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Luigi Colombo Fillia published their 1932 manifest on “futurist cuisine” (*cucina futuristica*) in which they demanded that pasta-eating be abolished in Italy as it did not fit with the fascist image of the ideal Italian.¹²⁰ Their anti-pasta sentiments were shared by Dr. Signorelli, a Neapolitan professor, who wrote that pasta-consumption resulted in “weakness, pessimism, nostalgic inactivity, and

¹¹³ Cited in Joan Nathan, *The New American Cooking: 280 Recipes Full of Delectable New Flavors from Around the World as Well as Fresh Ways with Old Favorites: A Cookbook* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2011), n.p. (chapter: “Pasta and Grains”).

¹¹⁴ Gillian Riley, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 367.

¹¹⁵ Simone Cinotto, “Leonard Covello, the Covello Papers, and the History of Eating Habits among Italian Immigrants in New York,” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (September 2004): 497-521, here 497.

¹¹⁶ Cinotto, “Leonard Covello,” 504.

¹¹⁷ Leonard Covello and Guido D’Agostino, *The Heart is the Teacher* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 70.

¹¹⁸ Lynne C. Anderson, *Breaking Bread: Recipes and Stories from Immigrant Kitchens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010; ProQuest Ebook Central), 51.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Breaking Bread*, 58, 59.

¹²⁰ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Luigi Colombo Fillia, *Cucina futuristica* (Milano: Sonzogno, 1932). See Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 166; Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 79-80.

neutralism," which were not ideal for the citizens of fascist Italy.¹²¹ However, despite his efforts, Marinetti's argument carried no significant weight among Italians, especially since he himself had been photographed earlier while eating spaghetti, a staple he supposedly opposed.¹²² Italians were simply not ready to give up their beloved pasta: the women of L'Aquila in central Italy wrote to ask that Marinetti lay off his anti-pasta position, and the mayor of Naples told reporters that "[t]he angels in paradise eat nothing but vermicelli with tomato sauce."¹²³ Any efforts to convince Italians otherwise remained fruitless, as pasta had become embedded in Italian social and cultural life over the centuries. This pro-pasta sentiment even extended to 1930s Australia where the Savory brand, while not directly responding to Marinetti, advertised their macaroni as being able to "make a champion out of you too in the race of life."¹²⁴

While Italy's pasta manufacturers were dealing with some domestic pressures brought on by Marinetti's anti-pasta crusade, they were also facing pressures from foreign developers,¹²⁵ for, by the twentieth century, pasta was produced abroad on such a scale that it began to impact the Italian market.¹²⁶ A new process for drying pasta, which greatly reduced the hanging time, had been introduced at the Paris Exposition of 1900,¹²⁷ allowing manufacturers to speed up production. In Australia, for example, the Excelsior company was making around five tons of pasta per week at the beginning of the twentieth century, and by 1936, Australia's Savory Macaroni Company was producing over 50 different types of pasta.¹²⁸ As the pasta industry was changing due to these new techniques and manufacturers, Italy's status as the ultimate global pasta-producer began to decline, yet the country nonetheless remained the world's leading pasta-producer because of the high levels of pasta consumption in Italy itself.¹²⁹ Accordingly, after World War II, pasta officially became Italy's national food.¹³⁰

¹²¹ Cited in Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 180.

¹²² David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, Its Regions, and Their Peoples* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2011), 280. This spaghetti-eating incident was recorded in 1930 (Estorick Collection); see Romy Golan, "Ingestion/ Anti-Pasta," *Cabinet Magazine* 10 (2003): 12-15, here 13.

¹²³ Danielle Callegari, "The Politics of Pasta: La cucina futurista and the Italian Cookbook in History," *California Italian Studies* 4 no. 2 (2013): 1-14, here 13.

¹²⁴ Anne Reynolds, "A Short History of Italian Cafés and Restaurants in Sydney," *Modern Greek Studies (Australia & New Zealand)* 10 (2002): 136-155, here 144.

¹²⁵ Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 234.

¹²⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 128.

¹²⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 152.

¹²⁸ Reynolds, "Short History of Italian Cafés," 143-144.

¹²⁹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 160, 170.

¹³⁰ Riley, *Oxford Companion to Italian Food*, 372.

VIII. Pasta in the Twenty-First Century

The story of pasta continues in the twenty-first century. In Italy, selling pasta is gradually shifting from the traditional small shops to supermarkets.¹³¹ However, this has not (yet) impacted every type of pasta: a recent study on agnolotti pasta has found that this particular product, which requires considerable effort to make, continues to be sold at food counters even within supermarkets.¹³² The transition to purchasing pasta in supermarkets is also evident in Turkey where pasta—traditionally prepared seasonally in the fall to be stored for months—can now be bought in supermarkets year round.¹³³ Meanwhile, the global demand for Italian pasta is on the rise, for example in markets across Thailand.¹³⁴ In response to this, it is becoming more common for producers to try new pasta shapes or reintroduce past shapes to entice consumers.¹³⁵ Italy is still the leading pasta-producer, followed by the U.S. and Turkey; in 2015, these three countries and other manufacturers worldwide were able to produce around 14.3 million tons of pasta.¹³⁶

Pasta has also been a subject of debate concerning its health qualities, leading to studies and experiments to produce more nutrient-rich pasta, often by replacing its wheat semolina with other ingredients as studied by R. A. Thilini Nilusha and others.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, research conducted by Marilena Vitale and others regarding consumers with type-2 diabetes has found that pasta, if consumed within recommended limits, does not increase health risks for these individuals.¹³⁸ Regardless of these and other scientific studies, pasta has continued to be cooked and eaten in the twenty-first century as evidenced by the publication of cookbooks

¹³¹ Michele F. Fontefrancesco, "Traditional Festive Food and Fragile Aspirations of Development in Italy: The Case of Agnolotti Pasta" *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 7, no. 2 (2020): 1-8, here 5.

¹³² Fontefrancesco, "Traditional Festive Food," 5.

¹³³ Marie Hélène Sauner-Leroy, "'The Way to the Heart is Through the Stomach': Culinary Practices in Contemporary Turkey," in *Turkish Cuisine*, ed. Arif Bilgin and Ozge Samanci (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism - Republic of Turkey, 2008), 261-279, here 267, 277.

¹³⁴ Edel Lemus, "The Italian Food Sector Future Growth in Thai's Market," *Global Journal of Management and Business Research: E Marketing* 15, no. 1 (2015): 1-10, here 3.

¹³⁵ Fabio Parasecoli, *Food Culture in Italy* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 5.

¹³⁶ Ayşe Nur Yüksel, Mehmet Durdu Öner, and Mustafa Bayram, "Rediscovery of Couscous in the World," *Global Journal of Medical Research: Nutrition and Food Science* 18, no. 1 (2018): 25-30, here 26.

¹³⁷ R. A. Thilini Nilusha, Jagath M. J. Kumara Jayasinghe, O. D. A. Niranjala Perera, and Prasanthi I. P. Perera, "Development of Pasta Products with Nonconventional Ingredients and Their Effect on Selected Quality Characteristics: A Brief Overview," *International Journal of Food Science* (2019): 1-10, here 2.

¹³⁸ Marilena Vitale et al., "Pasta Consumption and Connected Dietary Habits: Associations with Glucose Control, Adiposity Measures, and Cardiovascular Risk Factors in People with Type 2 Diabetes—TOSCA.IT Study," *Nutrients* 12, no. 101 (2020): 1-11, here 8.

like *Giuliano Hazan's Thirty Minute Pasta* in which the author provides tips on how to cook the perfect pasta.¹³⁹

Most recently, pasta has been impacted by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The start of the COVID-19 lockdown in March 2020 gave way to panic shopping with consumers obsessively buying up a variety of products, including pasta, thereby causing product shortages.¹⁴⁰ Pasta was frequently purchased due to its nutritional value, its especially long shelf life, and its comparatively low price.¹⁴¹ A study on the grocery shopping, cooking, and eating habits of New Zealanders during the COVID-19 lockdowns, conducted by Sarah Gerritsen and others, found that over 90% of its respondents had stocked up on foods, including pasta.¹⁴² This mass buying of dried pasta was a global phenomenon as additional studies have revealed: Martin O'Connell and others, researching mass buying in the United Kingdom, have found that the purchasing of pasta spiked during the March 2020 lockdown to 49% higher sales than usual;¹⁴³ similarly, Alessandro Scacchi and others, reporting on the changes of food purchases during COVID-19 in Italy, have demonstrated that the purchasing of pasta greatly increased during the pandemic-related panic shopping.¹⁴⁴ Overall, these studies reveal that, in situations of panic, pasta is an important food item that consumers will flock toward during difficult times.

Conclusion

As this article has shown, studying the history of food provides ample opportunity for interdisciplinary research, including excursions into the fields of biology, archaeology, linguistics, engineering, sociology, and many others. Considering its historical journey, from its beginnings as durum wheat to its possible paths into Italy and beyond, it is evident that pasta has been, and continues to be, a highly significant food. While it has been especially meaningful, both culturally and socially, to Italians, pasta has proven to be an important and beloved food worldwide. Yet, despite being a global food phenomenon, pasta continues to rank

¹³⁹ Giuliano Hazan, *Giuliano Hazan's Thirty Minute Pasta: 100 Quick and Easy Recipes*, (Newburyport: ABRAMS, 2012), 26.

¹⁴⁰ Martin O'Connell, Áureo De Paula, and Kate Smith, "Preparing for a Pandemic: Spending Dynamics and Panic During the COVID-19 First Wave," *Fiscal Studies: The Journal of Applied Public Economics* 42, no. 2 (2021): 249-264, here 249.

¹⁴¹ Laura Laguna et al., "The Impact of COVID-19 Lockdown on Food Priorities: Results from a Preliminary Study Using Social Media and an Online Survey with Spanish Consumers," *Food Quality and Preference* 86 (2020): 1-9, here 1, 6.

¹⁴² Sarah Gerritsen et al., "Seven Weeks of Home-Cooked Meals: Changes to New Zealanders' Grocery Shopping, Cooking and Eating During the COVID-19 Lockdown," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 51, sup. 1 (2021): 4-22, here 14.

¹⁴³ O'Connell, De Paula, and Smith, "Preparing for a Pandemic," 257.

¹⁴⁴ Alessandro Scacchi et al., "COVID-19 Lockdown and Self-Perceived Changes of Food Choice, Waste, Impulse Buying and Their Determinants in Italy: QuarantEat, a Cross-Sectional Study," *Foods* 10, no. 306 (2021): 1-14, here 10.

as a food of paramount importance on the Italian peninsula, where it has had the greatest impact over its centuries (or perhaps even millennia) of production, where it continues to enjoy immense popularity in the present, and where it will, no doubt, continue to impact the future.

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Kenji Byron Ogata

*Matilda of Canossa's Agency:
An Essay on the Miniatures in a Medieval Manuscript
(Vaticanus Latinus 4922)*

ABSTRACT: The eleventh-century "Investiture Controversy" was more than just a showdown between King Henry IV of Germany and Pope Gregory VII, and it involved, among others, Countess Matilda of Canossa. Based on the concept of "visual literacy," this essay argues that the miniatures in the illuminated manuscript of the *Vita Mathildis* (Vaticanus Latinus 4922) promote Matilda's agency in a seemingly male-dominated world and raises questions concerning modern preconceived notions concerning medieval gender roles.

KEYWORDS: medieval history; art history; Countess Matilda of Canossa; Abbot Hugh of Cluny; King Henry IV of Germany; Pope Gregory VII; visual literacy; gender; agency; Vaticanus Latinus 4922

Introduction

If recent television shows like *The Last Kingdom*, *Game of Thrones*, or *The Spanish Princess* are any indication, dramas—however loosely—based on medieval and Renaissance history are enjoying immense popularity with audiences, and the same seems to apply to recent video games, think: *Assassin's Creed*. In one such video game, *Crusader Kings III*, players assume the role of individual rulers and attempt to expand their respective dynastic power and influence through the ages. Among the recommended characters in *Crusader Kings III* is Matilda of Canossa, a "historical" countess who ruled most of central Italy during the later eleventh century. Matilda of Canossa (c. 1146-1115) wielded enormous political power around the same time William the Conqueror invaded and ruled England. Her achievements are recorded in a contemporary Latin text, the *Vita Mathildis* ("The Life of Matilda") by the monk Donizo, and this text survives as an original manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vaticanus Latinus 4922). This essay considers how the manuscript of the *Vita Mathildis* and its illuminations (i.e., images) assert Matilda of Canossa's position as a feudal ruler and her agency among the male-dominated social orders of clergy and nobility in the late eleventh century.

To understand the *Vita Mathildis* in its medieval context, we must consider how eleventh-century literacy differed from literacy today. With regard to conventional literacy (i.e., reading and writing), relatively few members of the population—predominately members of the clergy, some members of the nobility, and a few merchants—were indeed literate, and the ability to read (or consume) was certainly more pronounced than the ability to write (or produce). Meanwhile, the ability to understand and interpret images—so-called "visual literacy"—was rather common throughout medieval society. Images on buildings or in books were created to facilitate the comprehension of key information. Many of these images may appear foreign or hard to interpret to us today, but our medieval colleagues would have readily understood that the position of a person, animal,

or object was intended to convey a particular meaning or story. An example of this is any stained-glass window depicting scenes from the Nativity of Christ: the golden disc around the baby's head indicates the child's sanctity or divinity, and the fact that there are three richly adorned (or even crowned) men bowing to the baby means that we are dealing with the adoration of Christ by the Magi (related in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter 2).¹

Keeping this in mind, one needs to scrutinize the accompanying images in medieval manuscripts much like actual written texts. Some manuscripts contain the texts of holy scriptures (like the Gospels) or liturgies (like the coronation manuscripts of kings); others feature more encyclopedic works (like the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville); yet others relate the "life" (or, in Latin, *vita*; plural *vitae*) of a saint in order to illustrate why an individual had been—or should be—canonized.² While Matilda of Canossa was a close friend of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085), she was never canonized. Unlike most *vitae*, the *Vita Mathildis* does not promote its protagonist's sainthood; rather, it promotes Matilda's achievements in roles typically dominated by men. A *vita* depicting a woman's life was not new, but one depicting a woman's accomplishments as a noble—rather than a saint—was rather unusual. Thus, when compared to other *vitae*, the *Vita Mathildis* is the exception rather than the norm, and its illuminated manuscript is the physical manifestation of how Matilda displayed her exceptionality.

I. The Manuscript: Vaticanus Latinus 4922

Vita Mathildis ("The Life of Matilda") is one of several titles used interchangeably for the manuscript that interests us here; it is also known as "The Life of Matilda of Tuscany," "The Deeds of Countess Matilda," and "The Life of Matilda of Canossa."³ At first glance, the *Vita Mathildis* is a rather simple-looking manuscript with very few illustrations, especially when compared to other, more embellished manuscripts such as the eleventh-century *Codex Aureus of Echternach* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 156142). The *Vita Mathildis* is a codex (i.e., a bound book) that is approximately 16 centimeters wide and 21 centimeters in height, bound (at a later date) in red leather.⁴ It contains 90 parchment folios (180 pages) with six pages added to the codex after the original binding; three of the added pages are in the front, the other three are in the back. Most of the folios feature Latin text in Caroline-minuscule script, written in black ink, and a few red

¹ On the concept of visual literacy as pertaining to medieval art, see Herbert L. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art* (North York: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

² Michelle Brown, Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, and Nancy Turner, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms*, revised ed. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), s.v. "Saints' Lives."

³ *Vita Mathildis: Facsimile Edition*, [online](#), accessed June 13, 2022.

⁴ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Latinus 4922 (*Vita Mathildis*), ms. a. 1115, [online](#), accessed June 13, 2022. The physical description and image descriptions in the text above are based on this digital version of the original manuscript.

subheadings. There are seven blank pages (fols. 3r, 3v, 6v, 7r, 89v, 90r, and 90v) and what appears to be a partial removal or damage to fol. 89. Miniatures—illustrations that occupy the greater part or the entirety of a page—can be found on fols. 7v, 19r, 20v, 21v, 28v, 30v, and 49r, and this essay focuses on the two miniatures found on fols. 7v and 49r. The dominant colors of the miniatures are red, blue, yellow, and black, and their contours appear in dark brown or black ink. The miniatures either depict Countess Matilda and others conducting matters of state, are prominent portraits of clergy, or feature Matilda herself. The manuscript also contains minor illustrations and decorated initials on fols. 9v, 11r, 29r, 47v, 76r, and 84v, usually in red, blue, and gold. Larger red initials can also be found throughout the manuscript (see, for example, fol. 22v).

Recent scholarship has noted that, despite her significance and achievements, Matilda of Canossa has not garnered the attention she deserves, at least not in English academia and literature.⁵ Thus, in 2015, the 900th anniversary of her death (1115) was taken as an opportunity to organize a series of papers and discussions under the heading *Matilda 900* at the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Western Michigan University, USA) and the International Medieval Congress (University of Leeds, UK).⁶ English-language scholarship on the provenance (i.e., the chain of custody) of the *Vita Mathildis* is still relatively sparse; according to medieval historian David J. Hay, the Italian medievalist Paolo Golinelli addresses the manuscript's provenance (in Italian) in his 1984 edition of Donizo's text, *Vita di Matilde di Canossa*.⁷ It appears that the manuscript was created in the Monastery of Saint Apollonius in Canossa, Italy; that it was commissioned and completed near the time of Matilda of Canossa's death (1115) in the earlier twelfth century (c. 1110-1115);⁸ and that the Benedictine monk Donizo (also referred to as Donizone) authored the book and later became the abbot of Saint Apollonius. The *Vita Mathildis* was likely a gift to Countess Matilda for her support of the abbey and may have been commissioned by Matilda herself. During the writing of the manuscript, Matilda was dealing with several uprisings, and this work may have

⁵ David J. Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2008), 1: "Countess Matilda of Canossa was the most powerful woman of her time. At present, however she remains one of the most neglected medieval figures in the English-speaking world;" Valerie Eads and Tiziana Lazzari, "Raising Matilda from the Footnotes," *Storicamente: Laboratorio di Storia* 13, art 12 (2017): 1-10, here 2: "Indeed, despite considerable activity in such areas as gender, feminist studies, female lordship and military history [...] the standard English-language biographies of Matilda remain what they were when the eighth centennial of her death was marked in 1915, as World War I raged. While the men in her life, Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV, have found their biographers, Matilda has not. The only English-language monograph on Matilda published in the eight succeeding decades of the twentieth century was Robert Hollister Rough's study of the Matilda Gospel."

⁶ Eads and Lazzari, "Raising Matilda."

⁷ David J. Hay, "Silensis and Aferesis in the Vita Mathildis: How Donizo's Marginalia Explain the Battle of Tricontai (1091/1092)," *Storicamente: Laboratorio di Storia* 13, art. 18 (2017): 1-30.

⁸ Hay, "Silensis and Aferesis."

been an effort to further legitimize her position and emphasize her abilities as a ruler.⁹ The original manuscript remained at the Monastery of Saint Apollonius until the fourteenth century. It was eventually acquired by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (the Vatican Library) in Rome, which was officially established in 1475. The manuscript was digitized on or before 2017, and it can now be viewed on the *Digital Vatican Library* platform (*DigiVatLib*).¹⁰ The oldest existing copy of the *Vita Mathildis* was made by monks from Frassinoro (in the Emilia-Romagna) in 1243. The Vatican's digitized version of the original *Vita Mathildis* manuscript serves as the basis of this essay.¹¹

The *Vita Mathildis* does not aspire to see Matilda of Canossa canonized. Rather, its first part establishes her familial lineage, and its second part focuses on her military successes and involvement in the great Investiture Controversy (starting in 1076) between Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073-1085) and King (and future Holy Roman Emperor) Henry IV of Germany (r. 1054-1105). According to Hay, the *Vita Mathildis* has more in common with medieval *Gesta* ("Deeds") than *Vitae* ("Lives").¹² It is written as poetry, primarily "Leonine Hexameters with Virgilian style verses."¹³ The text's biographical portions emulate the concept of the Christian hero in terms of military valor and virtue. Matilda's strength and support for the pope is compared to a "rock," and she is portrayed as being nearly as virtuous as the Virgin Mary. While the attention to Matilda's strength and martial prowess is atypical for depictions of women during this time, her comparison to the Virgin Mary is not. Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds argues that, while piety and subservience to the pope were common in portrayals of women, these virtues were not considered strictly feminine but, rather, desirable for both genders and all members of society.¹⁴ Thus, Donizo's portrayal of Matilda may have been less controversial to medieval readers than modern readers might think. Either way, we must keep these central features of the text in mind as we delve into our analysis of the manuscript's illuminations and how they reflect Matilda of Canossa's agency.

⁹ Robert Houghton, "Reconsidering Donizone's *Vita Mathildis* (again): Boniface of Canossa and the Emperor Conrad II," *Storicamente: Laboratorio di Storia* 13, art. 17 (2017): 1-35; Rachel Smith, "The Art of Inventing Matilda of Canossa" (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, 2012), 1.

¹⁰ See above, note 4.

¹¹ See above, note 4.

¹² Hay, *Military Leadership*, 17. *Gesta* (Latin for "deeds") are prose records of military actions and accomplishments; they are usually reserved for male warlords like Robert Guiscard and Roger of Sicily (both contemporaries of Matilda of Canossa).

¹³ Smith, "Art of Inventing Matilda," 3.

¹⁴ Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds, "Nobilissima Dux: Matilda of Tuscany and the Construction of Female Authority" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), 110-112.

II. The Manuscript: Matilda of Canossa's Agency

The two miniatures that interest us here can be found on fols. 7v and 49r. The miniature on fol. 7v is the image of a woman – Matilda of Canossa – clad in what appear to be very ornate vestments. She is sitting on a throne that is much larger than herself and has a red backrest, while its outer parts, feet, and flanking posts are in blue. The countess's vestments consist of a red cloak with decorated golden borders, worn over a blue dress or long tunic. At first glance, she appears to be wearing a cone-shaped golden headdress, but this is in fact the hood of her cloak. In her right hand, she holds a vertical branch, and her left hand is positioned over the middle of her torso. On her left – the viewer's right – appears a knight who is wearing a chainmail headpiece (a "coif"), a blue cloak over a red tunic, and boots. He is holding a sword in front of his chest with the hilt angled toward Matilda. On her right – the viewer's left – appears a cleric or monk with a tonsured haircut. He is holding an open book which is also angled toward the countess.¹⁵ Compared to Matilda, her two "attendants" are smaller in scale. The miniature on fol. 49r also features Matilda and two men, but in this case the latter are known. The smallest figure is King Henry IV, kneeling with his head raised toward Matilda. Matilda, to the viewer's right of the kneeling king, is placed higher than Henry and sitting on a large red stool with a white cushion under a red-and-blue arched canopy that is supported by yellow-and-black columns. Matilda is not looking at the king but at a larger figure sitting behind him and to the viewer's left. This larger figure is Abbot Hugh of Cluny (r. 1049-1109) who is holding a red or brown abbot's staff (or "crosier") in his left hand, wearing a brown habit with the hood pulled up over his head, sitting on a carved folding chair with a greenish cushion, and pointing toward Matilda with his right index finger. Meanwhile, Matilda's right hand is gesturing toward the abbot while her left index finger is pointing upward. She is wearing a black or green cloak with decorated golden and red borders over a blue dress or long tunic, and her head is covered with a white veil that is held in place with a golden circlet. Henry's cloak and tunic are inverse to Matilda's (i.e., a blue cloak and a black or green tunic), and he is wearing a golden crown. He is kneeling on his right knee, while his left hand is placed on his left knee. With his right hand near the middle of his torso, he pulls up his cloak. The Latin text below the miniature on fol. 7v reads *Mathildis lucens precor hoc cape cara volumen* ("illustrious Mathilda, I pray that you hold this volume dear"), while the text below the one on fol. 49r reads *Rex rogat abbatem, Mathildim supplicat atq[ue]* (i.e., "the king asks the abbot, and he also begs Matilda").

Fol. 7v shows a person in power. In this miniature, Matilda is the largest person and literally the center of attention. According to Rachel Smith, her portrayal is reminiscent of "Roman Imperial figures [...]. As the larger enthroned central figure, this type of depiction makes her seem both ceremonial and regal while placing her firmly in the tradition of Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures of the

¹⁵ Smith, "Art of Inventing Matilda," 25, states that the cleric is Donizo himself.

Holy Roman emperor.”¹⁶ The image presents Matilda in the same fashion as her male contemporaries. Even more interesting, her image is the very first miniature in the manuscript, leaving little doubt as to what a “visual reader” would see and understand first. The branch she is holding is a *ramus arboris* (“a tree branch”) which represents justice and mediation.¹⁷ A medieval visual reader would have recognized Matilda as a significant ruler in the context of the Holy Roman Empire and as one known for governing justly and capable of brokering agreements between conflicting parties. The image on fol. 7v stands in contrast to the images of women who merely appear as the wives or daughters of powerful rulers, the “usual” roles of women during this time as perceived both by contemporaries and modern historians. A woman ruling in her own right may seem quite astounding; yet even in Matilda’s time, there were women who wielded such power, many obtaining it through marriage or as heirs to their fathers or as regents for their sons.¹⁸ There is, however, no male in the image on fol. 7v granting Matilda her power. She is not portrayed as a regent for an under-aged son; she does not rule her husband’s lands as a widow; and she does not govern for her husband or her father in their absence. She rules with her own authority and judgment, and thus she faces her attendants.

The attendants on fol. 7v exert no control over Matilda, nor are they her equal in size, stature, or decoration. They are smaller and angled toward her, awaiting her command. The knight does not wield the sword on her behalf, nor is the sword his. He simply holds Matilda’s sword, ready for her to draw it when needed, making him more of a representation of her martial power than an individual in his own right. He is not her proxy: should the need arise, she herself will go into battle and lead her troops. The cleric is not writing laws for her, nor does he read the book to her. The book is facing her, ready for her to read and consult, showing that she is both educated and able to discern the proper way to conduct matters of state in accordance with what is written. Based on the image’s subscription (“illustrious Mathilda, I pray that you hold this volume dear”), it is safe to assume that the cleric is, in fact, Donizo, presenting Matilda with a copy of the *Vita Mathildis*, but a medieval visual reader would not have known this. The Matilda of fol. 7v may discuss strategy or other matters with her attendants, especially with the cleric (since she was a staunch supporter of the Gregorian reforms during the Investiture Controversy). However, she ultimately makes the decisions, and the size, placement, and angle of her attendants all indicate this. Thus, the very first miniature in the *Vita Mathildis* is of Matilda “ruling justly” in her own right, an

¹⁶ Smith, “Art of Inventing Matilda,” 25.

¹⁷ Smith, “Art of Inventing Matilda,” 26, refers to Christine Verzar’s work, suggesting that the conical hat indicated a possible connection to Lombardy, and discusses the meaning of the branch in Matilda of Canossa’s hand.

¹⁸ Reynolds, “Nobilissima Dux,” 33-38, explains that most women who did have power were either regents for their sons or had gained power through their marriages (like Clemence of Flanders and Adela of Blois).

undeniable manifestation of her agency. That said, another miniature in the *Vita Mathildis* ascribes further agency to the countess.

The miniature on fol. 49r represents the moment when King Henry IV – technically Matilda's liege lord – asks Matilda for her aid in reconciling with Pope Gregory VII who had excommunicated the king in 1076.¹⁹ A liege lord asking a vassal for aid in reconciling with the church is not necessarily unique or rare. What is noteworthy, though, is that Matilda, a woman who had openly opposed Henry and supported the pope, is the chosen "peace broker." She was, of course, well suited for the position: she was Henry's second cousin and the pope's confidante.²⁰ Yet, the presence and prominence of Abbot Hugh of Cluny are also telling. It shows that even a just ruler must consider the counsel of the clergy to come to a proper decision. The miniature reflects a power triangle, and Matilda is at its apex. Due to Matilda's military successes, Henry would never be able to bring her to heel.²¹ Thus, he humbles himself before his vassal to seek her aid; he is not (or at least not yet) humbling himself in the direction of the clergy (let alone the pope). Meanwhile, despite her superior position, Matilda appears to be leaning toward the abbot, seeking his guidance. The miniature represents a key moment in the Investiture Controversy, and it strongly represents a Gregorian view of politics. Yet, Matilda does not just use this moment to promote papal supremacy; rather, she (or indeed the illuminator) promotes her own agency as a powerful noble.

Matilda does not look at Henry IV, nor is she humbling herself to Abbot Hugh of Cluny. She is in a seated position, like the abbot, but she is the only one covered by an arched canopy. At first glance, the abbot seems more prominent due to his larger size and, ostensibly, his status at the end of the "beseeching chain." Yet, Matilda and her arched canopy take up most of the space in this miniature, and the viewer is first and foremost drawn to her. Why is she the only one seated under the arched canopy? Henry is humbling himself and making a request, and his status as an excommunicate explains why he is "outside." Abbot Hugh of Cluny, though larger and poised to play a prominent role, is nonetheless only a guest at Matilda's castle of Canossa, which explains why he, too, is not under the arched canopy. Matilda is the host, and she enjoys the respect of both temporal (Henry) and spiritual (Hugh) leaders, even though she is "only" a woman. But Matilda is more than a host. As her position in the miniatures on fols. 7v and 49r indicates, she is a lord in her own right, and she is a woman engaged in "power politics." On fol. 49r, she, too, is the one in charge, and this would have been clear to a medieval visual reader. The abbot may be advising her, but Matilda is the one with the most

¹⁹ Smith, "Art of Inventing Matilda," 27; Reynolds, "Nobilissima Dux," 114; Hay, "Silensis and Aferesis."

²⁰ Reynolds, "Nobilissima Dux," 5.

²¹ Hay, *Military Leadership*, 117-149. Hay argues that Matilda's victory over Henry and his Italian allies at the battle of Sorbara in 1082 (and during subsequent campaigns) allowed her to maintain control over most of her lands.

clout. This is corroborated by the miniature's subscription ("the king asks the abbot, and he also begs Matilda"): the verbform "ask" (*rogat*), directed at the abbot, is much weaker than the verbform "begs" (*supplicat*), directed at Matilda. Thus, the subscription ascribes initial agency ("asks," "begs") to the king; the size of the abbot concedes that he, too, has a role to play; but the success of the king humbling himself depends on what Matilda will do next—on her agency. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the general perception was that women were weak and men were strong.²² This, however, is not the message of fol. 49r.

Hay has suggested that Matilda's contemporary critics had quite the inventory to decry her. Western Europe was a male-dominated society with a pronounced misogynistic history. Yet, while Matilda's supporters would have had a more difficult task in defending her (and in overcoming their own biases), they proved to be much better at it than their counterparts. Because of Matilda's unique situation as a ruler in her own right and as a successful power broker during the Investiture Controversy, her supporters needed far fewer tools than the supporters of other female rulers.²³ While our modern interpretation of the eleventh century may be skewed due to our preconceived notions and inaccurate modern portrayals of medieval society and the roles it considered "appropriate" for women, Matilda's example shows that a medieval woman could be expected to lead (and did indeed do so), when the need arose.

Research conducted by historian Valerie Eads and others has revealed that medieval women assumed martial roles more often than has been assumed. In fact, according to Eads, men were able to go on expeditions (such as the crusades or "other" long pilgrimages) because they could trust "their" women to safely defend their lands. The problem, Eads argues, is not a lack of examples of medieval noblewomen doing just that but, rather, our modern assumptions concerning medieval society that tend to downplay or outright ignore such examples.²⁴ When discussing Matilda of Canossa's agency, we need to understand that, yes, she was an exception in certain ways, particularly as a female ruler in her own right. And, granted, her supporters had to do some careful maneuvering when they presented Matilda—to the point of not addressing her gender or presenting her as a female

²² Reynolds, "Nobilissima Dux," 78.

²³ Hay, *Military Leadership*, 198-200.

²⁴ Valerie Eads et al., "Matilda of Tuscany-Canossa: Commemorating the 9th Centennial of the Great Countess, IV," *Storicamente: Laboratorio di Storia* 13, art 30 (2017): 1-23, here 4-5: "There are a great many other women whose record is less extensive, but who are nonetheless well-documented [...] I am firmly in the opinion we-have-far-more-exceptions-than-we-need-to-(dis)prove-the-rule camp. So we really need to start looking at women who exercise military power not as exceptions, but as part of the package. In my paper presented at the 20th Barnard Conference, I floated the hypothesis that instead of occasional anecdotes of women defending castles because the men were away doing something else, we should flip that to saying that the men were able to be absent because they knew they could rely on the women to carry out the defense."

paradox—since some of them believed military affairs to be a man's domain.²⁵ However, Matilda was an eleventh-century norm in that she was fully capable of ruling her lands and exhibiting military prowess in keeping with her noble lineage and upbringing. And in this, she was not alone among medieval women.

Conclusion

History is not set in stone; one may gain some historical knowledge by studying stone, but History is not set there. Historians, both amateur and academic, must be willing to study the past in its context and refrain from burdening it with modern assumptions. When we look at sources like the *Vita Mathildis* and its miniatures, we certainly get a sense that Matilda of Canossa was exceptional. But how was she exceptional? How did she achieve her status and exercise her agency in a society dominated by men? Would we consider her exceptional if she had been a man? The answer is not so simple. Her achievements—militarily, diplomatically, legally, culturally, and so forth—are exceptional regardless of gender. Yet, she also did things that were not exceptional for her time but that are perceived as exceptional by us today due to the fact that she was a woman, and because we have preconceived notions of what life was like in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. We know her biography as a *Vita* (a “life”) and not as *Gesta* (“deeds”), almost suggesting that she “lived” but did not “act.” Due to her performing roles normally reserved for men, Matilda should be considered both a norm and an exception. She conducted herself as any noble during her time, but she happened to be a woman. Perhaps we need to ask ourselves what it (still) says about our society today that we find women in “male” roles exceptional and not “normal,” and why we are not paying more attention to those women who played such roles in the past. Perhaps a future historian who plays Matilda of Canossa in *Crusader Kings III* will be inspired and find an answer.

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²⁵ Hay, *Military Leadership*, 198-199.

Isaiah Colton Thompson

*Illuminating "Cardboard Villains:"
The Christian Witness against Judaism in a "Bible Moralisée"
(Codex Vindobonensis 2554)*

ABSTRACT: "Moralized Bibles" (Bibles moralisées) are among the most famous illuminated manuscripts of the European Middle Ages. Analyzing an image from Codex Vindobonensis 2554 (fol. 3v-b), this essay demonstrates how Christians in thirteenth-century France used art to depict Jews as direct enemies to Christianity, the Church, and the very person of Christ.

KEYWORDS: medieval history; art history; France; St. Augustine of Hippo; King Louis IX of France; Christianity; Judaism; anti-Judaism; Bible moralisée; Codex Vindobonensis 2554

Introduction

According to Sara Lipton, a medieval historian at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, the early Church Father Augustine of Hippo (354-430) asserted that it was "the Jews' primary function [...] to serve both as 'witness to' and as 'living signs of' Christian truth and triumph."¹ The use of Jewish iconography in Christian art was a potential tool to illustrate Augustine's assertion but, as Lipton observes, "for the first thousand years of the Christian era, there were no visible Jews in Western art [...]. Then, quite suddenly, shortly after the year 1000, the Jew emerged from obscurity."² Once Jewish iconography surfaced in the context of Christian art, theology inspired the brushstrokes of artistic design, and "Augustine's conception of Jewish witness finally [made its] way into art."³ Lipton argues that Christian depictions of Jews developed in various stages from the eleventh century onward, and [that] by the end of the medieval era "the Jew became one of the most powerful and poisonous symbols in all of Christian art."⁴

While Lipton draws a direct connection between Augustinian theology and Christian art during and after the eleventh century, other scholars suggest that there was a widespread break from Augustine's view of the Jews, which was replaced by a much harsher theological depiction of anti-Jewish sentiment. As David E. Timmer, a professor of religion, points out, "the Augustinian tradition had been characterized by its assumption that the Jews, despite their unbelief, were to be tolerated within Christian society."⁵ However, at least in northern Europe, this assumption had been cast aside by the eleventh century: The crusades of 1096 and 1146 were accompanied by massacres of French and German Jews,

¹ Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2014), 4.

² Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 1.

³ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 5-6.

⁴ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 1.

⁵ David T. Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis and the Jewish-Christian Controversy in the Early Twelfth Century," *Church History* 58, no. 3 (1989): 309-321, here 310.

and by the middle of the thirteenth century, French authorities were sponsoring public burnings of the Talmud.⁶ Timmer's observations align with historian Michael Frassetto's claim that a "reappraisal of the theological conception of the Jews and rejection of the Augustinian doctrine of witness emerged after the turn of the year 1000."⁷ Frassetto suggests that there was a "clear step toward the demonization of the Jews."⁸ Timmer, in a similar tone but pointing ahead in time, suggests that "a threshold was crossed in the thirteenth century."⁹

The European Christian attitude toward Jews is, quite literally, reflected by the images of medieval moralized Bibles (*Bibles moralisées*). According to art historian Arthur Haseloff, these richly illuminated (i.e., illustrated) Bibles represent "la plus vaste entreprise du Moyen Age en fait de miniature" (i.e., "the most extensive undertaking of the Middle Ages with regard to miniatures"),¹⁰ and, more recently, art historian Gerald B. Guest has stated that "the known corpus of moralized Bibles contains the most extensive cycle of biblical illustration to have survived the Middle Ages."¹¹ But these images extend beyond the realms of art and educated entertainment. Lipton stresses that these manuscripts "illuminate not only theological anti-Jewish polemic [...] but also some of the values and concerns permeating thirteenth-century French Christian culture proper."¹² In other words, the scenes depicted in the moralized Bibles facilitate our understanding of medieval Christians' assumptions and commitments. Returning the agency to the manuscripts and their creators, Guest argues that "the purpose of the moralized Bible was to interpret contemporary moral problems through the veil of sacred scripture,"¹³ and in this respect Judaism emerges as a primary matter. According to Lipton, "Jews and Judaism are a central – I would even suggest in some ways the fundamental – theme of the artistic program of these manuscripts."¹⁴ Thus, the moralized Bibles' illuminations capture contemporary European Christian attitudes toward the Jews, and they reflect the transition toward an increasingly antisemitic perception.

⁶ Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis," 310.

⁷ Michael Frassetto, "Augustine's Doctrine of Witness and Attitudes toward the Jews in the Eleventh Century," *Church History and Religious Culture* 87, no. 3 (2007): 287-304, here 289.

⁸ Frassetto, "Augustine's Doctrine," 294.

⁹ Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis," 310.

¹⁰ Arthur Haseloff, "La miniature dans les pays cisalpins depuis le commencement du XII^e jusqu'au milieu du XIV^e siècle," in *Histoire de l'Art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. André Michel, 8 vols. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1906), 2: 297-371, here 336.

¹¹ Gerald Guest, *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (London: Harvey Miller, 1995), 1.

¹² Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 4.

¹³ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 23.

¹⁴ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 1.

Lipton especially has mined these works. She argues that they "constitute an unprecedented visual polemic against Jews."¹⁵ One of these highly illuminated manuscripts interests us here: the famous thirteenth-century *Bible Moralisée* held as Codex Vindobonensis 2554 in Vienna's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and available in its entirety online.¹⁶ Considering the alleged theological transition in thirteenth-century northern Europe, this essay analyzes a particular artistic scene unexplored by Lipton. The medallion or roundlet "b" on fol. 3v of Codex 2554 (hereafter: fol. 3v-b) displays an image of Christ on the cross, flanked by two figures on his right and two on his left. These separate parties are decidedly juxtaposed. The image contains theological undertones that reveal a developing shift in Christian thought. I hope to offer a new perspective, namely, one that reveals how Christians artistically constructed Christ as witness against the Jews, and to show how this visual polemic reveals and aligns with the period's changing Christian commitments. To a degree, this image serves as an entry point to the transition of Christian theology and art in the thirteenth century. Ultimately, the Augustinian Jewish witness of Christianity was inverted and transformed into a blatant Christian witness against Judaism.

I. The Manuscript: Codex Vindobonensis 2554

The authors and artists of Codex 2554 are unknown, but there is information regarding the manuscript's provenance. It was produced sometime between 1215 and 1230 in Paris, France,¹⁷ and, according to Erin Grady, "commissioned by or for Blanche of Castile [the mother of King Louis IX of France] and executed by members of a religious house in the vicinity."¹⁸ While its ownership during the medieval period remains somewhat of a mystery, it had made its way into the hands of Luxembourg's De Mercy family by the sixteenth century.¹⁹ In 1567, it was relocated to the Königliches Damenstift in Hall (Tyrol), Austria,²⁰ where it resided until 1783.²¹ In that same year, it was relocated to Vienna's Court Library, now the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, where it is presently housed as Codex 2554.²²

The Vienna *Bible moralisée* is identifiable by its unique physical traits. It is a bound book (codex), measuring 344 mm by 260 mm, and consists of 131 parchment folios (or 262 pages) in 19 gatherings of 8 leaves.²³ It is paginated (by a later hand,

¹⁵ Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 1.

¹⁶ Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 2554 (*Bible moralisée*), ms. s. XIII, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹⁷ *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹⁸ Erin Grady, "Moralizing Monsters: Heretics in the Bible Moralisée, Vienna 2554" (M.A. thesis, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016), 2.

¹⁹ *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*.

²⁰ *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*.

²¹ *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*.

²² *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*.

²³ Grady, "Moralizing Monsters," 2.

in pencil), and the binding dates from the modern era. Codex 2554 is written in black Gothic book script (Gothic textualis or textura), and it utilizes red and blue initials, as well as rubrics.²⁴ The language of the text corresponding to the images is written in Old French.²⁵ Most importantly, Codex 2554 contains an impressive number of images: it features one full-page miniature and an additional 129 pages of 8 illustrated medallions (or roundlets) each — 1,032 roundlets in total.²⁶

The Old Testament serves as Codex 2554's textual foundation. It includes the Torah, consisting of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Fols. 1v, 1r-8v, and 10r-15r highlight scenes from the book of Genesis, including the creation narrative, the story of the Garden of Eden, the account of Noah, and the lives of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, while dedicating fols. 7r-8v and 10r-15r to the life of Joseph.²⁷ Fols. 16r-26v focus on Exodus, including Moses's early life, Israel's departure from Egypt, and the Israelites' forty years of wandering through the wilderness.²⁸ Fols. 27r-30v pertain to Leviticus, a book on early Jewish law and customs;²⁹ fols. 30v-33v cover the book of Numbers;³⁰ and fols. 9r-9v feature excerpts from Deuteronomy (chapters 27, 28, 31, and 34).³¹

In addition to these five books, Codex 2554 also includes the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I Kings, II Kings, III Kings, and IV Kings. Fol. 34r presents the book of Joshua, which is limited to chapters 4 and 6, and recounts the story of Israel's victory over Jericho.³² The book of Judges appears on fols. 58v-63v and recalls the stories of Gideon, Abimelech and Jephthah, and Samson.³³ Fols. 63v and 34v focus on the book of Ruth.³⁴ Fols. 35r-43r is dedicated to the first book of Kings, particularly the stories of the prophet Samuel, King Saul, David's defeat of Goliath, and the death of Saul.³⁵ The second book of Kings is documented on fols. 43r-48v and features David's ascension to the throne, the Ark of the Covenant, and David's affair with Bathsheba.³⁶ Fols. 48v-56r visualize the third book of Kings, including David's death, the wisdom of Solomon, the stories of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and the accounts of Elijah and Jezebel.³⁷ The final book illuminated in Codex 2554

²⁴ *Bible Moralisée: Facsimile Edition*.

²⁵ Grady, "Moralizing Monsters," 3.

²⁶ Grady, "Moralizing Monsters," 2-3.

²⁷ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 53-68.

²⁸ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 69-84.

²⁹ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 84-88.

³⁰ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 88-93.

³¹ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 93-94.

³² Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 94.

³³ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 95-105.

³⁴ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 106.

³⁵ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 107-120.

³⁶ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 120-128.

³⁷ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 128-140.

is the fourth book of Kings, fols. 56r-58r. It tells of Elijah's chariot ride to heaven, the passing of Elijah's mantle to Elisha, and Elisha's various miracles.³⁸

All these Old-Testament stories are visualized in the manuscript's roundlets.³⁹ The roundlets are grouped in two rows of four per page, and they follow a particular pattern of progression (A-a-B-b-C-c-D-d).⁴⁰ The top-left roundlet (A), for instance, corresponds to an Old-Testament passage. The roundlet directly below it (a) depicts a moralized interpretation for Christians living in thirteenth-century France, occasionally infused with New-Testament depictions. The reader then transitions to the two roundlets on the top right, the first (B) being a biblical commentary and the second (b) a moralized commentary. Following this, the reader moves on to the two bottom-left roundlets (C-c) and finally to the two bottom-right roundlets (D-d). The relationship between the Old-Testament story and scenery followed by the thirteenth-century depiction of an application provides unique insight into Christian medieval thought, especially relating to Jews.

II. Visualizing Jews in the Moralized Bible

The focus of my analysis is a roundlet from Codex 2554 that displays Christ, Christians, and Jews. This roundlet is located on fol. 3v and corresponds with text b, which states, *ce qe li uns des freres le descoovri & li autre le recovre[n]t senefie les gieus qi descoovrire[n]t la honte iesu c[r]ist & li crestien le recovrent* ("that one of the brothers [of the sons of Noah] un-covered him [i.e., Noah] and the others re-covered him signifies the Jews who un-covered the shame of Jesus Christ and the Christians who re-covered him").⁴¹ The roundlet's background is gold; it is enclosed in a red sphere; and it contains five figures. In the center, above the other four figures, hangs Christ, a red halo surrounding his head; he is nailed to the cross with his arms outstretched wide; his head rests on his right shoulder; and there is a blue sash around his waist. On the left side (i.e., the right side from Christ's perspective), stand two barefooted Christians, recognizable as such because the head of one of them is surrounded by a golden halo. The Christian closest to Christ's body is dressed in a green robe; he looks directly at Christ and extends the white sash hanging from his shoulders toward Christ. Slightly behind him stands another Christian, dressed in a blue robe with a red sash hanging from his shoulders; his left hand shields his eyes from gazing upon Christ's crucified body and his right hand holds his red sash (which, upon closer inspection, appears to extend all the way into the right hand of the other Christian who, thus, extends both his white sash and the other's red sash toward Christ). On the opposite side (i.e., the left side from Christ's perspective), stand two Jews, recognizable as such

³⁸ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 140-144.

³⁹ See Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 2, for a chart displaying the picture-text organization.

⁴⁰ See Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 2, for a chart displaying the picture-text organization.

⁴¹ Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 57.

because one of them wears the white pointed hat (*pileus cornutus*) associated with Jews in medieval iconography. Both are bearded and wear shoes. The one toward the front is trying to pull the blue sash away from Christ's waist; he is dressed in red and yellow (not gold – a material illuminators generally would not have used for Jews), and his eyes are fixed on the blue sash. The one toward the back, wearing the white pointed hat, is dressed in red; he looks directly at Christ and extends a stick with something fixed atop (presumably the vinegar-soaked sponge mentioned in the Gospel accounts)⁴² toward Christ.

The precise intentions of the artist who created this roundlet are impossible to know, but Christian art at this time certainly depicted Jews alongside the crucified Christ. Lipton has explored such scenes and argues that they generally reveal conceptions about sight. Expanding on the Augustinian notion of witness, Lipton remarks that "a remarkable number of these images highlight not only what the Jews look like but, even more, how – and whether – they see."⁴³ However, the crucifixion art explored by Lipton usually pertains to Christ and the Jews without the presence of Christians. Codex 2554's roundlet of fol. 3v-b displays Christians contrasted with Jews, and it places Christ as the dividing figure. Christ, Christians, and Jews appear together, and they all display some sort of gaze: Christ looks toward the Christians, one Christian looks toward Christ, the other Christian covers his eyes, one Jew is fixated on the sash covering Christ's waist, and the other stares at Christ. This company of multiple viewers suggests an extension of Jewish sight. It is in this contrast of vision that a theological departure from the Augustinian notion of sight to a more radical anti-Jewish commitment is revealed. Each particular gaze works toward this perspective.

Firstly, the image of fol. 3v-b draws attention to the gaze of the Jew. The Jew in the foreground, while trying to pull the blue sash away from Christ's body, stares at the cloth itself, while the Jew behind him stares at Christ as he extends the vinegar-soaked sponge toward him. The actions of these figures and their fixed gaze betray the contemporary Christian notions concerning Jews. As far as their actions are concerned, they constitute a theological reorientation that makes the Jews take the place of the Roman soldiers who had crucified Christ. Soldiers had divided Christ's garments, and soldiers (even though this is only explicit in the Gospel of Luke) had offered Christ the sour wine (or vinegar).⁴⁴ In this image, however, the artist displays a Jew reaching for and tearing at Christ's garment, and a Jew is depicted as offering the wine. These portrayals, which are both ahistorical and theologically incorrect, also incorporate conniving facial expressions. According to Lipton, the depiction of Jews changed during the

⁴² Matthew 27:48, Mark 15:36, and John 19:29 contain no further information on the bystander(s) who extended the vinegar-soaked sponge toward Christ. Luke 23:36 relates that the mocking soldiers offered Christ sour wine but makes no mention of the sponge.

⁴³ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 3.

⁴⁴ See above, note 42.

twelfth century, and they were increasingly "endowed with ungainly, glowering, even distorted features and expressions."⁴⁵ This trend is evident in the image of fol. 3v-b. The Jew looking directly at Christ is painted with a mocking sneer, as if he enjoys witnessing the suffering Christ. His companion, meanwhile, is preoccupied with Christ's garment rather than his actual body, and he is painted with a facial expression of greed as he pulls away Christ's garment.

This type of gaze is not a random artistic expression but, rather, a nod to a contemporary Christian theology that had been developing for some time. Timmer's work on the life of Rupert of Deutz (c. 1070-1129), a Benedictine abbot who propagated anti-Jewish theology, identifies the notions that are reflected in the roundlet's gaze of the Jew. According to Timmer's reading of Rupert, "the carnality of the Jews consists in their absorption in material and temporal concerns (*avaritia, luxuria, negotium*) and their consequent blindness to the spiritual and eternal essence of true religion."⁴⁶ According to Timmer, Rupert "advanced the view that it was not regrettable ignorance but rather culpable vice which blinded [the Jews] to the true meaning of scripture."⁴⁷ And Rupert was not a solitary voice. An anonymous thirteenth-century sermon further captures the same ideas: "the chosen people saw him [i.e., Christ] who was hung up in front of their eyes, [and] they did not blush."⁴⁸ Instead, the roundlet's artist gave them a devilish smile.

The Jewish gaze presents a sharp contrast with its Christian equivalent. While one Christian is looking toward Christ and the other is covering his eyes, both present an aspect of Christian awareness and sight. The Christian in the foreground, wide-eyed and extending his sash, represents an open awareness of the Savior revealed through physical sight; this echoes the early Christians who personally witnessed Christ and believed him to be the Messiah. The Christian in the background, who is covering his eyes, echoes the text's reference to Christ's revealed shame, but it also attests to an inner spiritual sight free from any physical reference points, suggesting that this Christian is "seeing" the Savior without physical sight. Lipton further explains this depiction of contrasting gazes. Referring to New-Testament texts, Lipton interprets St. Paul's distinction between the "letter" and the "spirit" as a distinction between Jewish and Christian sight, the former physical, the latter spiritual.⁴⁹ Paul's contrast implies, so Lipton, that Jews maintain "flesh-bound thinking," making them "blind to spiritual truths," and that "they could not look beyond the humble body of the crucified convict and see the divine glory enshrined within."⁵⁰ Unlike the Jews, the Christians, even

⁴⁵ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 97.

⁴⁶ Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis," 315.

⁴⁷ Timmer, "Biblical Exegesis," 321.

⁴⁸ Marc De Groote, "An Anonymous Sermon against the Hagarenes, the Bogomils, and the Jews," *The Harvard Theological Review* 97, no. 3 (2004): 329-334 and 336-351, here 348.

⁴⁹ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 4.

⁵⁰ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 4.

those who had not physically witnessed the crucified Christ, managed to spiritually affirm the truth of Christ's "divine glory." This is the vision Christians assumed they had, and the roundlet's artist presents a stark contrast that shows how "Jews are summoned to embody the failure of vision."⁵¹

In addition to the Christians' physical and spiritual sight, the image suggests an anti-Jewish gaze emanating from the person of Christ. With his eyes averted from the Jews, Christ is displayed with a preference toward the Christians. Leaning his head in their direction is an active gesture against the Jews in the image. Christ's active refusal to look upon the Jews communicates his turning-away from the Jewish people, and it imposes a theological shift that reinterprets scripture as witness against the Jews. The depiction of Christ turning away from the Jews echoes the twenty-fifth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew, where Christ separates the righteous from the unrighteous, or the sheep from the goats. While there is no textual reference to this passage here, the medieval "visual reader" would have made the connection. As Guest points out, "the imagery may supplement the text by including information that is not present in written form."⁵² The visual information presented in this roundlet suggests an awareness of Matthew 25, albeit in a slanted reinterpretation.

There are strong thematic connections between Christ's final judgment in Matthew 25 and the roundlet of fol. 3v-b. In Matthew 25, Christ foretells his coming judgment over the nations. As the passage unfolds, he gathers people from every nation and separates them, "as a shepherd divides his sheep from the goats."⁵³ According to Matthew 25:33, "[Christ] will set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left." After separating the sheep from the goats, Christ tells the sheep to "inherit the kingdom prepared for you."⁵⁴ When explaining the justification for this reward, Christ declares, "I was naked and you clothed me."⁵⁵ The sheep – or righteous individuals – respond to Christ, "When did we see you a stranger and take you in, or naked and clothe you?"⁵⁶ Christ then declares to them that "inasmuch as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me."⁵⁷ Turning to the goats – or righteous individuals – Christ says, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the fire prepared for the devil and his angels,"⁵⁸ explaining, "I was a stranger and you did not take me in, naked and you did not clothe me."⁵⁹

⁵¹ Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 4.

⁵² Guest, *Bible moralisée*, 29.

⁵³ Matthew 25:32 NKJV.

⁵⁴ Matthew 25:32 NKJV.

⁵⁵ Matthew 25:36 NKJV.

⁵⁶ Matthew 25:38 NKJV.

⁵⁷ Matthew 25:40 NKJV.

⁵⁸ Matthew 25:41 NKJV.

⁵⁹ Matthew 25:43 NKJV.

The roundlet's visual message is eerily similar to the eschatological judgment in Matthew 25. The Christians' and Jews' respective position is reminiscent of that of the sheep and the goats. In both cases, one party is on Christ's right, the other on his left. In the roundlet, the Christians stand in the position of the sheep, the Jews in that of the goats. In addition, their respective acts of covering and uncovering also reflect Matthew 25. The Christians give of their own clothes to cover Christ's body, the Jews, meanwhile, pull away Christ's only garment. Taking these themes together, the roundlet offers a distorted visual presentation of Matthew 25, one that designates the Christians as the sheep and the Jews as the goats. Yet, Matthew's Gospel says nothing of the goats representing the Jews. Thus, this visual presentation suggests a theological reformulation of Christ's final judgment. In a way, the roundlet's artist presents Judaism as the antithesis to Christianity, which hardly reflects Augustine's fourth-century view.

While there are superficial similarities between the text in Matthew 25 and the roundlet of fol. 3v-b, there are also noticeable differences. The most obvious discrepancy is that Christ in the roundlet is hanging on the cross while Christ in Matthew 25 appears in a glorified state. However, asserting Christ as judge while hanging on the cross is consistent with thirteenth-century Christian theology. A sermon from this period suggests that "Christ, judging as a king on a royal throne—the cross, decides that the ruler of the world should be thrown out of his own realm."⁶⁰ Christians at this time articulated the functionality of the cross as a place where Christ would pronounce judgment. While this sermon pits Christ against the "ruler of the world," the general notion of the cross as a place of divine decree was absorbed into thirteenth-century theology. In the case of the roundlet, the decree "from the cross" is levied against the Jews. The traditional Augustinian notion of the Jewish witness has been inverted. The Jews, once portrayed as a witness to Christianity, have been transformed under Christ's thirteenth-century gaze, and the Christian Savior now acts as a direct witness against Judaism.

Conclusion

Codex 2554's image of fol. 3v-b is a striking representation of the change in theological and political positions that occurred between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Augustine's view of the Jews as witness had dominated the theological arena prior to the eleventh century, but the expansion of Christianity as a state religion throughout Europe intensified antisemitic legislation. The thirteenth century witnessed the escalation of such political moves, and the art from this period attests to these changing moods. France especially promoted anti-Jewish sentiment. According to Robert Chazan, "the long reign of the most pious of French kings [i.e., Louis IX, r. 1226-1270] witnessed a series of profound

⁶⁰ De Groote, "Anonymous Sermon," 338.

catastrophes for the once proud French Jewish community."⁶¹ And, Chazan continues, "by the end of this reign, French Jewry had lost the vigor, strength, and intellectual prowess that had been its pride since the late eleventh century."⁶² The burning of the Talmud was an especially telling transition. As James Thomas has pointed out, "the Talmud was denounced in a series of papal bulls in 1239 and 1244, burned in Paris under papal direction in 1242, and openly condemned by a commission of prelates and university masters in 1248."⁶³ Thus, for French Jews, the thirteenth century marked "the beginning of a decline from which it would never recover."⁶⁴ To a large degree, the fusion of Christianity with political forces served as a vehicle to bring about this decline.

The thirteenth-century Christian attack on Judaism was both encouraged and reinforced by Christian art. Expanding upon Lipton's theory of the Jewish gaze to include both Christian sight and Christ's vision, I suggest that Codex 2554's illuminator of fol. 3v-b reimagined Christ's gaze not just as witness against Judaism but as a condemnation of Judaism. But the image reveals another aspect of Christian thought. Neither Christ nor the Christians in this image show any noticeable perception of the Jews. Marc De Groote, in addressing the polemic of Christian writing leading up to the thirteenth century, states that "Jews functioned in this genre as a rhetorical device that allowed Christian writers to assert their own superiority."⁶⁵ He further suggests that "[Jews] served as cardboard villains rather than as interlocutors in a serious religious debate."⁶⁶ The very same can be said about the image from Codex 2554. Rather than encouraging real engagement between Judaism and Christianity, the Church sidestepped true interaction. Instead, Christian artists fabricated their perception of Jews. In the end, they used the imagery of a crucified Jew to justify the persecution of other innocent Jews.

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⁶¹ Robert Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 101.

⁶² Chazan, *Medieval Jewry*, 101.

⁶³ James M. Thomas, "The Racial Formation of Medieval Jews: A Challenge to the Field," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 10 (2010): 1737-1755, here 1745.

⁶⁴ Chazan, *Medieval Jewry*, 101.

⁶⁵ De Groote, "Anonymous Sermon," 332.

⁶⁶ De Groote, "Anonymous Sermon," 332.

Juan Carlos Villalovos

Revolutions, Empires, and Republics: Secularizing Nineteenth-Century French Education

ABSTRACT: *The debate over the role of church and state with regard to education has been ongoing for centuries. Using a chronological approach, this essay argues that the policies, reforms, and laws integrated into the French education system over the course of the nineteenth century reflected a growing conviction among government officials that a secularized education system would provide a stronger, more stable state.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; France; Nicolas de Condorcet; Guizot Law (1833); Falloux Law (1851); Ferry Laws (1881-1882); Catholic Church; Napoleon III; Adolphe Thiers; education*

Introduction

In their 1991 study on elementary schooling in nineteenth-century France, Raymond Grew and Patrick J. Harrigan observe that “[e]ducation was debated [...] as an instrument of change that foretold the future, but the education offered then as now was remarkable for its retrospective quality and its dependence upon its own history.”¹ State-controlled education was not a novel concept in France by any stretch of the imagination. In fact, the idea that the government should oversee the general outlines of education predated the Revolution of 1789. During the *ancien régime*, this title of control belonged to the Catholic Church which was responsible for coordinating the country’s educational institutions; the state, meanwhile, only involved itself in matters of military and technical training. In post-Revolution France, the secularization of education was intended to minimize the influence of the church but also to make everyday citizens aware of their natural rights. The idea of a universal education emerged out of the Revolution, and it was realized a century later.

This essay is based on several types of source material. For the official perspective of the Catholic Church, it utilizes encyclicals (i.e., letters) from Pope Pius VI (r. 1775-1799) and Pope Gregory XVI (r. 1831-1846). To get a sense of the period’s political debate on education, it references, for example, François Guizot’s *Essai sur l’histoire et sur l’état actuel de l’instruction publique en France* (1816), as well as texts from government officials, such as Louis Napoleon’s “Campaign Manifesto” (1848), Simon Jules’s speech on “The Separation of Church and State” (1867), and Léon Gambetta’s “Belleville Manifesto” (1869). Roger Price’s collection, *Documents on the French Revolution of 1848*, provides additional letters and meeting dialogues. Decrees, laws, and edicts are used to understand the tension between the desired state of education and how it was viewed in everyday life: the Guizot Law (1833), Falloux Law (1851), and Ferry Laws (1881) in particular reflect the changing educational policies over the course of the nineteenth century.

¹ Raymond Grew and Patrick J. Harrigan, *School, State, and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France: A Quantitative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 71.

From the perspective of educational philosophy and pedagogy, Nicolas de Condorcet's *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit* (1795) illustrates the growing conviction that the individual and the natural process of things would allow humans to progress.

The topic of education in nineteenth-century France has attracted considerable scholarly attention. Phyllis Stock-Morton's groundbreaking 1988 monograph *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth-Century France* serves as the basis for the argument of this essay.² Meanwhile, Roger Price's work *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (2001), Robert David Anderson's monograph *Education in France: 1848-1870* (1975), and the already mentioned co-authored study by Raymond Grew and Patrick J. Harrigan, *School, State, and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France* (1991), provide much of the contextual information.³ The latter portion of the nineteenth century, as well as the debate on education between the Catholic Church and the French state, has been the subject of scholarly articles by Patrick J. Harrigan, Ann Margaret Doyle, Efe Peker, Sheryl T. Kroen, Sharif Gemie, Mathew J. Burrows, and Gilbert Chaitin.⁴ Peker, Burrows, and Chaitin focus on the Third Republic, Kroen concentrates on the Restoration, and the other authors analyze either different time periods, specific texts, or educational contents.

Scholarship on French education has focused heavily on the first half of the nineteenth century, but many of the key laws and policies arose only after the Revolution of 1848.⁵ This essay argues that policies, reforms, and laws integrated into the French education system reflected a growing conviction among government officials that a secularized education system would provide a stronger, more stable French state; it proceeds chronologically and shows how the influence of the Catholic Church diminished as the nineteenth century proceeded toward a more secularized society.

² Phyllis Stock-Morton, *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988).

³ Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Robert David Anderson, *Education in France, 1848-1870* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*.

⁴ Patrick J. Harrigan, "French Catholics and Classical Education after the Falloux Law," *French Historical Studies* 8, no. 2 (1973): 255-278; Ann Margaret Doyle, "Catholic Church and State Relations in French Education in the Nineteenth Century: The Struggle between *Laïcité* and Religion," *International Studies in Catholic Education* 9, no. 1 (2017): 108-122; Efe Peker, "Bringing the State Back in Secularization: The Development of *Laïcité* in the French Third Republic (1875-1905)," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 58, no. 4 (2019): 813-832; Sheryl T. Kroen, "Revolutionizing Religious Politics during the Restoration," *French Historical Studies* 21, no. 1 (1998): 27-53; Sharif Gemie, "'A Danger to Society'? Teachers and Authority in France, 1833-1850," *French History* 2, no. 3 (1988): 264-287; Mathew J. Burrows, "Education and the Third Republic," *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 1 (March 1985): 249-260; Gilbert Chaitin, "'France Is My Mother': The Subject of Universal Education in the French Third Republic," *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 32, no. 1 (2005): 128-158.

⁵ Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*.

I. The Spark after the Revolution

The idea for a universal education system arose from the French Revolution of 1789 and was articulated by Nicolas de Condorcet (1743-1794) who wrote the highly influential *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit*, published posthumously in 1795.⁶ In his *Sketch*, Condorcet argues that—in order to expand knowledge—the natural and social sciences would have to become the staple of French education. Condorcet's *Sketch* challenges readers to question their own morality, even in relation to Christian values.⁷ Its author had been a supporter of the Revolution and become an activist for the reform of the educational system. For Condorcet, the Revolution was the continuation of the progress of the human mind and spirit. He believed that the education system should be guided by reason and not faith,⁸ arguing that the Catholic Church had “played a negative role by using the enlightenment acquired from the Greeks and Romans to dominate the ignorant people or to obscure it from them.”⁹ Condorcet was a member of the “Committee of Public Instruction” (established 1791) but held no political affiliation, which, during the Revolution, could be either beneficial or detrimental. His work, as well as that of the “Committee,” was instrumental in dismantling the Catholic Church's educational monopoly, but nothing concrete was offered—yet—to fill the vacuum thus created.

Enter Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821). Napoleon Bonaparte was a child of the Enlightenment, and the Enlightenment had provided its supporters with ideas on how information and thoughts should be transmitted. Supporters of the Enlightenment recognized the importance of education and argued that its care should not remain in the hands of the Catholic Church. Napoleon Bonaparte subscribed to the concept of Gallicanism, according to which the church in France should be subordinate to the French state, an idea that would come to be supported by much of the French bureaucracy in the nineteenth century.¹⁰ 1801 saw the “first secular settlement”¹¹ in France, namely, the “Concordat” between Napoleon Bonaparte and Pope Pius VII (r. 1800-1823). On the basis of the “Concordat,” the church and its clergy were now officials of the French state, making the appointment of bishops and archbishops, for example, the business of the state. In 1804, the French Ministry of Religions was formed, which allowed the state to oversee and fund all religious affairs.¹² Then, in 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte established the Imperial University of France, marking the culmination of

⁶ Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind*, trans. June Barraclough (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1955).

⁷ Condorcet, *Sketch*, 95-98.

⁸ Doyle, “Catholic Church,” 109-110.

⁹ Nicolas de Condorcet, quoted in Doyle, “Catholic Church,” 110.

¹⁰ Anderson, *Education in France*, 5.

¹¹ Peker, “Bringing the State Back,” 818.

¹² Peker, “Bringing the State Back,” 818.

decades-long debates concerning a national system of education. The university served as an institution that allowed the state to run the schools, and, in 1824, came under the control of the Ministry of Public Instruction.¹³

The Enlightenment push for a more secularized education system, one characterized by less ecclesiastical influence, is discussed by Phyllis Stock-Morton.¹⁴ Stock-Morton draws particular attention to a 1792 speech by Condorcet, in which he states that the “Declaration [of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen] and the Constitution should be taught, not as having been ordained by heaven, but as developed out of basic principles dictated by nature and by reason.”¹⁵ Condorcet believed that education was crucial for any progress in society. He recognized that the Constitution of 1791 emphasized the freedom of religion, so he argued that “public institutions could not favor one over others, and morality based on reason alone would survive any change of beliefs which might take place in the course of life.”¹⁶ Thus, Condorcet concluded that any type of religious education was the responsibility of parents, not (religious) institutions.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church was watching the developments in France with increasing concern, as it saw its influence on French institutions, particularly the education system, dwindling. In 1791, Pope Pius VI (r. 1775-1799) issued his encyclical “Adeo Nota,” in which he denounced the decrees of the French Assembly as contrary to religion and society.¹⁸ “Adeo Nota” was the pontiff’s response to the “Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen” (1789) and the French Constitution of 1791 which, according to Stock-Morton, promoted a “civic education conforming to the spirit of the Revolution and no longer a purely religious education.”¹⁹ The Constitution of 1791 also provided public education for all citizens, and this education, at least initially, was meant to be free. The French statesman and diplomat, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), was tasked with creating a report that would focus on the education system and how to better it. Talleyrand was considered a supporter of the Revolution and its anti-clerical revolutionaries. He realized that not everyone would see eye-to-eye on all issues, such as education, but he was hoping that most of France could at least find common ground in the area of ethics.²⁰

After Napoleon Bonaparte’s ouster in 1814, Louis XVIII restored the Bourbon dynasty with the Constitutional Charter of June 4, 1814, declaring that the French Revolution of 1789, along with Napoleon Bonaparte, should be forgotten. The

¹³ Anderson, *Education in France*, 5.

¹⁴ Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 22-24.

¹⁵ Nicolas de Condorcet, quoted in Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 23.

¹⁶ Nicolas de Condorcet, quoted in Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 23-24.

¹⁷ Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 23.

¹⁸ Pope Pius VI, “Adeo Nota,” April 23, 1791, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹⁹ Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 22.

²⁰ Stock-Morton, *Moral Education*, 22.

subsequent period of the Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830) saw several attempts by the Catholic Church to reclaim its authority via France's Christian monarchy.²¹ The Constitutional Charter of 1814 is the focus of Sheryl Kroen's 1998 article "Revolutionizing Religious Politics during the Restoration," in which she explains that the Bourbon Restoration sought to do away with any revolutionary violence and replace it with a Christian monarchy to regain the support of the French people.²² Meanwhile, the church in France hoped to reestablish its status by renewing its alliance with the throne, and in this endeavor, it enjoyed the support of the upper class. The evidence shows that the Bourbon government tried to manipulate the public perception of their dynasty, particularly the perception of those who had supported the Revolution of 1789, in order to convert revolutionary citizens into orderly, Bourbon-supporting citizens. To do so, the Bourbon dynasty turned to education. By 1829, there were roughly 36,000 schools in France, and many of these had been established during the Restoration.²³ France would not see another educational expansion of this magnitude until the twentieth century.

II. No Summer Break: The July Monarchy and Its Aftermath

Until the Third Republic (established 1870), every French government proved increasingly secular and anti-clerical with regard to public instruction reforms. As early as 1816, a French statesman by the name of François Guizot (1787-1874) had laid the groundwork for this when he published his *Essai sur l'histoire et sur l'état actuel de l'instruction publique en France*. In this essay, Guizot described the then current state of public instruction, ideas to improve it, and the two levels of education that needed reform, namely, primary and secondary education.²⁴

It was not until the July Monarchy (1830-1848) that the first real legislation regarding education was passed. In 1832, François Guizot became Louis Philippe I's Minister of Public Education, and he was responsible for drafting the Guizot Law of 1833. This law required every commune to fund its own primary school and stipulated that every department and school would have a training program for primary teachers and school inspectors.²⁵ Guizot supported the idea of having schools for girls but not many during the July Monarchy favored this idea. Another important aspect of the law was that it set out to make teaching a more qualified profession. Guizot viewed teachers as "substitute parents" who embodied the virtues that parents might not have.²⁶ Until the passage of the Guizot Law, teaching had been part-time and without official authorization, but

²¹ Doyle, "Catholic Church," 112.

²² Kroen, "Revolutionizing Religious Politics," 27-29.

²³ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 31.

²⁴ François Guizot, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur l'état actuel de l'instruction publique en France* (Paris: Maradan, 1816).

²⁵ Doyle, "Catholic Church," 113.

²⁶ Gemie, "Danger to Society," 267.

this new law established a “rate of pay” and “conditions of service.”²⁷ Under the Guizot Law, the state took control of the primary school system which had been under Catholic control since Napoleon Bonaparte’s ouster (the secondary school system was already state-controlled at this time). While the law did not abolish any role of the church in education, it did reduce its influence,²⁸ which reflects Guizot’s aspirations for a secularized system of public instruction. The Guizot Law established France as the first country with a state-controlled, secular primary education system. In a way, the Guizot Law was France’s assertion of “human reason” in response to Pope Gregory XVI’s 1832 encyclical “*Mirari Vos: On Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism*,” which had stated that “[i]t is the proud, or rather foolish, men who examine the mysteries of faith which surpass all understanding with the faculties of the human mind, and rely on human reason which by the condition of man’s nature, is weak and infirm.”²⁹ But the pope was not easily silenced in the matter. In 1835, two years after the Guizot Law had been implemented, Gregory XVI issued his encyclical “*Commissum Divinitus: On Church and State*,” in which he reiterated that the “power of teaching and governing in matters of religion, given by Christ to His Spouse [i.e., the Church], belongs to the priests and bishops.”³⁰ There appears to be a subtle concession here, though, in the wording “teaching [...] in matters of religion,” which could be construed as limiting the church’s influence to religious instruction.

Issued just prior to the launching of the Second Republic (1848-1852), Louis Napoleon’s “Campaign Manifesto” provides insight into how important a state-controlled education system—that included Catholic teachings—was considered to the creation of a more loyal French citizen.³¹ However, the idea that a state-controlled Catholic-based education system could flourish was just that: a campaign idea. Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), who would eventually become President of France (1871-1873) at the beginning of the Third Republic, opposed the idea of merging church and state for the purposes of education. At a meeting of conservative politicians on November 5, 1848, Thiers stated, “We cannot withstand the enthusiasm of a popular movement which is proof against all rational argument.”³² One month later, just before Louis Napoleon’s election as President of France, Thiers wrote, “I believe him [Louis Napoleon] to be at least the equal of [Louis-Eugène] Cavaignac [i.e., another candidate for the presidency]

²⁷ Gemie, “Danger to Society,” 267.

²⁸ Robert L. Koepke, “Cooperation, Not Conflict: Curés and Primary School Inspectors in July Monarchy France, 1833-1848,” *Church History* 64, no. 4 (1995): 594-609.

²⁹ Pope Gregory XVI, “*Mirari Vos*,” August 15, 1832, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

³⁰ Pope Gregory XVI, “*Commissum Divinitus*,” May 17, 1835, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

³¹ Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, “Louis Napoleon’s Campaign Manifesto,” November, 1848, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

³² Adolphe Thiers, quoted in Roger Price, *Documents on the French Revolution of 1848* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 114.

[...]. Without insisting that his nomination is the best, it appears to all of us, as the lesser evil.”³³ Louis Napoleon won the election in 1848 by a landslide, largely due to the support of the peasant-class, but Thiers would eventually champion a completely secularized school system in the Third Republic.

Roger Price describes how Louis Napoleon’s Minister of Public Instruction, Alfred de Falloux (1811-1886), promoted the idea that—to establish moral order—France had to revert to some form of Catholic teaching, albeit provided via the state.³⁴ Falloux drafted the Falloux Law, which consists of 85 articles and took effect on March 15, 1850.³⁵ This law facilitated the establishment of national standards, the reorganization of the institutions in charge of maintaining these standards,³⁶ and the founding of individual academies for each department that oversaw girls’ schools, adult courses, and kindergarten. The Falloux Law was also instrumental in establishing an academic council that had to meet every three months, create lists of approved teachers, maintain a proper budget for schools, and review curriculum.³⁷ Although the Falloux Law afforded the church a certain role in the evolving education system, this role was only minimal and relegated to primary schools. The Superior Council of Public Instruction consisted of twenty-seven members and only four of these members were from the church.³⁸ In fact, the Falloux Law made no mention of the church, but it did state that any qualified Frenchman could establish a secondary school; the only requirement was five years of teaching experience.³⁹ The church was able to benefit from this part of the law because it had an abundance of well-trained clergy, and most of them had five years of teaching experience.⁴⁰ However, any school run by the church was subject to monitoring by a board of supervisors that consisted of only non-members of the church who usually had the interest of the state in mind.⁴¹ In addition, the law merely gave the church minority representation on the Higher Council of Public Education.⁴² Thus, the church had to adapt to the needs and demands of both state and society. Much of the curriculum was still evolving, but there was a larger scientific emphasis, and the church had trouble in this area as it was still referencing classical studies to teach modern-day science.⁴³

³³ Adolphe Thiers, quoted in Price, *Documents*, 114.

³⁴ Price, *French Second Empire*, 193-200.

³⁵ Alfred de Falloux, “Loi Falloux,” March 15, 1850, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

³⁶ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 95.

³⁷ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 95.

³⁸ John K. Huckaby, “Roman Catholic Reaction to the Falloux Law,” *French Historical Studies* 4, no. 2 (January 1965): 203-213, here 204.

³⁹ Harrigan, “French Catholics,” 255.

⁴⁰ Harrigan, “French Catholics,” 255.

⁴¹ Huckaby, “Roman Catholic Reaction,” 205.

⁴² Harrigan, “French Catholics,” 255.

⁴³ Harrigan, “French Catholics,” 256.

One year after the French *coup d'état* of 1851, Louis Napoleon declared himself Emperor Napoleon III. Patrick J. Harrigan's article, "Church, State, and Education in France from the Falloux to the Ferry Laws: A Reassessment," describes how the Falloux Law allowed for both the church and the state to operate schools with next to no interference from the Second Empire (1852-1870) and remained in place for three decades.⁴⁴ This shows that Louis Napoleon had little interest in education, at least not at the primary level.⁴⁵ His 1848 "Campaign Manifesto" had suggested otherwise, but it was just that: a campaign promise. In 1852, funding for primary education in the communes was abolished, due to growing pressure on the finance minister by Louis Napoleon himself; in addition, inspectors of these schools were removed and their reporting was suppressed.⁴⁶ For a brief period between 1852 and 1853, primary schooling was no longer free, but this only lasted a few months.

III. The Regime to Rule Them All: The Third Republic

Throughout the nineteenth century, Catholics and anti-clerical activists fought many of their battles on the field of education.⁴⁷ Even under the Third Republic (established 1870), most French schools began their days with prayer and often taught some form of Catholic history.⁴⁸ By the same token, leaders during the Third Republic supported the concept that modern state-building was directly linked to secularization.⁴⁹ How teachers would connect religious teachings to society, and how the church could serve society instead of the other way around, were topics of considerable debate. The Third Republic benefitted from the backing of the French bourgeoisie, mainly because the bourgeoisie had developed a disdain for Napoleon III's Second Empire and its collaboration with the Catholic Church to gain more support from the peasantry.⁵⁰

During the Third Republic, the curriculum was among the most hotly debated topics regarding education. Non-supporters of the Third Republic blamed the lack of a classical curriculum for the weakening of the military and the country's reduced diplomatic standing, while supporters praised the more scientific curriculum as the "source of French cultural superiority."⁵¹ Most of the scientific curriculum was implemented in the secondary schools. The church had tried to create its own curriculum after the passing of the Falloux Law, and when that failed, it inserted anti-secularist rhetoric into its curriculum and eliminated secular

⁴⁴ Patrick J. Harrigan, "Church, State, and Education in France from the Falloux to the Ferry Laws: A Reassessment," *Canadian Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 51-84, here 51-60.

⁴⁵ Anderson, *Education in France*, 80-81.

⁴⁶ Anderson, *Education in France*, 81.

⁴⁷ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 91.

⁴⁸ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 92.

⁴⁹ Peker, "Bringing the State Back," 817.

⁵⁰ Peker, "Bringing the State Back," 819.

⁵¹ Harrigan, "French Catholics," 256.

texts as much as possible. This move garnered support from radical conservatives, but not enough to effect the change the church had hoped for.⁵²

In 1871, Adolphe Thiers became the second President of France and first President of the Third Republic (1871-1873). Thiers had rejected the Guizot Law of 1833 because it neither included girls' schools, nor female teachers and their training.⁵³ According to George Chaitin's 2005 article "'France Is My Mother': The Subject of Universal Education in the French Third Republic," the new political leaders, particularly Adolphe Thiers and Jules Simon, believed that a secularized education system would ensure the Third Republic's power for years to come by creating citizens who would be loyal to the Republic and not the church.⁵⁴

Jules Simon (1814-1896) was a member of Adolphe Thiers's first presidential cabinet and in charge of the portfolio of Education. In 1867, Simon had delivered a speech on "The Separation of Church and State" to the legislative body of the Second Empire, in which he had described the then current state of relations between the two and had declared that France should be a secular state.⁵⁵ Thiers, Simon, and other members of the Third Republic's first presidential cabinet shared a political ideology that aspired toward a secularized education system and society in order to transform the identity of the nation through public instruction. Their ideological consensus is evident from a speech on "Educational Equality" delivered by Jules Ferry in 1870; Ferry shared these views and would carry them into the 1880s when he became Minister of Public Instruction.⁵⁶

Another prominent voice on the subject was Léon Gambetta (1838-1882), at times Thiers's political opponent, but instrumental in establishing the Third Republic. Gambetta helped rally the supporters of the Third Republic by arguing in favor of "detaching wisely, but firmly, the ties that bind the church to the state."⁵⁷ In 1869, one year before Napoleon III's ouster and the end of the Second Empire, Gambetta had made a speech against the emperor and the Second Empire, declaring that there must be a "separation of church and state" and a "free, compulsory, secular primary education."⁵⁸ This speech would later be called the "Belleville Manifesto," and it embodied much of what the Third Republic would be able to accomplish for French education.

⁵² Harrigan, "French Catholics," 258.

⁵³ Gemie, "Danger to Society," 267.

⁵⁴ Chaitin, "France Is My Mother," 128-130.

⁵⁵ Jules Simon, *La séparation de l'Église et de l'État: Discours prononcé au corps législatif dans la séance du 3 décembre 1867* (Versailles: Imprimerie Cerf, 1867).

⁵⁶ Jules Ferry, "De l'égalité d'éducation: Conférence prononcée à Paris, à la salle Molière, le 10 avril 1870," in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris: Armand Colin et Compagnie, 1893), 287-289.

⁵⁷ Léon Gambetta, quoted in Peker, "Bringing the State Back," 820.

⁵⁸ Léon Gambetta, "The Belleville Manifesto," 1869, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

Yet another influential voice was Octave Gréard (1828-1904) who, during the Third Republic, became the inspector of all academic institutions in Paris.⁵⁹ Gréard had been educated during the Second Republic and had subsequently served as a teacher in Metz, Versailles, and Paris. He is credited with helping to improve the conditions of primary schools, and more importantly, the overall quality of education. He also helped to implement a full monitorial system, according to which older children who were further along in their education would help monitor younger, less educated children.⁶⁰ This became one of the most commonly used pedagogical methods in all of France and could be viewed as the nineteenth-century equivalent of modern-day teacher's assistants or aides. Gréard also reformed the educational tiers—based on elementary, middle, and higher divisions of education—which, in turn, helped him with the desired reduction of class sizes. The reorganization was a success, and the only two subjects now taught on all educational tiers were geography and history.⁶¹

During the Third Republic, teachers became increasingly interested in more specialized forms of education. School libraries received more funding and attention and were now viewed as an essential part of the educational process. According to the data, 100,000 books were available in school libraries in 1881; by 1907, the number had grown to over 400,000 books.⁶² The establishment of universal, free education also facilitated funding at the local level. Thus, if school growth appears slow during the Third Republic, this can be attributed to the increasing availability of schools in less populated areas.

The Ferry Laws of 1881 and 1882 stipulated that primary education was to become completely free, mandatory, and secular for both boys and girls. Taken together, the two laws consisted of 18 articles,⁶³ and they became the basis of France's secularized education for the next seventy or more years. From 1829 to 1837, the number of students in France had doubled, and it would double again from 1837 to the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ The Third Republic ensured that no charges for education would be placed on families in both the large cities and the country's rural areas. Soon Catholic schools, too, stopped charging for education, and poorer families received additional assistance via scholarships for their children.⁶⁵ In sum, the Third Republic accomplished more in the area of education than the revolutions of 1789 or 1848 or, for that matter, any other regime during the nineteenth century.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Anderson, *Education in France*, 154.

⁶⁰ Anderson, *Education in France*, 156.

⁶¹ Anderson, *Education in France*, 157.

⁶² Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 46.

⁶³ Jules Ferry, "Lois Jules Ferry," March 28, 1882, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

⁶⁴ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 56.

⁶⁵ Grew and Harrigan, *School, State, and Society*, 56.

⁶⁶ Burrows, "Education and the Third Republic," 251-252.

Conclusion

In 1854, the American educator Henry Barnard (1811-1900) wrote, “There is nothing in the history of modern civilization more truly sublime than the establishment of the present Law of primary instruction in France.”⁶⁷ This essay has shown that the policies, reforms, and laws integrated into the French education system over the course of the nineteenth century reflected a growing conviction among government officials that a secularized education system would ultimately provide a stronger, more stable state. The Third Republic did not just see the culmination of this development in terms of legislation and innovation, but was also its chief beneficiary because it lasted for seventy years and only collapsed when France was overrun by Nazi Germany in the summer of 1940. While this essay has confined itself to the nineteenth century, it would be worthwhile to analyze data that show the impact of these educational reforms in the early decades of the twentieth century, particularly during the period’s major crisis, namely, World War I. For much of the time considered here, secularization and modernization seem to have gone hand in hand, but—as every French election shows—the debate over education is far from over.

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⁶⁷ Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe: Being an Account of the Organization, Administration, Instruction, and Statistics of Public Schools of Different Grades in the Principal States* (New York: Charles B. Norton, 1854), 382.

Chad Wilson

*From Wilsonianism to Leninism:
Ho-Chi-Minh's Transition from Liberalism to Communism*

ABSTRACT: *Scholars debate how and why Ho-Chi-Minh (1890-1969), despite an early interest in the ideals of liberal democracy, could become the leader of North Vietnam and fight against the United States of America to unify Vietnam under his own communist regime. On the basis of oral histories, letters, government documents, political biographies, and speeches, this article argues that HCM's interest in the ideology of communism was consistent from an early point in his life and nurtured by the individuals he met and dealt with throughout his career, the political events he experienced, and the things he read and wrote himself.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Vietnam; France; U.S.; Ho-Chi-Minh; Woodrow Wilson; Vladimir Lenin; colonialism; liberalism; communism*

Introduction

In June 1911, as summer was arriving in French Indochina's colonial territory of Vietnam, a young man took a job as a cook on a French steamship, which allowed him to leave his home country for the first time and travel the world. He eventually settled in Paris, where he was introduced to liberal democracy, socialism, and anti-colonialism. As time went on, he began to assume a more active role in the political arena, voicing his opinions on political theory and invoking individuals like U.S. President Woodrow Wilson as sources of his political inspiration. The American Revolution greatly influenced this young Vietnamese nationalist because, just like Vietnam, the United States of America had once been a colony. Wilson's argument that all people, including those under colonial rule, had a right to self-governance heavily factored into his ideology. Yet even though this young man was interested in American history and politics, once he returned to reclaim his home country for the people of Vietnam, he did so as a communist guerrilla fighter. His name: Ho-Chi-Minh (1890-1969), also known as HCM, the leader of North Vietnam who would fight a long and deadly war against the United States to unify Vietnam under his own communist regime.

One wonders how HCM, once a supporter of liberal democracy, could steer his country toward a Leninist style of communism to achieve his anti-colonial goals to free his home country of Vietnam. Although he did support democracy to an extent, HCM had always displayed an interest in what would later be known as Marxist-Leninist socialist philosophy—a philosophy used to establish brutal dictatorships in places like Russia, China, and Cuba. To better understand HCM's transition and what made him into one of the twentieth century's most influential political figures, this article discusses his political and philosophical inspirations between 1919 and 1968. Using a thematic rather than chronological approach, it argues that HCM's interest in the ideology of communism was consistent early on and nurtured by the significant individuals he met and dealt with throughout his career, the political events he experienced, and the things he read and wrote himself throughout his lifetime.

The historiography on HCM tends to focus on three main aspects. The first main aspect pertains to the political events that transpired during his life. Scholars single out two particular incidents, arguing that they were the main factors that drove HCM into the arms of communism. The first incident is a letter he wrote in 1919 to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, demanding the Vietnamese people's independence from French colonial control. According to historian William Duiker, "Ho Chi Minh's identification with that petition thrust him into the public eye for the first time and launched him onto a revolutionary career that would span five decades,"¹ namely, because he never received a response from the 28th U.S. President. Due to HCM's avid support of Wilson's ideas, historians view this unanswered letter as something that first pushed him toward communism. The second incident that pushed HCM toward communism was Vietnam's independence after World War II. Readers of HCM's 1945 speech will quickly realize the similarities between his words and the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. Political scientist Son Ngoc Bui argues that "Ho Chi Minh's Declaration of Independence is a form of anti-colonial constitutionalism because it contrasts the colonialists' constitutional commitments to the colonial reality in Vietnam."² While historian James M. Lindsay maintains that HCM quoted the American Declaration of Independence to gain credibility with the United States and other democratic countries,³ other scholars, such as Nguyen Trong Phuc, view the lack of support Vietnam received from the United States as the final prompt for HCM's transition toward communism.⁴

The second main aspect in the historiography on HCM concerns itself with the political influences to be gleaned from his readings and writings. There is a consensus that HCM, during his youth, was greatly influenced by American ideologies and literature, especially Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (1918) and idea of self-determination. Erez Manela's monograph, *The Wilsonian Moment*, and Fredrick Logevall's study, *Embers of War*, argue that HCM preferred Wilson's idea of self-determination above all other contemporary political philosophies; Manela takes this a step further and compares other countries' reactions to the idea of self-determination.⁵ Ken Burns, too, mentions HCM's liberal-democratic beliefs in his

¹ William J. Duiker, "In Search of Ho Chi Minh," in *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, ed. Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Company, 2006), 19-36, here 20.

² Son Ngoc Bui, "Anticolonial Constitutionalism: The Case of Hồ Chi Minh," *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 19, no. 2 (2018): 197-221.

³ James M. Lindsay, "Remembering Ho Chi Minh's 1945 Declaration of Vietnam's Independence," *Council on Foreign Relations*, September 2, 2016, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

⁴ Nyuyen Trong Phuc, "Ho Chi Minh on Independence and Freedom: The Unity between National and Human Rights," *Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung*, August 29, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022 (first published 2016 in volume 11 of *Political Theory: Research Journal and Scientific Voice of Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics*).

⁵ Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014; first published 2007); Fredrik

documentary, *The Vietnam War*, pointing to the similarities between America's and Vietnam's respective Declaration of Independence and claiming that HCM was still very much influenced by American political literature before his conversion to communism.⁶ In his article, "Behind the Mind of Ho-Chi-Minh," Joel Kindrick disagrees with this assessment, makes the case that communist writings by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin had influenced HCM as early as 1920, and draws attention to an article in the Soviet communist newspaper *Pravda* after Lenin's death (January 21, 1924), in which HCM claimed that Lenin, "[a]fter having liberated his people, [...] wanted to liberate other peoples too,"⁷ thus showcasing his interest in socialist politics at a young age.

Finally, the third main aspect in the historiography on HCM addresses how he was influenced by the people he met as an essential factor why he began to lean toward communist ideology instead of American democratic ideology. In his article, "The Myth of the Wilsonian Moment," Brett Riley points out that HCM, during his time in France in 1919, was part of the International Union of Socialist Youth later known as the French Communist Party (FCP). Based on Reilly's research, the members of this organization influenced HCM to see communist policies in a more positive light.⁸ Furthermore, scholars are well aware of HCM's meetings with famous twentieth-century communist leaders, including Mao Zedong and Nikita Khrushchev, who helped solidify his communist ideology.

To illustrate HCM's transition toward communism, this article analyzes critical primary evidence in support of the claim that HCM was open to communist ideology at a young age. It employs oral histories, letters, and government documents, including Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (1918), HCM's letter to Wilson (1919), and Lenin's "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions" (1920), as well as various political biographies and speeches. In terms of its methodological approach, it is a contribution to political history, focusing on the political influences and key events that occurred during HCM's lifetime in order to assess his transition toward communism.

I. Personal Influences

In 1961, HCM traveled to Moscow to meet with Nikita Khrushchev, the then Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. A filmed recording of the spectacle shows HCM and Khrushchev greeting each other like old friends, exchanging hugs, and kisses on

Logevall, *Embers of War: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam* (New York : Random House, 2012).

⁶ *The Vietnam War*, TV documentary series, directed by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick (ARTE, Florentine Films, PBS Pictures, 2017).

⁷ Joel Kindrick, "Behind the Mind of Ho Chi Minh: How Communist North Vietnamese Leader Ho Chi Minh Developed His Thoughts and Theories on War," *HistoryNet*, November 5, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

⁸ Brett Reilly, "The Myth of the Wilsonian Moment," *Wilson Center*, June 17, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

the cheek.⁹ Despite this seemingly friendly greeting, the reality of the situation was much more severe, as HCM had come to Russia to discuss the falling out between the Soviet Union and Communist China. According to a declassified 1971 document from the CIA, titled “Khrushchev on Vietnam,” the Soviet Prime Minister was impressed with how HCM conducted himself, given the controversy surrounding him as he pursued a non-partisan policy between the Soviet and Chinese governments.¹⁰ HCM was quite aware that he was considered a small fish in the eyes of both the Soviet Union and China, but he was a valuable ally to both factions nonetheless. His stance toward both sides was clear and appealed to their values, but they did not compromise the priorities of Vietnam. HCM’s charismatic personality and considerable influence in the communist community allowed him to maintain a bipartisan position, which, in turn, enabled him to secure both financial and military support from the Russian and Chinese governments. This support afforded HCM additional security as a war between the United States and North Vietnam was becoming increasingly likely. To understand the trajectory that led HCM to communism, it is essential to evaluate how his early development under French colonialism created the man he is known as today.

HCM was born on May 19, 1890, in Cù m di tích Hoàng trù, Vietnam, to a family of farmers. He received his primary education at a local school and worked briefly as a school teacher in the town of Phan Thiết. It appears that he had a relatively normal upbringing.¹¹ However, living under French colonialism in a rural, agricultural setting must have left a deep impression on the young HCM. He witnessed the hypocrisy of the French who had repeatedly revolted against their own government in the name of freedom, but were now suppressing their colonial subjects. Nonetheless, HCM was greatly inspired by the ideas of liberty and equality that had been promoted by both the American and French revolutions. He spent the majority of his young-adulthood abroad, and his travels took him to several locations across the globe, including the United States and England. HCM continued to expand his education by learning several languages, such as Chinese, Russian, and French. In 1917, at the height of World War I, the twenty-seven-year-old HCM settled in France.

⁹ RetroFootage, “Ho Chi Minh Visits Khrushchev in Moscow, and Josip Tito in Yugoslavia, Speaks at a Party Congress Meeting in Moscow in 1961, Attempts to Mend Relations between the Soviets and Red China, Narrated by U.S. Journalist Walter Cronkite in 1966,” video clip D378_30_406, *Dissolve*, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022; full feature, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹⁰ *Declassified Intelligence Analyses on the Former Soviet Union Produced by CIA’s Directorate of Intelligence*: document number 16278, titled “Khrushchev on Vietnam,” published January 6, 1971, accession number NN3-263-99-001 11, declassified December 1998, 3 pages, status RIF (“released in full”), [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹¹ “Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969): Major Events in the Life of a Revolutionary Leader,” timeline, *Expanding East Asian Studies: A Program of Columbia University*, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022; see also “Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969),” in *Encyclopedia of United States National Security*, ed. Richard J. Samuels, 2 vols. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Reference, 2006), 1:325-326.

In France, he encountered several individuals who helped solidify his political beliefs. By 1919, he had joined a political group known as the *Groupe des Patriotes Annamites* – Vietnamese patriots who were pursuing the cause of liberating their home country from French colonial rule. Other prominent members of the *Groupe des Patriotes Annamites* whom HCM interacted with included Nguyễn An Ninh and Phan Chu Trinh. Both men played a vital role in shaping HCM's future.

Nguyễn An Ninh (1900-1943) later became a well-known Vietnamese journalist. According to Kevin Pham's dissertation, it was Ninh's goal to promote Vietnam's national identity via a notion of "national shame." Pham analyzes Ninh's speeches and writings, noting that Ninh "wanted his countrymen to feel ashamed about Vietnam's past and present intellectual weakness, but this was supposed to motivate them to become 'great men' rather than drive them to despair."¹² One prominent example in Pham's dissertation is a 1924 newspaper article, "Idéal de la jeunesse Annamite" (i.e., "The Ideal of Vietnamese Youth"), in which Ninh states, "as India and Japan provide thinkers and artists whose talent or genius radiates alongside the talents and geniuses of Europe, Annam (Vietnam) is still only a child who does not even have the idea or the strength to strive toward a better destiny, toward true deliverance."¹³ Ninh argued that, since Vietnam was a relatively young country, its people needed to do better to be respected globally, and remaining a colony would only hinder this endeavor.

Phan Chu Trinh (1872-1926) had a different approach in pursuing the agenda of the *Groupe des Patriotes Annamites* to advocate for Vietnam's independence from France. Trinh argued that a European-style democracy would be the best way for Vietnam to overcome France's colonial rule. He called for an end to the monarchy and its replacement with a democratic republic. Trinh also was a strong advocate for Confucianism, arguing that the lack of Confucianism in their country had been caused by tyrannical monarchs, which had ultimately led to the colonization of Vietnam by the French.¹⁴ Trinh believed that a European-style democracy, mixed with Confucianism, would be the best way for Vietnam to gain its freedom, as both the ideals of democracy and Confucianism promoted individualism. Trinh referred to other Asian countries, such as Japan, to further his claims. In a letter, "Monarchy and Democracy," Trinh stated that, "[i]n the face of the expansion of European civilization to East Asia, it is only Japan that was able to abandon the Old Learning and adopt the New Learning, and within a mere forty years it was able to join the ranks of the world powers."¹⁵ Trinh pointed out that for Vietnam

¹² Kevin Pham, "The Cosmopolitan Nation: Vietnamese Comparative Political Theory" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 2020), 54.

¹³ Nguyen An Ninh, "Idéal de la jeunesse Annamite" (Ideals of Annamite Youth), reprinted in the newspaper *La Cloche Fêlée* (Saigon), 7, 1924, quoted in Pham, "Cosmopolitan Nation," 54.

¹⁴ Kevin D. Pham, "Phan Chu Trinh's Democratic Confucianism," *The Review of Politics* 81, no. 4 (2019): 597-620.

¹⁵ Phan Châu Trinh, "Monarchy and Democracy," in Phan Châu Trinh, *Phan Châu Trinh and His Political Writings*, trans. and ed. Vinh Sinh (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 125-140.

to grow and progress, it needed to adopt new teachings and ideologies while abandoning some of its old traditions.

It is possible that Nguyễn An Ninh, Phan Chu Trinh, and other members of the *Groupe des Patriotes Annamites* were discussing their ideas and arguments with HCM during their joint time in France. Conceivably, HCM supported the idea of Vietnam building up its national identity, and he also may have favored the call for strengthening democratic and Confucian ideals in Vietnam. It certainly seems that he incorporated Ninh's and Trinh's ideas, and that he viewed both as mentors.

In fact, both men's influence is noticeable in HCM's request to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson,¹⁶ in which he appealed to the United States to support Vietnam's freedom of speech and expression. At this point in time, communism was widely recognized as a global philosophy. HCM was well informed about the revolution in Russia, and he was inspired by Lenin's works. It would seem that going to the United States for help would be the last thing a communist would do, as the United States stood against the very idea of communism. Following Russia's October Revolution of 1917 and various anarchist bombings, America had just experienced its first "Red Scare," which had been marked by a widespread fear of far-left extremism, Bolshevism, and anarchism. Thus, HCM's letter to Wilson indicates that he was at least somewhat open toward the ideals of liberal democracy during his early years. This, however, would begin to change after the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and the defeat of the Central Powers.

To HCM, the Treaty of Versailles would have reflected a lack of U.S. support for Vietnamese independence. Accordingly, he became disillusioned with the United States and the ideals of liberal democracy and took his first steps toward becoming a Marxist-Leninist communist. He joined several socialist groups in France to further his political career and became more active in advocating for socialist policies. In December 1920, he attended a congress of the French Socialist Party (which would later become the French Communist Party). At this meeting, several individuals encouraged HCM to become more involved in the communist movement in France and around the world, among them Marcel Cachin (1869-1958) and Ludovic-Oscar Frossard (1889-1946), both French politicians and founding members of the French Communist Party. By this time, HCM had become a vocal supporter of Lenin, claiming that "[o]nly Lenin's thesis and the communist system will establish among all countries a universal republic."¹⁷ Both Cachin and Frossard noticed HCM's passion for Lenin's style of communism, and they encouraged it because the French Communist Party (FCP) was modeling itself after Lenin's socialist-policies approach. Given France's hold over non-

¹⁶ "Letter from Nguyen ai Quac [Ho Chi Minh] to Secretary of State Robert Lansing," June 18, 1919, National Archives at College Park, Record Group 256 (Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1914-1931), General Records 1918-1931, file unit 851G.00, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

¹⁷ Cited in Reilly "Myth of the Wilsonian Moment."

communist unions, FCP leaders were able to grow their organization by claiming that they were the “Party of the Working Class.” The FCP’s success allowed HCM to flourish and express his ideas on the benefits of a communist utopia while simultaneously opening doors for his next political opportunity.

This opportunity arose in 1924 when HCM became acquainted with high-ranking communist leaders at a communist congress in Moscow, including Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, and Joseph Stalin. HCM had been eager to meet his idol—Lenin—and was saddened by the news of his passing, stating: “Lenin was our father, our teacher, our comrade, our representative.”¹⁸ Yet the men he met in Moscow undoubtedly reaffirmed HCM’s belief in communist ideology, and being acquainted with them afforded him the opportunity to be trained as an agent of the “Communist International” (or “Comintern”).¹⁹ Agents of the Comintern were members of a global organization that advocated for world communism.²⁰ As an agent of this organization, HCM trained to overthrow governments of the bourgeoisie (i.e., the dominant social class in Marxist theory) and establish Soviet-style governments. It is in this program that HCM learned the guerrilla fighting tactics he would later use to wage war in his own country.

As HCM continued to travel around the globe, he met other individuals who inspired him. In 1941, while he was in China prior to his return to Vietnam, HCM created the Viet Minh,²¹ a communist guerrilla fighting force that was joined by individuals who looked up to HCM and who strengthened his conviction that communism was the most effective way to end colonialism in Vietnam.

II. Impactful Political Events

In addition to the influential people he met throughout his life, several politically charged events caused HCM to evaluate and, in some cases, dramatically change his course. Among these was his first protest against French colonialism, because, as a result of this protest, he would leave Vietnam from 1911 until 1941. It all began in 1908 when HCM was dismissed from the National Academy in Hué after he had participated in a protest against French colonial rule.²² Following this dismissal, he moved to Phan Thiết where he worked as a teacher for three years. Even at this young age, it was evident that HCM was a politically motivated individual, and experiencing imperial colonialism firsthand provided him with an outlet for his political energy. In 1911, he was hired as a cook on a French steamship. From there, he spent two years dabbling with political ideologies, most

¹⁸ Cited in Pierre Brocheux, *Ho Chi Minh: A Biography*, trans. Claire Duiker (New York: Cambridge University Press), 24.

¹⁹ “Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969),” timeline.

²⁰ Antoine Capet, “Comintern,” in *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History*, ed. William H. McNeill, Jerry H. Bentley, and David Christian, 5 vols. (Great Barrington: Berkshire Publishing, 2005), 2:392-393.

²¹ William J. Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (New York: Hyperion, 2001), 45-50.

²² Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh*, 150.

notably Western democracy and communism, but he came to favor socialism. As we have already seen, while in France, he joined several socialist organizations. It is safe to say that, had HCM not been dismissed from the National Academy in Hué over anti-colonial protests, his life would have turned out rather differently. His decision to leave his home country ultimately set him on a path that impacted the history of both Vietnam and the United States.

A key event during HCM's lifetime was the end of World War I and the subsequent peace conference at Versailles. Hoping to seize the moment, on January 18, 1919, HCM sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing, intending for Lansing to pass the letter on to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. In his letter, HCM demanded that the French government grant the people of Vietnam, among other rights, "Freedom of press and speech; Freedom of association and assembly; [and] Freedom of education and creation."²³ By taking Vietnam's case to the U.S. authorities, HCM was hoping that America would force France to grant more freedom to her colonies. He based this assumption on his understanding of America's history as a former British colony, as well as Wilson's advocacy for the idea of self-determination. Like many nationalists of his time, HCM interpreted self-determination as the people's right to determine their own statehood and form alliances with other entities at will.

Whether or not Wilson received the letter, it was unlikely that he would have supported HCM's cause in the first place. According to Brad Simpson, Wilson and his peers "did not believe it [i.e., self-determination] to be a right or [...] [thought] that the principle should apply to colonial peoples outside of Europe, at least not for the immediate future."²⁴ Simpson posits that many of world leaders at the time believed that self-determination only applied to independent countries. Meanwhile, anti-colonialists claimed that every country had a right to self-determination. The fact that his passionate letter remained unanswered pushed HCM toward communism, which was only just beginning to attract his attention. The lack of support from America, a liberal democracy, would have made communism with its goal of eradicating imperialism all the more attractive.

Another significant political movement in HCM's life was the end of World War II. In 1940, after France had surrendered to Nazi Germany, Japan had occupied Vietnam with the new Vichy government's consent. Japan's occupation of Vietnam lasted until August 1945 when Japan withdrew from Vietnam due to its impending defeat at the hands of the United States. As there were now no more French or Japanese forces occupying Vietnam, HCM and the Vietnamese people rushed to declare the country's independence. On September 2, 1945, Japan

²³ "Letter from Nguyen ai Quac [Ho Chi Minh] to Secretary of State Robert Lansing," June 18, 1919.

²⁴ Brad Simpson, "The Many Meanings of National Self-Determination," *Current History* 113, no. 766 (2014): 312-317.

officially surrendered to the United States. That same day, HCM delivered a speech declaring Vietnam's Independence. In this speech, he stated,

"All men are created equal. Their Creator endows them with certain inalienable rights, among them are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on Earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free. The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights." Those are undeniable truths.²⁵

This speech suggests that HCM still believed that democratic ideals and self-determination would be the best path for Vietnam to thrive as a country. By invoking both the American and French declarations, HCM hoped to convince France to relinquish its pursuit to regain control of its colony and that the United States would recognize Vietnam as an independent nation in the global community. However, much like in 1919 at Versailles, HCM's wishes were ignored. With financial and logistical backing from the United States, France eagerly pushed to regain control of its Indochinese colony. According to Marvin E. Gettleman, the United States supported France's Vietnam efforts due to the rising threat of communism after World War II and considered French control of Vietnam essential to counter the spread of communism.²⁶ Regardless of America's rationale for not supporting Vietnam's Declaration of Independence, HCM would no longer rely on the United States' goodwill to help free his home country from foreign oppression. When French troops invaded Vietnam shortly after HCM's Declaration of Independence, HCM led his people against the French forces and sought military, financial, and logistical support via communist channels, thus permanently establishing himself as a communist leader.

Perhaps even more significant than HCM's post-World-War-II Declaration of Independence was an event that transpired after France's humiliation at the 1954 battle of Dien Bien Phu. After this decisive victory by Vietnamese forces, representatives from Vietnam, France, the United Kingdom, Cambodia, the Soviet Union, and the United States convened in Geneva, Switzerland, from April 26 until July 20, 1954, resulting in the establishment of the Geneva Accords. During these four months, Vietnam pleaded for the country's independence from foreign influence. However, the United States and the other parties involved decided to split the country in half at the 17th parallel, with the United States supporting South Vietnam and the Soviet Union and China supporting North Vietnam, similar to how Korea (1945) and Germany (1949) had been divided earlier in the Cold War.

Even though the Geneva Accords put an end to the fighting in Vietnam for the time being, HCM did not approve of several aspects of these agreements. For

²⁵ Ho Chi Minh, "Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," September 2, 1945, *History Matters* (George Mason University), [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

²⁶ Marvin E. Gettleman, *Vietnam and America: A Documented History* (New York: Grove Press, 1985).

example, he and his southern counterpart Ngo Dinh Diem did not support the idea of a national election, nor did he appreciate the amount of funding that South Vietnam was receiving from the United States.²⁷ Despite these objections, HCM ultimately consented to the Geneva Accords, knowing full well that if he did not, the United States would simply attempt to finish what the French had started. By 1954, the U.S. position on communism was focused on containment (i.e., preventing the spread of communism by any means necessary). As they had demonstrated during their involvement in the Korean War, America was willing to commit to full-on war in order to protect its foreign interests and allies. The Geneva Accords caused HCM to build stronger relationships with his communist allies, especially the Soviet Union and Vietnam's long-time enemy China, in order to stay economically competitive with South Vietnam. As Thomas K. Latimer has shown in his dissertation, most of North Vietnam's political, economic, and cultural policies were geared toward reunification with South Vietnam.²⁸ It was not until 1963, after South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem had been assassinated, that North Vietnam began to use armed force to retake South Vietnam. As HCM and the North Vietnamese government were working to undermine the Geneva Accords while simultaneously securing aid from their communist allies, they steered toward war with the United States.

III. Influential Literature

The literature HCM was reading throughout his life played a significant role in his ideological development and informed his own writings. It was in France that he first explored socialist and communist literature. Oddly enough, while he was reading the works of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin, he was also moved by literature on the history of the United States. He found America's struggle for freedom inspiring and appears to have been a believer in the American style of democracy. He took a great interest in President Wilson's administration and was greatly encouraged by Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (1918). In this speech to the U.S. Congress, Wilson had laid out his plan for how the global community should interact after the Great War. Among the propositions that HCM would take to heart was Wilson's fifth point, which stated that there should be a "free, open-minded, and impartial adjustment of all colonial claims." Wilson also made a case for the removal of economic trade barriers and advocated for more open diplomatic relations between countries in the first, second, and third points of his speech.²⁹

²⁷ Brocheux, *Ho Chi Minh*, 165.

²⁸ Thomas Kennedy Latimer, "Hanoi's Leaders and Their South Vietnam Policies: 1954-1968" (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1972), 8.

²⁹ Woodrow Wilson, "President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points," January 8, 1918, National Archives, Record Group 46 (Records of the U.S. Senate, 1789-2015), Messages, Reports, and Communications Tabled or Read, 1875-1968, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

Wilson's "Fourteen Points" and his position on self-determination envisioned a new world order in which nations would be engaged in much more open and peaceful relations with one another, assuming the entire global community would share in these sentiments. As a young man, HCM would have been very much in favor of Wilson's ideas for a new world order. Yet, HCM, like many aspiring political leaders, would ultimately feel misled by America's message and actions on the world stage. Erez Manela has perfectly captured this in his monograph, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. Manela's work shows how nationalists in Egypt, India, China, and Korea—much like HCM—were inspired by Wilson's position on self-determination. However, when they requested backing from the American President for their mission to let their people choose how they govern themselves, they—much like HCM—received no support and no response. For example, Manela references Sa'd Zaghlul, an Egyptian politician who pleaded with the United States for help to end "British dominance" in the region, suggesting that the absence of support from the United States caused Egyptian nationalists, "to draw upon Wilsonian language in defining and defending their aim."³⁰ Thus, even after the United States had ignored these nationalists' pleas for help, they still held Wilson's beliefs in high esteem. While Manela does not address the situation in Vietnam or HCM in particular, his work points to similarities with China, Korea, and Vietnam: all three of these Asian countries eventually succumbed to rulers like HCM who had found solace in the ideology of communism.

As time went on, HCM started writing his own pieces, including political articles, books, and newspaper commentaries. In 1922, he founded *Le Paria*, a French magazine that allowed him to publish his thoughts on political topics and issues that furthered his agenda for Vietnam's independence. At that time, most French citizens were not even aware of the existence of Vietnam within the colony of Indochina. According to Joel Kindrick, HCM wrote about an incident involving a group of French soldiers in Indochina and a family living in a poor village. He claimed that the soldiers "beat one of the old men to death [...] roasted the other old man over a fire of twigs. Meanwhile, the rest of the group, having raped the two women, followed [...] the little girl and murdered her."³¹ HCM explained that this incident had occurred over a disagreement of payment for the soldiers and that the soldiers had become enraged because the villagers could not understand what they were saying. After the publication of this article, the French vowed to treat their colonial subjects better, but they would not give up their control of Indochina. However, by then, the damage to France's reputation had already been done, and people were beginning to talk about Vietnam and how France had treated it as a colony. This was just the start of HCM's activities as a political writer.

³⁰ Manela, *Wilsonian Moment*, 71, 157.

³¹ Kindrick, "Behind the Mind of Ho Chi Minh."

Eventually, HCM took what he had learned from reading the works of others, combined it with what he had learned writing news articles, and wrote his own books. His 1924 work, *The Case against French Colonialism*, for example, illustrates how the people of Vietnam had been aggrieved by France's colonial rule. In this book, HCM details the living conditions of the Vietnamese people in the early 1920s. His main argument against colonialism is that the colonized people are prevented from advancing as a country and as a people. The idea is most prominent when he compares the conditions the French colonizers live in with those of the country's native population. HCM accomplishes his task by telling the stories of those directly affected by the French government's actions. For instance, he recounts the story of a drafted soldier, referred to as Dahomey, whose village and property the French authorities had destroyed, and quotes directly from Dahomey's account:

During the looting and burning, all I had was taken from me. Nevertheless, I was enlisted by force, and despite this heinous attack of which I was the victim, I have done my duty at the French front. Now that the war is over, I will return to my country, homeless and without resources.³²

This passage showcases HCM's ability to combine controversial topics with powerful emotions in order to further his agenda. HCM continued to address the inhumane conditions his people were forced to endure by any means available to him, namely, through speeches, writings, and letters to world leaders on all sides of the political spectrum. He did this to bring these issues into plain view, hoping that Vietnam's imperial rulers would eventually grant his country the freedom it deserved.

Since HCM was an avid supporter of Lenin's style of communism, it comes as no surprise that a large portion of his library comprised the works of Lenin, who had been the first socialist leader to overthrow an oppressive imperial government and had established a communist regime that all others communists leaders would model theirs after. Lenin's draft theses on "National and Colonial Questions" had been submitted to the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. In these theses, Lenin describes colonization's pitfalls and how it affects the people subjected to colonialism. HCM would have been inspired by Lenin's comments on the plight of the colonized people; specifically, Lenin had argued that "[t]he age-old oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has not only filled the working masses of the oppressed countries with animosity toward the oppressor nations but has also aroused distrust in these nations in general."³³ It is likely that HCM would have interpreted

³² Ho Chi Minh, *The Case Against French Colonization*, trans. Joshua Leinsdorf (Atlantic Highlands: Pentland Press, 2017), 156.

³³ Vladimir I. Lenin, "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International," June 5, 1920, trans. Julius Katzer, in Vladimir I. Lenin,

Lenin's statement as a reassurance that the oppression of colonial powers would one day end at the hands of the oppressed as they would overthrow the colonial powers. According to Brett Reilly, HCM declared that "only Lenin's theses and the communist system will establish a universal republic among all countries,"³⁴ thus revealing HCM's fascination with socialist writings.

By 1920, HCM's writings were beginning to reflect his own political beliefs. His articles appeared in *L'Humanité*, a French daily newspaper in which many members of the FCP were posting their political articles denouncing capitalism and promoting both socialism and communism.³⁵ HCM, too, wrote articles about "denouncing the 'hydra' of capitalism and colonialism," while some of his other articles centered around "calling on the international proletariat to lead a world revolution." However, not all of HCM's articles were published, as some were deemed too extreme. HCM also had the opportunity to write articles for the Soviet communist newspaper *Pravda*, where other high-profile communist leaders like Joseph Stalin regularly published their articles. After the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924, HCM wrote a particular piece in which he noted that Lenin had wanted to help liberate other peoples as well and that he had called upon the White peoples to help the Yellow and Black peoples to free themselves from the foreign aggressors' yoke.³⁶ HCM later published about the importance of the colonial people during revolutionary movements, often referring to them as the backbone of any revolutionary movement. HCM was inspired by the works of others, and he, in turn, encouraged many more through his own writings, making him an even more prominent political figure in the world's socialist communities.

Conclusion

To understand why the people of Vietnam, to this day, hold Ho-Chi-Minh in such high regard, it is essential to understand the individuals, events, and writings that shaped his career and personality. While the United States were somewhat responsible for the path he ultimately took and, by ignoring his plight, may have driven him toward communism, he had not always been a supporter of the communist ideology. One can only speculate whether his political stance would have become dramatically different, had the United States offered more support for his cause. As this article has shown, HCM's socialist and communist-leaning beliefs started at a young age. They were already evident during his time in France where he was heavily involved in socialist organizations, such as the FCP, and openly praised communist figures like Vladimir Lenin, whom he admired greatly. His radical political ideology and admiration for communist philosophies can also be gleaned from his writings, as well as the pieces of literature he referenced. He

Collected Works, 2nd English ed. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), 31:144-151, [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

³⁴ Reilly, "Myth of the Wilsonian Moment."

³⁵ See Reilly, "Myth of the Wilsonian Moment," for the subsequent quotes.

³⁶ Kindrick, "Behind the Mind of Ho Chi Minh."

was an avid reader who appears to have digested more of Karl Marx's and Vladimir Lenin's works than those of Thomas Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson, so it is clear, from a literary standpoint, that he favored communism and socialism. Many of the individuals he met—or merely admired—during his rise to power offer strong clues as to where his political aspirations resided. Yet, they were not all cut from the same cloth, as his appreciation extended to the likes of Nguyễn An Ninh, Woodrow Wilson, and Vladimir Lenin. Thus, in one way or another, people, events, and literature shaped the iconic historical figure HCM would become in his own right.

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Desiree Montes

Speaking in Silence:

F. W. Murnau's Expressionist Films (1917-1931)

ABSTRACT: *This article argues that the appeal of F.W. Murnau's 1920s German Expressionist films ("Nosferatu," "Phantom," and "Faust") stems from his particular blend of fantasy and humanity. It examines the importance of lighting in his films; it analyzes how Expressionist characteristics enabled him to portray horror, separate reality and dreams, and represent good and evil; and it assesses why Murnau's films were attractive to 1920s audiences.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Germany; World War I; Weimar Republic; Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau; silent film; Expressionism; Nosferatu (1922); Phantom (1922); Faust (1926)*

Introduction

Film offers a unique experience as it captivates the viewer simultaneously by the imaginary and the portrayal of the human condition. In the late nineteenth century, film pioneers experimented with cinema technology to present this experience to a wider audience. Two of these innovators, Max Skladanowsky (1863-1939) and his brother Emil Skladanowsky (1866-1945), constructed the Bioscop dual projector, leading to the "perfected dissolving views of magic-lantern projection and the imperfect stuttering of 'silent' cinema," and eventually to "the first projection of moving pictures in Europe to a paying audience" on November 1, 1895, at the Wintergarten in Berlin.¹ Thus, by the early twentieth century, the world had been introduced to cinema. Ever since then, the film industry has aspired to combine entertainment with technology to create art. It is impressive when films are "simultaneously empirical and creative," representing both reality and the imaginary on screen.² Filmmakers seek to offer visually captivating portrayals of the human condition. How they go about doing this depends on the individual filmmaker and film movement. Each such movement features its own unique cinematography, and German Expressionist film was no different in this respect. One pioneer of German Expressionist film, Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (1888-1931), certainly captivated audiences with his human portrayal and images.

German Expressionist film emerged toward the end of World War I, just as Expressionism in other spheres of art was waning. It was facilitated by the 1916 ban on most foreign films in Germany, which led to an increase in domestic film production. At the same time, there was a dramatic increase in the number of movie theaters from around one thousand operating cinemas at the beginning of the twentieth century to five thousand by the end of the 1920s. As prominent German filmmakers increased the number of German films, they often gravitated

¹ Paul Dobryden, "23 May 1920: *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* Brings Aesthetic Modernism to the Fairground," in *A New History of German Cinema*, ed. Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Michael D. Richardson (Rochester: Camden House, 2014; Ebook; first published 2012), 122-129.

² Katharina Loew, "The Spirit of Technology: Early German Thinking about Film," *New German Critique* 41, no. 2 (2014): 125-144, here 142.

toward Expressionism.³ On May 23, 1920, at Berlin's Luna Park, crowds participated in an Expressionist-themed event. Designers Hermann Warm, Walter Reimann, and Walter Röhrig curated distorted, uncanny sets to introduce audiences to the newest movement. The German film movement rejected previous forms of art, such as Impressionism, and adopted its own characteristics, such as *chiaroscuro*,⁴ extreme camera tilting for different perspectives, distorted figures, and artificial sets. Themes of Expressionist cinema varied but they mostly dealt with human emotions. Not unlike his counterparts in the 1920s German film industry, F. W. Murnau implemented Expressionist themes and characteristics to tell fictional stories that reflected different forms of human behavior.

Before delving into Murnau's works, let us consider some biographical details, captured by German-French film critic Lotte H. Eisner (1896-1983) from Murnau family interviews.⁵ F. W. Murnau was born in Bielefeld on December 28, 1888. His brother, Robert Plumpe, described him as a child with an overflowing imagination and his nose stuck in a book as soon as he learned to read. As Murnau entered adolescence, he took an interest in theatre, particularly stagings of the Grimm Brothers' fairytales. When he grew older, he sought a larger stage and pursued theatre-acting. However, his father disapproved. According to his brother Robert, their father said, "No, not another penny. I paid for him to become a professor, not a starving actor." Thus, Murnau studied philosophy in Berlin and art history in Heidelberg, all the while still acting under the famous film and theatre director Max Reinhardt (1873-1943). In 1917, the army drafted Murnau into the "First Regiment of the Foot Guards" at Potsdam. Murnau entered World War I together with his close friend, the writer Hans Ehrenbaum-Degele, and the two corresponded until the latter's untimely death in 1915. After the war, Murnau dedicated himself to acting, closing himself off from his family and friends to focus on his art. In 1919, Murnau co-founded the Murnau Veidt Filmgesellschaft. According to his mother, "[his first films] were well received for their artistic quality and the humanity of their subjects." In 1926, America took an interest in his work and invited him to Hollywood. In America, he produced *Sunrise* (1927) and *Four Devils* (1928).⁶ After the success of these two films, Murnau set out for

³ Frances Guerin, *A Culture of Light: Cinema and Technology in 1920s Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005), 8.

⁴ From the Italian *chiaro* (meaning "light" or "clear") and *scuro* or *oscuro* (meaning "dark"), *chiaroscuro* is a technique that employed strong contrasts between light and dark. Filmmakers use this technique for a variety of reasons to darken the backgrounds while lighting the subjects of their films.

⁵ Lotte H. Eisner, *Murnau* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1973).

⁶ *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (New York: William Fox Studio, 1927); *The Four Devils*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (New York: William Fox Studio, 1928), is now considered lost but was once one of Murnau's most sought-after films.

the island of Tahiti where he created *Tabu* (1931), his last film.⁷ The film's location was a completely abandoned site, but it was considered the sacred soil of the temples of Puna'auia by the people of the island. According to his brother Robert, the Indigenous of the island "warned that he would [be met] with misfortune, and the vengeance of the gods must have pursued him and struck him down," because—on this sacred land—Murnau had built a plantation in the ancient Polynesian style and a colonial house with exquisite decor.⁸ On March 11, 1931, Murnau died in a hospital in Santa Barbara, California, succumbing to injuries he had sustained in a car accident on the previous day. His filmography consists of twenty-two films, many of them lost. To revisit the actor-director is to revisit an artist and pioneer of Expressionism, whose films continue to have impact.

This article focuses on F. W. Murnau's key (surviving) films, namely, *Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror* (1921), *Phantom* (1922), and *Faust* (1926).⁹ To explain the appeal of 1920s German film, it references essays from contemporary film theorists such as Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Béla Balázs, and Hanns Heinz Ewers. In addition, it uses film reviews for *Nosferatu* and newspaper and magazine promotions for *Phantom* and *Faust* to examine the attraction of Murnau's films.¹⁰

German Expressionist films and the works of F. W. Murnau have attracted considerable scholarly attention. Lotte H. Eisner has authored *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt* as well as *Murnau*, analyzing German Expressionist films and—the latter in particular—focusing on Murnau's life and films.¹¹ Frances Guerin in *A Culture of Light*, Richard

⁷ *Tabu: A Story of the South Seas*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (New York: Paramount Pictures, 1931).

⁸ Eisner, *Murnau*, 164.

⁹ *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (Berlin: Prana Film, 1922); *Phantom*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (Berlin: UFA, 1922); *Faust*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (Berlin: UFA, 1926). There are two other Murnau films that are considered Expressionist, namely, *The Last Laugh*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (Berlin: UFA, 1924), and *Tartuffe*, directed by Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau (Berlin: UFA, 1926).

¹⁰ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, "The Substitute for Dreams," trans. Lance W. Garmer, in *German Essays on Film*, ed. Richard McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 52-56; Béla Balázs, "From *The Visible Human* (1924)," trans. Lance W. Garmer, in *German Essays on Film*, ed. Richard McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 69-98; Hanns Heinz Ewers, "Film and I," in *German Essays on Film*, ed. Richard McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 22-23; Alfred Rosenthal, "Symphonie des Grauens," *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Monday special edition, no. 10, March 6, 1922; EJ [unidentified author initials], "Nosferatu," *Vossische Zeitung (Berlin)* no. 111, March 7, 1922; "German Film Profits: Interesting Balance Sheets: Real and Nominal Values: Some New Films," *Kinematograph Weekly*, January 25, 1923, *The British Newspaper Archive* (database), [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022; *Popular Film: Frente a la pantalla* (Barcelona: Redacción y administración, 1923).

¹¹ Lotte H. Eisner, *The Haunted Screen: Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt*, trans. Roger Greaves (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008; first published in French 1952); Eisner, *Murnau*.

Burdick Byrne in *German Cinematic Expressionism*, and Ian Roberts in *German Expressionist Cinema* discuss the characteristics of Expressionist film, especially lighting.¹² Anton Kaes in *Shell Shock Cinema*, Siegfried Kracauer in *From Caligari to Hitler*, Steve Choe in *Afterlives*, and Thomas Elsaesser in *Weimar Cinema and After* analyze the content of the films and apply film theory to their analyses.¹³ All these scholars, film theorists, and art historians highlight the unique themes, visual imagery, and psychological narratives of German Expressionist films.

This article argues that the appeal of F.W. Murnau's 1920s German Expressionist films stems from his particular blend of fantasy and humanity. Its first part examines the importance of lighting in Murnau's films; its second part considers how lighting and other Expressionist characteristics enabled Murnau to portray horror, separate reality and dreams, and represent good and evil; and its final part assesses the attraction of 1920s German films, particularly Murnau's.

I. The Importance of Lighting

A significant feature of Expressionist cinema is lighting, which Murnau used to create a horror-inducing effect in *Nosferatu*, a dream-like effect in *Phantom*, and a separation of morals in *Faust*. Murnau employed *chiaroscuro* to cast deep shadows, suggesting terror or suspense, for example in *Nosferatu*. Dark backgrounds draw attention to the actors, allowing the lighting to showcase their facial expressions, emotions, and actions, and helping viewers understand the plot, for example in *Phantom*. Lastly, Murnau used *chiaroscuro* to contrast characters; thus, in *Faust*, bright lighting is placed on the "good" and dimmed lighting on the "bad."

Nosferatu (1922) is iconic for its horror-inducing *chiaroscuro* scenes. Although it was not Murnau's first film, it is his earliest surviving film, and it is considered his breakthrough in German cinema. *Nosferatu*, adapted from Bram Stoker's 1897 novel *Dracula*,¹⁴ follows Thomas Hutter. Hutter sells a home to Count Orlok who is, in fact, the vampire Nosferatu. When Hutter discovers that Orlok is a vampire, he is unable to do anything because the latter has already begun the journey to his

¹² Guerin, *Culture of Light*; Richard Burdick Byrne, "German Cinematic Expressionism: 1919-1924" (PhD diss., State University of Iowa, 1962); Ian Roberts, *German Expressionist Cinema: The World of Light and Shadow* (London: Wallflower Press, 2008).

¹³ Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); Steve Choe, *Afterlives: Allegories of Film and Mortality in Early Weimar Germany* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2014); Steve Choe, "Life and Death in the Cinema of Weimar Germany, 1919-1924" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008); Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany's Historical Imaginary* (London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2000). See also David Sterritt, "Faust: A German Folktale," *Cineaste* 41, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 62-64; Katherine Blakeney, "F. W. Murnau, His Films, and Their Influence on German Expressionism," *Inquiries Journal/Student Pulse* 3, no. 1 (2011), [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022; and Paul Coates, *The Gorgon's Gaze: German Cinema, Expressionism, and the Image of Horror* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1897).

new house, aboard a ship, in a coffin, killing the ship's crew, one by one. Eventually, the vampire arrives at his new home which is directly across from the Hutter's residence. Hutter's wife Ellen soon realizes that Nosferatu is a vampire.¹⁵

In an iconic scene that is often discussed in the scholarship, Nosferatu's shadow gradually ascends the stairs to reach Ellen, followed by the shadow of his fingers reaching out to her, evoking both suspense and terror. Throughout the scene, only the shadow is projected, showcasing the effect of *chiaroscuro*. Ellen cowers in her bed as she watches the shadow.¹⁶ Neither Ellen nor the viewer see Nosferatu directly, which, as Richard Burdick Byrne asserts, "holds more terror for man than does the body."¹⁷ The shadow creates an uncertainty of what the figure that is casting it actually looks like or how it moves. While the entire film features much suspense and terror, it is this scene that draws in the audience, waiting for the vampire to walk through the house, climb the stairs, and reach his defenseless victim – and not knowing (but fearing) what might happen next.

Murnau's film *Phantom* (1922) was released not long after *Nosferatu*. In *Phantom*, Murnau uses lighting to separate the real from the imaginary. *Phantom* revolves around recurring flashbacks experienced by one Lorenz Lubota as he is writing about his life and mental downfall. The recollections begin with Lorenz in the company of his poverty-stricken family. On the way to work, Lorenz is hit by the carriage of a woman named Veronika. The accident triggers an obsession over Veronika, resulting in him missing work and stalking Veronika. Once he has been rejected by Veronika, Lorenz starts dating a prostitute who strongly resembles her. Though he lacks money, he finds ways to purchase expensive things for the look-alike, for example by stealing from and lying to his well-off aunt. As Lorenz is gradually descending into madness, he enters a hallucination state – the imaginary.¹⁸ His fantasies of Veronika and his time spent with the prostitute continually become delusional. His mind, "blending trauma and desire," divorce him from reality, making it difficult for him to understand his surroundings.¹⁹ In his delusions, he has won over the woman and lives extravagantly.

While scholarship on German Expressionist cinema rarely mentions *Phantom*, the film's dream sequences are not to be ignored as they strongly align with Expressionist characteristics. They start appearing after his accident, as he reimagines it in his mind. In these dream sequences, the townscape is distorted. Murnau manipulates the scene by focusing the light on the distorted buildings and shadowing the tunnel underneath. Lorenz appears in the shadow, clumsily chasing Veronika in her carriage.²⁰ Murnau captures Lorenz's delusional mind

¹⁵ *Nosferatu*, directed by Murnau, 00:35:15-01:10:30.

¹⁶ *Nosferatu*, directed by Murnau, 01:16:47-01:18:00.

¹⁷ Byrne, "German Cinematic Expressionism," 294.

¹⁸ *Phantom*, directed by Murnau.

¹⁹ Choe, *Afterlives*, 87.

²⁰ *Phantom*, directed by Murnau, 00:23:52-00:24:15.

through his use of lighting, creating a dream-like scene which enables the viewer to understand where Lorenz's mental state is going.

In 1926, Murnau's last year in Germany, he released *Faust*. It is considered his most Expressionist film due to its extensive use of lighting.²¹ *Faust* begins with the interaction between the Archangel, who is backed by explosions of lighting, and the Devil, who is surrounded by darkness.²² According to Frances Guerin, this separation of characters through contrasted lighting may have derived from the "Baroque triumph of the light of God over the shadow that has eclipsed the world in the form of illness."²³ Throughout the film, the Devil tries to prove to the Archangel, that Faust, an unsuspecting alchemist, will eventually succumb to evil due to temptation. The kind-hearted Faust lives in a village that is experiencing a plague and finds himself desperate to help in any way he can, leading him to make a pact with the Devil. When it is discovered that Faust has made a deal with the Devil, the village shuns him, and the bright light once projected on Faust disappears.²⁴ Lotte H. Eisner notes in her Murnau biography that *Faust* uses lighting and other modes of experimentation to full effect from the prologue to the end.²⁵ Eisner points out how Murnau covers the town "by the vast folds of a demon's cloak as the demoniac forces of darkness prepare to devour the powers of light."²⁶ The darkness covering the town creates suspense and alerts the audience that something horrific has struck the people. However, the lighting in *Faust* may also serve another purpose. Paul Coates asserts that "the film [*Faust*] draws on the *chiaroscuro* iconography of the late Rembrandt" (1606-1669) and "identifies the 'Jewish' Faust as the moral one."²⁷ While Rembrandt's painting style was far from Expressionist, it influenced the movement. By referencing Rembrandt's *chiaroscuro* and using lighting to show the Jewish Faust as morally good, Murnau displayed his pro-Jewish thinking. With a larger budget, more time, and a studio to work with, Murnau was finally able to experiment with lighting and other technologies to full effect. *Faust's* lighting captivates the viewer with its clear representation of good and evil.

II. Fear, Instability, and Morality

Murnau's films delve into the human psyche, which makes them relatable to audiences, and each of his films seems to address a different psychological dimension. A film focusing on death plays on human fears; thus, it evokes terror

²¹ *The Haunted Screen: German Film after World War One: A Film Essay*, directed by Peter Buchka (Princeton: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 2004; originally produced 1998), DVD.

²² *Faust*, directed by Murnau.

²³ Guerin, *Culture of Light*, 78.

²⁴ *Faust*, directed by Murnau.

²⁵ Eisner, *Murnau*, 164.

²⁶ Eisner, *Haunted Screen*, 185.

²⁷ Coates, *Gorgon's Gaze*, 35.

and suspense. A film focusing on mental instability or the mental downfall of a character causes audiences to consider their own mental state. And a film focusing on morality reminds audiences of the conundrum all humans have to face in their lifetime, namely, to choose between what is good and what is bad. In an essay on technology and the cinema, the German actor and writer Hanns Heinz Ewers (1871-1943) remarked, "In the cinema [...] I can dream. I live in the world of wonder, and yet this world comes alive only through my dreams."²⁸ According to Katharina Loew, an expert on German cinema, early German thinkers "imagined cinema as an external manifestation of the soul, existing in space between psyche and mechanized exterior reality."²⁹ German artists of the early twentieth century viewed film as a way of releasing and recreating one's thoughts and dreams.

Murnau's most popular film, *Nosferatu*, is more than a vampire film adapted from literature. The film evokes terror by making *Nosferatu* the embodiment of death. It has maintained its popularity well into the twenty-first century, despite its outdated graphics and technology, due its timeless horror. *Nosferatu* terrorizes the inhabitants of the town, with each victim's death blamed on the ongoing plague. According to film scholar Steve Choe, the film "seems to flirt with death with each passing moment," causing a "grim misery [that] cannot be avoided."³⁰ Death is mentioned as soon as the film begins. Its first frame reads, "A Chronicle of the Great Death in Wisborg, anno domini, 1838, by †††," and continues in the second frame, "*Nosferatu* – Does not this word sound like the call of the death bird at midnight?"³¹ Thus, *Nosferatu* is immediately associated with death. We then see Hutter and Ellen in the town of Wisborg, where Hutter is tasked with traveling to Transylvania to sell Count Orlok (a.k.a *Nosferatu* or death) a house in Wisborg.

As the film unfolds, mentions of death and words associated with death abound. Blood, ghosts, the Black Death—mere mentions of these prepare the audience for what is to come, namely, *Nosferatu* boarding the ship, killing the captain, the shipmates, and eventually the people of Wisborg. Some have interpreted *Nosferatu* as a response to World War I and the large numbers of lives lost, perhaps even Murnau's own experience as a soldier in the war and the loss of his best friend and life-partner Hans Ehrenbaum-Degele.³² Others consider the fear of a tyrant figure, such as *Nosferatu*, who would infiltrate a place not his own. According to Rona Unrau, Germans in the 1920s feared that the "tyrants responsible for World War I" were "still active agents in Germany" just like the Un-dead.³³ Murnau may well have produced *Nosferatu* and placed death at its

²⁸ Ewers, "Film and I," 22-23.

²⁹ Loew, "Spirit of Technology," 137.

³⁰ Choe, "Life and Death," 37.

³¹ *Nosferatu*, directed by Murnau, 00:01:17-00:01:38.

³² Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema*.

³³ Rona Unrau, "Eine Symphonie des Grauens or the Terror of Music: Murnau's *Nosferatu*," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1996): 234-240, here 235.

every corner because he felt surrounded by death. Whether or not this invocation of death was caused by World War I or Murnau's own personal experiences, audiences reacted to the horror on the screen, recalling their own fear of death.

Like *Nosferatu*, *Phantom* was adapted from literature, in this case Gerhart Hauptmann's contemporary novel of the same name. In this film, after encountering Veronika, Lorenz becomes more than fascinated: he becomes obsessed. With only Veronika on his mind, Lorenz numbly moves through the film, too distracted to face reality and longing to become a successful poet. He steals money from his aunt to spoil his Veronika-look-alike, all the while pretending to have riches and the woman he wants. In his analysis of *Phantom*, Steve Choe describes the film as a manifest of inner emotional life with complex characters and a plot that highlights the phantom allegory.³⁴ Veronika, as the phantom, is not Lorenz's reality; rather, she only appears in his flashbacks.

Phantom appeals to people's fear of facing their failures—their lack of success, riches, or mental stability. The second of these "lacks" is especially common in times of economic crisis, and when the film was made, the people of the Weimar Republic were experiencing such a crisis.³⁵ In fact, it almost affected the film's production, and according to Erich Pommer, financial adjustments had to be made for both this and future films.³⁶ Murnau portrays a detachment from reality and engagement with those phantoms that people hold inside. It is not until Lorenz lets go of his phantom that he reconnects with life—a solution that seems simple enough but is difficult to accomplish. Steve Choe argues that the trope of phantoms and haunting must have been nourished by the Weimar Republic's experience of loss.³⁷ Lorenz's downfall and exploration of his inner turmoil would have caught the interest of audience members as many people living during the Weimar Republic were experiencing their own financial and mental struggles.

Faust, adapted from sixteenth-century German folklore and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's play (1808), explores human morality. In the prologue, the Archangel proclaims that the greatest wonder is "man's freedom to choose between good and evil." He then looks toward Faust who has chosen to be good. However, the Devil (a.k.a. Mephisto) states that all knaves preach good but do evil, and that Faust "seeks to turn base metal into gold."³⁸ To prove the Archangel wrong, the Devil tempts Faust by striking the town with a deadly plague. Faust is soon exhausted from the calls of the villagers and the deaths he cannot prevent. In an apparent loss of faith, he burns his books. The audience then sees the Devil tempting Faust

³⁴ Choe, *Afterlives*. The "Phantom allegory" is defined as an imaginary vision that exists both in the past and present. According to Choe, journalists and intellectuals of the Weimar Republic described the undead by referring to moving images on screen.

³⁵ Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema*, 108.

³⁶ Cited in Choe, *Afterlives*, 84.

³⁷ Choe, *Afterlives*, 62.

³⁸ *Faust*, directed by Murnau, 00:03:00-00:04:50.

with a passage from a book, stating that aiding the Lord of Darkness would result in all the might and glory of the world. Faust, in a desperate attempt to help his village, does as the passage says, goes to the crossroads, and calls for Mephisto to appear. Faust and Mephisto strike a bargain: Faust will have almighty power for a day to help the village. But when Faust is called upon to help a dying villager, it turns out that he cannot be near a cross, which communicates to the villagers that he has been corrupted. Despite his desire to help others, he is shunned by the villagers. Faust succumbs to greed and asks Mephisto for youth and more. In the end, Faust realizes he no longer wishes to continue his debauchery, and he throws himself onto the fire with his beloved Gretchen, where they gaze into each other's eyes and rise to the heavens. The Archangel then proclaims that love has triumphed over all and that the Devil has lost.³⁹

Murnau created *Faust* to show the complexity of human behavior. Just like the character Faust, man cannot be entirely evil or good. The character is relatable as all humans tend to struggle with their morals, especially during hard times like the Weimar Republic. According to Paul Coates, the Faustian man "haunted both the Germans' imagination and the world's imagination of the German" that persisted in the 1920s,⁴⁰ when hyperinflation resulted in economic collapse and food shortages. It was not uncommon for Germans to find themselves forced to compromise their morals and steal food for their own benefit. Thus, the struggle of morality was relatable and would have resonated with audiences of *Faust*.

III. Reactions to Murnau's Films

1920s writers critiqued the appeal and artistic value of Expressionist cinema. Just like other art movements, Expressionist cinema featured shared elements that drew audiences in, however, Expressionist films also differed from each other in their narratives and cinematography. For Murnau in particular, films differed primarily with regard to their composition, for example, their use of *chiaroscuro* as a means to portray characters. It was then up to audiences and film critics to decide for themselves whether they took an interest in his films.

Before analyzing some contemporary reviews of Murnau's films, it is worthwhile to consider 1920s cinema in general. The Austrian writer and poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) explains the appeal of 1920s cinema in his essay "A Substitute for Dreams."⁴¹ According to von Hofmannsthal, a movie theater is where people go to "fill their imagination with pictures—strong images in which the essence of life is summarized." Von Hofmannsthal argues that common workingmen (i.e., those in industrialized areas) lack an imagination of their own due to the lives they are forced to lead. Though once children with dreams, adults may forget their dreams due to their daily routines and common

³⁹ *Faust*, directed by Murnau.

⁴⁰ Coates, *Gorgon's Gaze*, 35.

⁴¹ See von Hofmannsthal, "Substitute for Dreams," 52-56, for the above quote and paraphrase.

housing, and by becoming mere tools in the economy. The cinema provides them with the images they lack, and while there may be a lecture hall next to the cinema, moving pictures have more to offer than mere spoken language.⁴² Working-class people in the 1920s, von Hofmannsthal suggests, were especially tired of their mundane realities, and films offered an opportunity to temporarily escape from these realities. Films also affected audiences psychologically. As early as 1913, Walter Hasenclever had claimed that movies “hypnotize the audiences,” and sometime thereafter, Hugo Münsterberg had added that “cinema was superior to theatre because its effect on the audience was comparable to that of the ‘hypnotizer,’ their language evoked aspects of psychoanalytic praxis.”⁴³ Thus, von Hofmannsthal, Hasenclever, and Münsterberg agreed that people needed films to escape and access their own imagination. Murnau’s films offered such an escape.

Yet, while films can be used to escape reality, their characters, plots, and emotions still need to be relatable. According to German writer Siegfried Kracauer, Murnau’s films, which could be described as reality “surrounded by a halo of dreams,” attracted audiences for their blend of real-life depictions and fantasy.⁴⁴ The interest in films extends beyond their potential as a substitute for dreams. Béla Balázs, a Hungarian film director and film theorist, provides several reasons for films’ attraction, among them facial expressions and how “the actual drama and the essential content of the film play out on [the] face.” In Balázs’s example, he attended the screening of a French film and, “for an hour and a half, watched the play of a face in which hope, fear, joy, compassion, sorrow, courage white-hot faith, and black despair flicker[ed],” and neither he nor the other audience members grew tired of watching these expressions.⁴⁵ Remembering his own theatre background, Murnau ensured that his actors took the importance of facial expressions to heart.⁴⁶ In *Nosferatu*, Count Orlok is immediately frightening – not just because of his appearance, but because of his acting. Max Schreck, as Count Orlok, played the part by looking menacing for the majority of the film, especially at the dinner table when his face is finally shown. His stare is not an average stare, but one that evokes fear.⁴⁷ The importance of facial expressions can also be observed in *Phantom* when Lorenz dances with the Veronika-look-alike: she may not notice it, but viewers see – in his blank stare – that his mind is drifting off into nothingness, and he then begins to look uncomfortable and paranoid.⁴⁸ Just as

⁴² Von Hofmannsthal, “Substitute for Dreams,” 53.

⁴³ Cited in Tan Waelchli, “22 September 1907: Sigmund Freud Is Attracted to the Movies but Feels Lonely in the Crowd,” in *A New History of German Cinema*, ed. Jennifer M. Kapczynski and Michael D. Richardson (Rochester: Camden House, 2014; Ebook; first published 2012), 56-62.

⁴⁴ Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 78.

⁴⁵ Balázs, “From *The Visible Human* (1924),” 98.

⁴⁶ Eisner, *Murnau*, 10.

⁴⁷ *Nosferatu*, directed by Murnau, 00:22:00.

⁴⁸ *Phantom*, directed by Murnau, 01:35:23-01:35:47.

Balázs had recognized, facial expressions draw viewers in and facilitate their understanding of contents and characters. As these films are silent, facial expressions tell much of the story. Thus, moviegoers of the 1920s used cinema as a way to escape into fantasy, all the while looking for relatable human-life elements, and they were drawn in by the actors' facial expressions.

Nosferatu did well with German audiences due to its horror, its actors, and its blend of reality and fantasy. The film premiered on March 4, 1922, in the Marble Hall of the Berlin Zoo, hosted by Prana Film as "The Festival of *Nosferatu*." Film critics praised the performances by Max Schreck as Count Orlok (*Nosferatu*), Gustav von Wangenheim as Thomas Hutter, and Greta Schröder as Ellen Hutter, the music by Hans Erdmann, and F. W. Murnau's directing. Aros, a pseudonym for Alfred Rosenthal (1888-1942), a German film journalist and lobbyist, echoed this praise, and he complimented that the mood of the script was so "perfectly reflected in the landscape."⁴⁹ The actors of *Nosferatu* were rightfully praised for their dramatic, Expressionist acting, especially Max Schreck who gave life to a horrendous, unsympathetic creature. Indeed, critics were much impressed with the horror of *Nosferatu*, with its "ghostly carriages," "nightmares [chasing] people, plague [breaking out]," and "a ghost-human being crawl[ing], climbing across the screen."⁵⁰ *Nosferatu* fascinated audiences at the premiere with its fantasy story, but part of its appeal may have been that it reminded Germans of the horrors of the recent war. Fortunately, the legal battles between Prana Film and Bram Stoker's estate did not lead to *Nosferatu*'s total disappearance as pirated copies circulated throughout Europe and even made their way to America.

In January 1923, a few months after *Phantom*'s release, the film was discussed by an unknown author in *Kinematograph Weekly*. The article describes *Phantom* as "typically German," points to its "bold and interesting construction [containing] some valuable novelties," and notes that it is "permeated by a morbid Romanticism, just now widespread in Germany."⁵¹ *Phantom* certainly emphasizes emotions and how they are expressed by the various characters. According to Lotte H. Eisner, the turmoil of post-World-War-I Germany revived "the ghosts which had haunted the German Romantics."⁵² Eisner argues that, due to the 1920s' constant insecurity, enduring poverty, and nostalgia for the past, German Expressionist film embraced certain characteristics of Romanticism. As Paul Coates has pointed out, the two movements were similar in how they "may bring into the light the repressed and oppressed of society."⁵³ Thus, one might argue that *Phantom* resonated with post-World-War-I German audience members due to

⁴⁹ Rosenthal, "Symphonie des Grauens:" "Ich sah selten ein Werk, bei dem die Stimmung des Manuskripts sich so vollendet in der Landschaft widerspiegelt."

⁵⁰ EJ, "Nosferatu."

⁵¹ "German Film Profits," January 25, 1923.

⁵² Eisner, *Haunted Screen*, 9-15.

⁵³ Coates, *Gorgon's Gaze*, 34.

its Romantic elements. While the focus is on Lorenz, other characters—his mother, his sister, and his friend, for example—also express their emotions. Viewers can witness a woman experiencing depression, a man struggling with his mental health, and several characters grappling with financial hardships. But there is also a resolution at the end, and hope is restored, which would have appealed to audience members seeking to escape from the harsh realities of their lives.

Reactions to German Expressionist films were not confined to their country of origin. Soon after *Faust's* release in 1926, a Spanish film magazine, *Popular Film*, promoted it. Its advertisement page, "Frente a la Pantalla,"⁵⁴ praised Murnau's film for its interesting graphics and extraordinary film interpretation, as well as superb directing.⁵⁵ To popularize German film around the world, Erich Pommer, the film's German producer, had assembled an international cast for *Faust*, featuring German actors Emil Jannings (as Mephisto), Camilla Horn (as Gretchen), and Wilhelm Dieterle (as Gretchen's brother), the Swedish actor Gösta Ekman in the title role as Faust, and the French actress Yvette Guilbert (as Gretchen's aunt).⁵⁶ According to Pommer's rationale, casting actors from other countries would mean that audiences in those countries might watch the film to see "their" respective actors. Whether Pommer's calculation added up or whether it was mere coincidence, *Faust* enjoyed considerable success abroad. However, there was some debate about *Faust* after its release in Germany⁵⁷ due to its ending: in Murnau's film, Faust is saved by love, which is rather different from Goethe's famous play, and many Germans resented the idea of their poets' classical works being altered in any way. This, so Paul Coates, may explain, though, why the film did so well abroad: "it is at least attempting to fill a logical gap in Goethe's work, which leaves it unclear why Faust should be saved."⁵⁸ Due to the popularity of Goethe's *Faust*, German audiences would have been attracted to Murnau's film—at least initially. Yet, with an international audience in mind, it was just as sensible for Murnau to provide a relatable reason why Faust should be saved. Murnau's *Faust* may not have received the attraction it deserved in Germany, but it did well in other countries, thereby making a way for its director's success elsewhere.

Conclusion

Since the beginning of film production in the late nineteenth century, audiences have flocked to movie theaters for entertainment. Thus, when Germany banned most foreign films in World War I—despite an increasing demand for new films—German Expressionist cinema was born. German filmmakers set out to create their own content and, in the process, rejected earlier film styles in favor of

⁵⁴ Spanish for "in front of the screen."

⁵⁵ *Popular Film: Frente a la pantalla* (Barcelona: Redacción y administración, 1926), 10.

⁵⁶ Sterritt, "Faust: A German Folktale," 63.

⁵⁷ Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 148-149.

⁵⁸ Coates, *Gorgon's Gaze*, 34.

Expressionist experimentation. F. W. Murnau, the director of *Nosferatu* (1922), *Phantom* (1922), and *Faust* (1926), is considered a pioneer of Expressionist cinema. Each of these three films is unique in its theme and plot, yet each of these three films appealed to audiences. Murnau successfully employed *chiaroscuro* for horror, the separation of reality and dreams, and the distinction between good and evil. Indeed, Murnau's use of lighting made fear, mental struggles, and moral dilemmas come to life. Audiences were mesmerized by Murnau's combination of lighting and narrative development. They praised his actors for their performances and Murnau himself for his vision. And his films did not stay in Germany; rather, they found their way abroad where they received additional acclaim and prepared the way for Murnau's career in America – a career that was cut short by a tragic accident in 1931.

One can only imagine how Murnau's genius would have impacted sound film. Throughout his career, he worked with what he had and did exceptionally well. What is even more of a mystery are Murnau's many lost films, for we would love to know how they compare to his surviving ones. We are fortunate enough, though, that the once lost film *Nosferatu* was brought back to life due to the persistence of Luciano Berriatúa.⁵⁹ I suspect that Murnau's lost films share his particular blend of fantasy and humanity. As Murnau once said, "I like the reality of things, but not without fantasy; they must dovetail."⁶⁰ This blend, to me, explains why his films remain timeless. Even though they are silent, each one them speaks volumes in its own way.

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⁵⁹ Luciano Berriatúa, *F. W. Murnau* (Bilbao: Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2002), [online](#), accessed June 14, 2022.

⁶⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, "The Ideal Picture Needs No Titles: By Its Very Nature the Art of the Screen Should Tell a Complete Story Pictorially," trans. *Theatre magazine*, in *German Essays on Film*, ed. Richard McCormick and Alison Guenther-Pal (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 66-68, here 67.

Joseph Dainko Young

*One Vision, One Metropolis, One Village:
The Impact and Legacy of the 1932 Los Angeles Athletic City*

ABSTRACT: *The 1932 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, California, were the first major international sports competition to feature an Athletic Village – an attempt to bring athletes of multiple nationalities, ethnicities, and ideologies together in one centralized location. Using documents from the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.), newspaper articles, oral histories, and other 1932 ephemera, this article argues that the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Village was successful and shaped the future of the modern Olympic experience.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; Los Angeles; 1932 Summer Olympics; Athletic Village; International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.); Pierre de Coubertin; William M. Garland; newspapers; travel guides*

Introduction

In 1928, the international athletic community presented the city of Los Angeles with a challenge: “Can you bring men of multiple nationalities, ethnicities, and ideologies together for a two-week global sporting event and house them peacefully in one centralized location—an ‘Athletic City’?” By 1932, Los Angeles was able to answer this challenge with a resounding “Yes, we can!” The Los Angeles Summer Olympics demonstrated to the world that the implementation of an Olympic Village—the first of its kind—had the potential to encourage young men to set aside long-held animosities. After the Games, the *Los Angeles Times* reminded its readers how critics had assessed the endeavor’s chances for success:

“Never,” was the general opinion. “You can’t pen men of all nations together, men from countries, perhaps, who believe they have age-old hatreds; young men whose races, beliefs, and ideals conflict.” But Los Angeles did it. They were not only penned, these men from all over the world, they were offered a beautiful home that became more than a home to them.¹

This article considers the history of accommodations at the Olympics before the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) awarded Los Angeles the 1932 Summer Games; the respective transformation and self-marketing of Los Angeles; and the creation of the Olympic Village. It argues that the 1932 Los Angeles Olympic Village was successful and shaped the future of the modern Olympic experience.

The source material for this article includes the I.O.C.’s own documentation on housing athletes from the first half of the twentieth century to the present;² its core

¹ Terrel Delapp, “End of Olympic Village Near: Athletes’ City to be Completely Erased From Hillside,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1932.

² Centre d’Études Olympiques, *Olympic Summer Games Villages from Paris 1924 to Rio 2016* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2017), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022; Centre d’Études Olympiques, *Olympic Winter Games Villages from Oslo 1952 to Pyeong Chang 2018* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2018), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

text – the Olympic Charter which states the goals of the Olympic Games;³ and the official report of the Xth Olympiad Committee on the 1932 Games in Los Angeles.⁴ The event received extensive media and publicity coverage; thus, articles from the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as local periodicals, promotions, and historical photographs from the University Archives and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton,⁵ provide additional evidence.

The history of the Olympic Village has attracted some scholarly attention. Xia Gao's and Te Bu's 2011 article offers an overall assessment of this feature,⁶ arguing that the Olympic Village was much closer to the vision of Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937), the founding father of the modern Olympics, than has previously been thought. The city of Los Angeles and its use of the Olympics to pull itself out of an economic slump is the topic of Barry Siegel's recent monograph, *Dreamers and Schemers: How an Improbable Bid for the 1932 Olympics Transformed Los Angeles from Dusty Outpost to Global Metropolis* (2019);⁷ Siegel focuses on William May Garland (1866-1948), the "prince of realtors," and his efforts to convince the city of Los Angeles to bid for the 1932 Olympics. The long-range impact of the Olympic Village is the topic of Roger D. Moore's 2015 Master's thesis, "1932 Los Angeles Olympics: A Model for a Broken System;" Moore analyzes the—at the time—innovative plan of a dedicated living area for the athletes and how it shaped the infrastructure and spirit of future events. The Olympic Village, first tested in Los Angeles in 1932, became not just a practical component of the Olympic experience; it helped achieve the I.O.C.'s goal of fostering global unity and fellowship.⁸

I. A Vision for the Success of the Olympic Games in the United States of America

Prior to the introduction of the Olympic Village at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles, the athletes' accommodations had been the I.O.C.'s responsibility. In an article for the *Los Angeles Times*, published well over a year before the Games, Ralph Huston informed his readers that Baron Pierre de Coubertin deserved the credit for revitalizing the Olympics as a modern-day experience. According to Huston's research, Coubertin had intended to improve France through physical

³ Centre d'Études Olympiques, *Olympic Charter: In Force as from 17 July 2020* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2020), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

⁴ *The Games of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles 1932: Official Report* (Los Angeles: The Xth Olympiad Committee, 1933).

⁵ For example, *Southern California Tourist Travel Guide: Complete Program of Events, Xth Olympiad 1932*, California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), University Archives & Special Collections (UA&SC), Local History Collection (LHC) 236-20-6 1932 Olympics.

⁶ Xia Gao and Te Bu, "Research on Historical Origin of Olympic Village," *Asian Social Science* 7 no. 3 (Spring 2011): 123-130.

⁷ Barry Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers: How an Improbable Bid for the 1932 Olympics Transformed Los Angeles from Dusty Outpost to Global Metropolis* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

⁸ Centre d'Études Olympiques, *Olympic Charter*.

education, and he believed that reviving the Olympics would be beneficial – not just for France, but for global peace. In Huston’s word,

[t]he good Baron, raised in both military and public schools, had seen the raving effects France had suffered in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. His first idea was to stimulate athletic activity in France to develop a strong, hardy race. Later, he developed the plan of a worldwide athletic carnival which, he hoped, would promote universal peace.⁹

Thus, Coubertin wanted both a better France and a better world, and he was convinced that communal athletic activity could be a means to this end. According to Xia Gao and Te Bu, Coubertin’s vision was remarkably holistic:

Coubertin believed [that] sports activities organized according to definite rules were beneficial to young people and the whole human being, not only good for physical quality, but especially conducive to improve moral standard. At the same time, profoundly affected by the French Social Reformer Frederic Le Play (1860-1882), Coubertin had a strong social responsibility for the extensive public, especially the proletariat.¹⁰

The Olympics were not conceived as an exclusive event for the elites: they were intended to be inclusive of all social classes, from the loftiest of nobles to the poorest of the poor. In addition, they were supposed to boost moral standards and, ultimately, make war less likely.

Organizing an international athletic competition meant providing suitable accommodations, facilities for exercise and training, proper nutrition, and places for restful recovery. According to historical reports on the early Olympic Summer and Winter Games, accommodations prior to 1932 had been limited in scope, not particularly effective from an athletic standpoint, and decentralized. As Anne K. Hutton has shown in her 2001 dissertation, “The Olympic Games: Lessons for Future Host Cities,”

[i]n the early years, no effort was made to house the athletes collectively. Often, visiting countries would try to find accommodation at local hotels, schools, and in some cases even the ship on which the delegations had travelled. During the conferences held before the 1924 Olympics in Paris, the idea of the Olympic Village was first introduced. The first attempt at a Village occurred in Paris, where sets of barracks were used near the Colombes stadium, and where services such as mail and telegraphs were provided.¹¹

Given the I.O.C.’s relative “youth,” the logistical shortcomings of the early Games are somewhat understandable; however, by the time of the Paris Games of 1924, there had already been six such Games (the 1916 Games had been cancelled due to World War I), and the need to come up with solutions was evident.

As Hutton’s findings indicate, the basic needs of athletes and trainers with regard to food, shelter, and rest had traditionally been managed “ad hoc” with

⁹ Ralph Huston, “Frenchman Started Olympics: Baron de Coubertin Conceived Idea for Modern Revival of Ancient Greek Games: First Renewal Staged in Athens in Honor of Early Originators,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 1931.

¹⁰ Gao and Bu, “Research on Historical Origin,” 124.

¹¹ Anne K. Hutton, “The Olympic Games: Lessons for Future Host Cities” (Ph.D. diss., Dalhousie University, 2001), 11.

whatever was available at the moment and far from meticulously planned. The I.O.C.'s official literature corroborates that everybody who participated in the Games, "generally stayed in hotels, public or military buildings, with local people, or even on the boats which had transported them there."¹² All things considered, the 1924 Paris Games were a substantial improvement.

They had furnished wooden huts and were intended for three people. The Village offered shared services such as a post office, a currency exchange office, a left luggage office, a telegraph and telephone service, a laundry, a newspaper kiosk and a hairdresser. The Village also had running water and dining halls, offering three meals a day.¹³

One could call this a "proto-Village," since it had sufficient, albeit temporary services, charged the athletes rent, and was demolished afterwards.¹⁴ Yet, while it was a place for the main actors of the Olympics to lay their heads at the end of the day, it was far from an adequate shelter. The early Olympics were still rather hastily assembled and not taken too seriously. With the exception of the 1904 Games in St. Louis, they usually took place in older, more established European cities that did not consider building a new athletic living space in or around their city limits necessary or desirable; thus, the planners of these Games simply utilized anything available to them for temporary use.

As Coubertin had envisioned, the Olympics were bringing the world closer together, but this was not without its issues. Athletes needed a place to eat, sleep, train, and rest when they were not competing, and a host city, as well as the I.O.C., could not just hope to be able to rely on whatever might be available to handle the needs of a multi-day international sporting event. After all, this lacked the professionalism associated with world-class events. Thus, while the 1924 Paris Olympics had already been on the right track, it would take considerable foresight to turn the experience in Los Angeles into something sufficiently refined to lay the groundwork for a new Olympic staple.

II. The City of Dreams Wakes Up to Its Potential

While the I.O.C. was looking for future Olympic venues, the city of Los Angeles was looking for opportunities to boost its image. The city needed to promote itself to generate tourism, attract investors, and stimulate the economy. By the time the Great Depression hit the United States in 1929, Los Angeles would still be recovering from the consequences of the post-war recession. The job market was down, so were salaries, and while there was a general hope for economic prosperity, few assumed that it would materialize anytime soon. In 1920, the city's elite had banded together and formed a Community Development Association (C.D.A.) to jump-start their community's hitherto non-existent tourism industry. At this point in time, Maximilian F. Ihmsen (1868-1921), the publisher of a local

¹² Centre d'Études Olympiques, *Olympic Summer Games Villages*, 5.

¹³ Centre d'Études Olympiques, *Olympic Summer Games Villages*, 8.

¹⁴ Centre d'Études Olympiques, *Olympic Summer Games Villages*, 8-9.

newspaper, the *Examiner*, proposed that Los Angeles should bid for the Olympic Games, and William Garland, a prominent member of the community and successful realtor, was deemed up to the challenge of accomplishing this task.¹⁵ Garland figured that the Olympics were a perfect vehicle to revitalize the city's economy through international tourism and investment. He had initially hoped that Los Angeles would be able to host either the 1924 or 1928 Games, but these were then taken by Paris and Amsterdam respectively.¹⁶ Bold action was needed, and steps would have to be taken to facilitate a competitive bid.

The first thing Garland needed to do was to convince the city's elite to buy into his vision and into his respective plan for action. These were not directors and movie stars but, rather, landlords and newspaper moguls.¹⁷ Cuthbert E. Reeves's 1932 study, *The Valuation of Business Lots in Downtown Los Angeles*, paints a picture of the period's properties in downtown Los Angeles and their overall worth; it shows that the city had been borrowing heavily between 1923 and 1930, and that, aside from a few "hot spots" where community trade was established, most of the properties were unprofitable farmland.¹⁸ This demonstrates the monetary stakes for landowners in Los Angeles who carried heavy debts and had no way of paying them back. In her article, "When Los Angeles Was Host to the Olympic Games of 1932," Grace A. Somerby outlines William Garland's 1921 plan to assemble four newspaper publishers for a meeting concerning a business opportunity and the future of Los Angeles, namely, "Harry Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*; Edward A. Dickson, publisher of the *Evening Express*; Max Ihmsen, publisher of the *Examiner*; and Guy B. Barham, publisher of the *Evening Herald*."¹⁹ According to Somerby, "Mr. Garland initiated the idea of endeavoring to secure the Olympic Games for Los Angeles. It would be a formidable undertaking, he admitted, because several nations were already competing for the honor."²⁰ Garland had just one proposal for these four, and that was for Los Angeles to bid against the other American cities for the opportunity to host the Games: "If you four publishers would be willing to throw the combined force of your powerful newspapers behind a project of this sort, it can be done."²¹ Following the meeting, all four voiced their support for Garland's plan.²² Existing scholarship

¹⁵ Steven A. Riess, "Power without Authority: Los Angeles' Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1 (1981): 50-65, here 52.

¹⁶ Riess, "Power without Authority," 53.

¹⁷ Riess, "Power without Authority," 51.

¹⁸ Cuthbert E. Reeves, *The Valuation of Business Lots in Downtown Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research, 1932), 5-6.

¹⁹ Grace A. Somerby, "When Los Angeles Was Host to the Olympic Games of 1932," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1952): 125-132, here 125.

²⁰ Somerby, "When Los Angeles Was Host," 126.

²¹ Somerby, "When Los Angeles Was Host," 126.

²² Somerby, "When Los Angeles Was Host," 126.

acknowledges the backroom deals that were negotiated for the sake of the city. While power brokers like Harry Chandler were members of the C.D.A., the other landowners still needed to be brought on board. For example, the future Olympic Village's location in Baldwin Hills was given to the Los Angeles Organizing Committee (L.A.O.C.) by Anita Baldwin (1876-1939), the heiress of oil tycoon and landowner Elias Jackson "Lucky" Baldwin, in exchange for the promise that it would be returned to her after the Games, meaning that the Athletic Village would have to be demolished after the Olympics.²³ Thus, the city's landowners understood that they needed to use their wealth to invest in the city's future, but they proceeded with caution.

Once Garland had the city's elite on his side, he needed to garner the I.O.C.'s attention. One of his plans was to have the city celebrate a ten-day *fiesta* in September 1931 for the 150th anniversary of the *pueblo* of Los Angeles. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the event extended "from Washington Street north on Broadway to First Street, then east to Main Street and North to the Plaza [...] *La Fiesta*, they called it, but it might better be known as *La Mas Brillante Forma de Hacer Historia*: The Most Brilliant Manner of Making History."²⁴ As Siegel has pointed out, the *fiesta* intended to promote the city's identity to the world, "spread the fame of Los Angeles far and wide, and bring in a harvest of tourists;"²⁵ if its coverage in the *Los Angeles Times* is any indication, Garland's *fiesta* was a resounding success. Garland also mobilized resources like the Los Angeles aviation industry, radio, and movie studios to assist him in promoting the city's unique charm.²⁶ Los Angeles was the city where movies were being made in America, and Hollywood was becoming a household name throughout the world. Why not use this priceless resource? After all, one can get more attention for one's city if there is the possibility of meeting Clark Gable or Barbara Stanwyck there. Garland's campaign did not just garner the attention of the I.O.C.; he was able to find a friend in Baron Pierre de Coubertin. According to Siegel, "Billy" Garland, "three years his [i.e., Coubertin's] junior, [...] somehow left the baron feeling like he was talking to a fellow aristocrat. [...] Billy forged bonds as well with most members of the I.O.C., once the baron let him into their dimly lit meeting rooms."²⁷ His personal connection with the founder of the modern Olympics ultimately allowed Garland to successfully market the city to the I.O.C.

²³ Jeremy Scott White, "Constructing the Invisible Landscape: Organizing the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), 99.

²⁴ "City Acclaims La Fiesta Opening in Colorful Pageant: Queen Crowning Cheered By Throng of 87,000: State and National Leaders Attend Official Birthday Ceremony on City Hall Steps: La Fiesta de Los Angeles Program for Saturday," *Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 1931.

²⁵ Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers*, 115.

²⁶ Jeremy Scott White, "'The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things': The Olympic Village and the Practice of Boosterism in 1932," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 11 (Spring 2002): 79-116, here 87.

²⁷ Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers*, 38.

Los Angeles had been at an economic standstill even before the Great Depression. Reviving the city's fortunes took a vision and a bold plan that, given the odds, really should not have worked. The local elite, despite their rivalries, had to get on the same page, and they did. Smooth cooperation with outside entities like the I.O.C. was crucial, and it worked. Garland's vision and bold plan soon paid dividends, as both Los Angeles and the I.O.C. realized on July 30, 1932, the opening day of the Summer Olympics.

III. The City of Angels Finds An Answer to Its Prayers

The 1932 Olympic Village was the culmination of creative ideas that solved the I.O.C.'s housing dilemma, enhanced the Olympic experience, and benefited the city of Los Angeles. The development that came to be known as the Olympic Village had initially been proposed by L.A.O.C. General Secretary Zack J. Farmer, though the idea was at first rejected due to the costs associated with it. When the Athletic Village was eventually constructed, financial discipline remained a top priority.²⁸ According to Jeremy Scott White's dissertation, "Constructing the Invisible Landscape: Organizing the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles," the initial plan included cottages that were architecturally personalized for the nationality of the athletes staying in them, but that was scrapped due to costs:

Ultimately, the cottages were painted beige with a rose-colored band along the base, a color scheme that was supposed to reinforce the Mission Style of the Administration Building. Rather than celebrate the architectural styles of visiting nations, as in a world's fair and as originally intended, the Organizing Committee took the expedient course of celebrating an architectural theme supposedly native to Los Angeles.²⁹

Siegel describes what the Village, designed by H. O. Davis, was to look like:

More than 2000 athletes and support personnel if they all came to Los Angeles could be housed in the 550 cottages, each fourteen by twenty-four feet, spaced ten feet apart, spread over three miles. Every bungalow contained a wash basin, a cold-water shower and two ten-by-ten bathrooms, both with an entrance from the outside. Bathhouses [...] were spaced throughout the grounds, featuring hot showers, steam rooms, and rubbing tables [...]. The Village would have its own fire house, emergency hospital, barbershop, post office, laundry, radiotelegraph station, amphitheater, sauna, recreation room, physiotherapy centers and a lounge furnished in chic Spanish mission style. All this would come with a splendid view and temperatures 10 degrees cooler than on the flatlands of L.A.; the Baldwin Hills track, just 10 minutes from the Colosseum, overlooked not only Los Angeles but also the Pacific Ocean, the Santa Monica Mountains and the distant Sierra Madre range.³⁰

Cyclist Russel Allen, who participated in the 1932 Summer Olympics, mentioned the Village and the cottages briefly in his 1988 interview: "It was a Village that they built out in the Crenshaw area. We had little makeshift lean-to cottages that were

²⁸ John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 75.

²⁹ White, "Constructing the Invisible Landscape," 101-102.

³⁰ Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers*, 126-127.



Figure 1: 1932 L.A. Olympic Village, Administration Building (CSUF, UA&SC, LHC 236-20-6, Album).



Figure 2: 1932 L.A. Olympic Village, Main Street (CSUF, UA&SC, LHC 236-20-6, Album).



Figure 3: 1932 L.A. Olympic Village, Athletes' Houses (CSUF, UA&SC, LHC 236-20-6, Album).

quite nice.”³¹ The total cost for the Village came in at nearly \$500,000. The official report of the Xth Olympiad describes the project’s partial funding as follows:

Exceeding the requirements under the Olympic Protocol, the Committee, in a further effort to reduce the costs for participants, decided to offer all of the facilities and advantages of the Olympic Village to the participants on a basis of charges considerably less than actual cost. A rate of two dollars per day was fixed for each Village occupant toward the cost of his housing, dining service, local transportation, entertainment and general care. This charge, together with the reduced transportation rate, made it possible for the Committee to submit in its report to the Congress a suggested budget of five hundred dollars or less for each participant from European shores, covering his journey to Los Angeles, his stay in the city for thirty days, and his return home, as against preliminary estimates by various countries averaging as high as fifteen hundred dollars.³²

According to White’s dissertation, costs were kept at half of what had been estimated, making the Games in southern California economically feasible for the athletes,³³ which would have been a convincing argument for the I.O.C. as well.

Coubertin hoped that the Games would be an example of global brotherhood, but if the political rivalries of the day could not be permanently removed, maybe they could be temporarily suspended during this international sporting event. At least allegedly, this seems to have worked in 1932. The official report of the Xth Olympiad characterizes the French and German participation as follows:

The swimming events of the Games of the Xth Olympiad provided many of the most thrilling performances of the competitions. Contested in a magnificent new pool, approved as ideal by the International Swimming Federation, the events drew capacity audiences and Olympic records were shattered in practically every event.³⁴

Given the state of world affairs in 1932, the respective French and German athletic spirit certainly was a major theme for the Xth Olympiad. However, as Sandra Heck and Thierry Terret have pointed out in their 2011 article, “The 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles: A New Beginning in the French and German Press Representation of the Former Enemy?” some caution is in order. While athletes from both countries saw each other throughout the event, they did not have the opportunity to compete against each other most of the time.³⁵ Most of the political jabs came from the German side which either dismissed German failures or simply did not acknowledge French victories. Meanwhile, France remained neutral about the competition, preferring to focus on America and its contributions to hosting

³¹ Russell Allen, “An Olympian’s Oral History: Russell Allen, 1932 Olympic Games, Cycling.” interview by George A. Hodak, February 1988, *LA84 Foundation: Digital Library Collections*, [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

³² *The Games of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles 1932: Official Report*, 47.

³³ White, “Constructing the Invisible Landscape,” 99.

³⁴ *The Games of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles 1932: Official Report*, 597.

³⁵ Sandra Heck and Thierry Terret, “The 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles: A New Beginning in the French and German Press Representation of the Former Enemy?” *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 20 (2011): 79-100.

and participating in the Games, especially in the swimming category.³⁶ France even praised Germany, though less for its athletes and more for “the country’s capacity to perform despite the difficulties stemming from the worldwide depression.”³⁷ Overall, the Games seem to have proceeded without any overt political controversies.

Among the athletes, camaraderie and friendship were certainly more prevalent than rivalry and strife. The organizers had initially intended to divide the athletes into groups based on their national backgrounds:

The various teams would “be given neighbors in accordance with their national sympathies.” The Latin Americans would be together, except for the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians who would align with the southern Europeans; France will be next to its Little-Entente allies; Germany and the former Central Powers would line up with the Scandinavian nations; the British would dwell with other countries of the Commonwealth.³⁸

Despite these neat geopolitical efforts by the organizers, there was a sense of community among the athletes regardless of whether their countries were politically aligned. Peter D. Clentzos expressed this notion in his 1987 interview: “In the Olympic Village you could see it everywhere because in those days there weren’t too many nations involved with the Olympic Movement. [...] We respected one another. When we met we said hello without any retreat. We just believed in each other.”³⁹ The organizers’ caution was understandable, though, as this was the first time that so many diverse athletes would be living together in one centralized setting. According to a 1987 interview by track-and-field athlete Evelyne Hall Adams, the athletes witnessed little discrimination:

I wasn’t aware of any discrimination but I know that there was some. Later on I met Frances Holmes who was a 1908 standing high jumper from Brazil. He was on the American team in 1908. He said that the Americans did not fully accept him as a member of their team. But I think the discrimination was very slight.”⁴⁰

Apparently Adams herself was especially beloved by the Japanese athletes:

I was trying to say that I was going to practice but, of course, they couldn’t understand me. We were only communicating by using our hands or smiling. So off to their room I went, and they dressed me in all their beautiful kimonos and robes, the shoes, the fans, the whole works. Then, when I tried to give these things back to them, they protested. I told them I couldn’t accept these very expensive gifts, but while I was protesting, the manager, who spoke English, said to me, “Please Evelyne, keep these. They have elected you Japan’s adopted daughter. They

³⁶ Heck and Terret, “1932 Olympic Games,” 88.

³⁷ Heck and Terret, “1932 Olympic Games,” 89.

³⁸ Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers*, 126-127.

³⁹ Peter D. Clentzos, “An Olympian’s Oral History: Peter D. Clentzos, 1932 Olympic Games, Track & Field,” interview by George A. Hodak, October 1987, *LA84 Foundation: Digital Library Collections*, [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

⁴⁰ Evelyne Hall Adams, “An Olympian’s Oral History: Evelyne Hall Adams, 1932 Olympic Games, Track & Field,” interview by George A. Hodak, October 1987 *LA84 Foundation: Digital Library Collections*, [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

want you to accept their humble gifts.” So that was a thrill—to be Japan’s adopted daughter. I was also really honored when I was selected as the friendliest girl in the Village.⁴¹

Thus, it appears that many of the athletes saw themselves as colleagues and friends, regardless of national borders and the politics of the day.

While the I.O.C. was hoping for successful Olympic Games, the city of Los Angeles made every effort to capitalize on the event by marketing itself as a major metropolitan destination. One example of this was the distribution of tourism booklets that highlighted suitable activities for visitors in the city and southern California during the games, like the *Southern California Tourist Travel Guide: Complete Program of Events Xth Olympiad 1932*.⁴² This travel guide particularly referenced the city’s entertainment industry, hoping that visitors to the Olympic Games would also be interested in sightseeing tours that could take them inside a movie studio or enable them to see Charlie Chaplin at his house.⁴³ According to Jeremy Scott White’s article, “The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things” (2002), Hollywood—and all the glitz and romance associated with it—was more noteworthy than the city it was based in.⁴⁴ At an I.O.C. meeting in Prague prior to the 1932 Games, a Central European delegate asked Garland, “Where is Los Angeles? Is it anywhere near Hollywood?” and during a 1930 conference in Berlin, Garland and Farmer utilized film reels to demonstrate that they would be able to host the Olympics as well as accentuate the cinematic nature and “exotic modernity” that a city like Los Angeles had to offer.⁴⁵ Thus, the Games’ organizers quickly adapted to the reality that people all over the world were aware of Hollywood, movie stars, and “Tinseltown,” but not of the city of Los Angeles.

The Xth Olympiad shaped Los Angeles and the Games not just because of its innovative Olympic Village. The 1932 Olympic experience became the gold standard for much of the twentieth century. Germany certainly took inspiration from the 1932 Games and utilized a similar structure, with help from its military, for its 1936 Olympics in Berlin;⁴⁶ however, the marketing aspect of the Berlin Games was much more sinister, as Nazi Germany used the event’s global platform to subvert the Olympic ideal and propagate “Aryan” superiority. Back in Los Angeles, the 1932 Games garnered not just immediate praise but also financial rewards and opportunities. The Summer Olympics and surrounding convention events brought Los Angeles a hefty profit of 60 million dollars—the equivalent of 1.1 billion dollars in today’s marketplace. In addition, tourists started to take extended vacations in the region which also increasingly attracted international

⁴¹ Adams, “An Olympian’s Oral History.”

⁴² *Southern California Tourist Travel Guide: Complete Program of Events Xth Olympiad 1932*.

⁴³ *Southern California Tourist Travel Guide: Complete Program of Events Xth Olympiad 1932*, 17, 25.

⁴⁴ White, “The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things,” 87.

⁴⁵ White, “The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things,” 87.

⁴⁶ Centre d’Études Olympiques, *Olympic Summer Games Villages*, 14-16.

traders and investors, thus realizing the C.D.A.'s vision.⁴⁷ Those buildings of the Olympic Village that were not demolished after the Games were either sold, adding more revenue to the city's coffers, or donated; according to a 1932 article in the *Los Angeles Times*, Japan was to receive one of the cottages as a "lasting shrine of friendship."⁴⁸ Scholars acknowledge that the 1932 Olympics launched a new era in the Games' modern history. Emily Ramey's 2017 dissertation, "Los Angeles and the Summer Olympics: How Los Angeles Commercialized the Olympic Games in 1932 and 1984, Changing the Future of the Olympics," notes that future Olympics sought to emulate the Los Angeles paradigm, and when the Games returned to Los Angeles in 1984, they were handled by an experienced and thriving international metropolis.⁴⁹ To the city of Los Angeles, the 1932 Games brought an economic stimulus; to future host cities, they modeled a successful marketing campaign; and to the I.O.C., they offered a framework for accommodations and training that would dramatically improve the Olympic experience—so much so that the quality of the Olympic Village is now very much part of the competition, and athletes who have participated in multiple Olympic events can be called upon to compare and contrast their respective living and training experiences.

Conclusion

This article has showcased the fruitful collaboration between the city of Los Angeles and the International Olympic Committee that led to the successful Summer Olympics of 1932 and the creation of the first Olympic Village. From these Games, Los Angeles emerged as much more than just the old town next to Hollywood, namely, as a city with international promise and untapped financial potential. The 1932 Olympic Village offered a viable solution to the I.O.C. how athletes' accommodation could and should be handled in the future, thus moving the Games closer to Baron Pierre de Coubertin's vision of achieving peace through international sports competitions. Finally, Olympic venues after 1932 took a page out of the Los Angeles playbook when marketing themselves, their identities, and their cultures as integral parts of the international Olympic experience.

There is considerable room for additional research on this subject matter. For example, how do cities that prepare to host the Olympic Games of the future still reference the Xth Olympiad as a model? How can countries promote themselves by utilizing their most picturesque locations and, thus, stimulate travel and their economies beyond the Games themselves? And what innovations can organizers utilize to enhance the Olympic Village of the future? Another aspect worth examining is the correlation between cause and effect with regard to the planning

⁴⁷ Siegel, *Dreamers and Schemers*, 184.

⁴⁸ "Japan Gets Gift from Olympiad: Cottage Used by Athletes Here to Become Lasting Shrine of Friendship," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1932.

⁴⁹ Emily Ramey, "Los Angeles and the Summer Olympics: How Los Angeles Commercialized the Olympic Games in 1932 and 1984, Changing the Future of the Olympics" (Ph.D. diss., The Claremont Graduate University, 2017).

and execution of the 1932 Games. Max Ihmsen, a newspaper publisher, had conceived the original idea of hosting the Olympic Games in the city of Los Angeles. William Garland, a realtor, would be the one tasked by the Community Development Association to get approval from the city and bid for the opportunity to the I.O.C. Due to Ihmsen's untimely death (1921), he and Garland never really had the chance to collaborate on the Games, but one is left to wonder to what extent Ihmsen's planning and Garland's execution did, in fact, align.

In 1932, the Latin motto of the Olympic Games – *Citius, Altius, Fortius* ("faster, higher, stronger") – applied to both the I.O.C and the city of Los Angeles. Due to the success of the Olympic Games and the interest in the city shown by tourists and investors, the Olympics attained a better logistical framework, the city's economy and infrastructure moved faster, the Olympics soared higher, and both became stronger for years to come.

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Kody Allen Moore

*Forming Fascists:
Psychological Manipulation in Italy (1922-1945)*

ABSTRACT: *Italian fascism cultivated the ability to alter any situation based on its necessity for growth, namely, to find, sway, and transform others to join its ranks. Analyzing the contemporary writings of Herbert W. Schneider, Shepard B. Clough, and Herman Finer, this article argues that Italian fascism used radical physicality programs, symbolic expressionism, and religiously framed rituals to manipulate civilians into becoming Party members.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Italy; Benito Mussolini; Herbert W. Schneider; Shepard B. Clough; Herman Finer; fascism; physicality; symbolism; political religion*

Introduction

On May 3, 1938, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler met for a fascist-styled celebration on Rome's cobblestoned streets. Both were beaming with delight as they witnessed one of the most extensive military parades the city had ever seen.¹ Side by side, wearing their respective military dress uniforms, the two leaders represented their millions of followers in celebrating their fascist ideologies. Those in attendance, as well as those watching the news footage later, saw a spectacle of synchronized units of men, women, and youth dressed in military fatigues, marching under Italy's *tricolore* and Germany's swastika. Through its combination of national and fascist symbols, Roman architecture, and, above all, throngs of human bodies—parading, waving, and shouting fascist solemnities—the event emotionally charged its spectators with a sensation of devout patriotism.

Italian fascism had an acute sense of self-perception. It cultivated the ability to alter any situation based on its necessity for growth, namely, to find, sway, and transform others to join its ranks. Fascist functionaries like Galeazzo Ciano, Odoardo Dino Alfieri, and Alessandro Pavolini devised physical conditioning programs, subconscious manipulation practices, and collective ritual celebrations to transform their nation into an authoritarian Party system. With their support, Mussolini pursued his most romantic aspiration, namely, the return of the Roman Empire.² The *Duce* recruited Italy's youth, fogging their consciousness with a sense of national rebirth.³ Adults, both men and women, were also targeted to join the

¹ British Pathé, "Italians Goosestep For Hitler" (Version A), May 12, 1938, video (Film ID 965.12), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

² Ottorino Guerrieri, "La Razza al Rinascimento," *La Difesa Della Razza* 2, no. 5 (January 5, 1939): 17-19, [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022.

³ Roger Griffin, *Fascism: An Introduction to Comparative Fascist Studies* (Medford: Polity Press, 2018), 50. Griffin considers "palingenetic ultranationalism" the key psychological driver behind fascist violence; it propagated, from the top down, the myth of a national rebirth. To Griffin, fascist collaborators purposefully designed and manufactured an enemy that its national members could view as an antagonist to their nation's economic, social, and racial progress.

revolution. Thus, to reach deep into the subconscious of all Italians, fascism had to appeal to multiple personalities, social classes, genders, and age groups.

Each generation of scholars pursues the study of fascism on its own terms and in accordance with its particular interests. While the key motivations and inhumane practices of fascists once occupied center stage in scholarly debates, some scholars now take contemporary political movements as their point of departure to compare and contrast them with those of the interwar years, affording readers the opportunity to discover why someone might have belonged—or might belong today—to a certain Party, organization, or interest group.⁴ This article builds on the research of German American historian George L. Mosse (1918-1999) who spent decades of his life studying the complex anxieties that plagued the people of Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. According to his interpretation, they sought to return to romanticism but adopted the ideologies of nationalism as the only attainable political alternative.⁵ Thus, to better understand the historical context, rise, and culmination of Italian fascism, this article relies on the works of those who observed it as contemporaries, albeit from the requisite critical distance, namely, the German American philosopher Herbert W. Schneider (1892-1984), the American historian Shepard B. Clough (1901-1990), and the Romanian British political scientist Herman Finer (1898-1969).⁶ Their ability to “capture the fascist moment” is truly remarkable.

This article also utilizes period footage available from the newsreel producer *British Pathé*.⁷ Watching a short-film reel covering the parade of May 3, 1938, for example, one recognizes how fascist structures, tunes, and nationalistic tones might have drawn in a community of people longing for a return to dominion. This would have been especially true after World War I when global powers were increasingly taking control of international programs, trade, and military-industrial complexes. In addition, newspaper articles from the historical *New York Times* which offer the perspective of international print-media correspondents on Italian fascism during the interwar years are also considered here.⁸ Reading the

⁴ For further reading, see Federico Finchelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

⁵ George L. Mosse, *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* (New York: Howard Fertig Publishing, 1980).

⁶ For example, Herbert W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1928); Herbert W. Schneider and Shepard B. Clough, *Making Fascists* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929); Herman Finer, *Mussolini's Italy* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935).

⁷ See, for instance, British Pathé, “Italians Goosestep For Hitler” (Version A), May 12, 1938.

⁸ See Arnaldo Cortesi, “Press Hails Hitler to Rally Italians,” *New York Times*, April 29, 1938; Anne O’Hare McCormick, “Europe: Der Fuehrer to Meet Il Duce in a More Wary Rome,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1938; N.a., “Hitler Will Get a Ride Behind Horses in Rome,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1938; Frederick T. Birchall, “Mussolini Greets Hitler in a Resplendent Rome,” *New York Times*, May 4, 1938; Frederick T. Birchall, “Italo-Reich Military Pact Foreseen in Hitler’s Visit,” *New York Times*,

works of several journalists who were covering the same event, one can appreciate how the fascists' psychological strategies attempted to control various segments of the populace.

Mussolini's association with fascism dated back to the World-War-I era. Prior to becoming a political Party, Mussolini's fascists started as a fighting organization. Small *fasci di combattimento* (battle units) rallied in the streets, held nationalistic protests, and went around "clubbing down political opposition."⁹ Fascist battle units soon attracted more members, turned into larger squads, and eventually transformed from a domestic disturbance into a major political Party, yet they maintained the battle units to intimidate opponents and attract those who found uniformed discipline appealing. Fascist men in *arditi* uniforms patrolled *piazze*, train stations, and communities, and the black uniforms of the Party's paramilitary units soon became a common sight all around the country.¹⁰ Yet, why did so many people see vicious acts of clubbing, street-fighting, castor-oil "therapy," and killings as a suitable alternative to their current state?

Italian historian Emilio Gentile suggests that the formation and institutionalization of the "fascist religion was born out of a collectivized cult which sought the assimilation of the entire Italian population through the works of myths and rituals."¹¹ He indicates that fascism used a two-pronged approach: consolidating its monopoly of power and introducing its symbols and rituals into the state. Building on Gentile's insights, A. James Gregor has analyzed the origins of fascist intellectualism and shown how it generated a national political cult.¹² Gregor suggests that the "fascist religion" derived from ideas put forward by Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Lenin, whose revolutionary proclamations in favor of self-emancipation gradually replaced the Italians' belief in God's sovereignty with a belief in their nation's sovereignty. From this, fascists envisioned themselves as sacralized members and developed

May 5, 1938; N.a., "Dictators Pledge Lasting Friendship: Border 'Inviolable'," *New York Times*, May 8, 1938.

⁹ Kurt London, *Backgrounds of Conflict: Ideas and Forms in World Politics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), 161.

¹⁰ Adrian Lyttelton, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919-1939* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 48. The *arditi* were Mussolini's "shock troops," but prior to this, they had been specialized units in World War I. Many shock troops in the *fasci di combattimento* were World-War-I veterans.

¹¹ Emilio Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 34. According to Gentile, the cult of the nation and the myth of war created fascist mythology, and those who subsequently sacrificed themselves for the fascist cause as "martyrs" endowed the nation with both modernity and the "spirit and greatness of old Rome."

¹² A. James Gregor, *Totalitarianism and Political Religion: An Intellectual History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012). Gregor argues that, as twentieth-century people became disenchanted with traditional religion, they found faith in politics, which became a new religion to them that offered change, affected them physically and emotionally, and was less mystical.

mythical and symbolic representations of their sacred history in a tangible “Messianic mission.”¹³

Using insights from psychology, anthropology, sociology, and cultural history, it is possible to discern the strategic themes of fascist recruitment. Fascist manipulation programs initially targeted individuals who were longing to return to “old” Rome. Yet these idealists were not the only ones who jumped on board. Both non-conformists and devout Catholics found themselves crossing Party lines toward the fascists, setting aside the Christian prospect of peace and glory in the hereafter for a political religion that promised change by all means necessary to attain them in the here-and-now. This article argues that Italian fascism used radical physicality programs, symbolic expressionism, and religiously framed rituals to manipulate civilians into becoming Party members.

I. Physicality

Throughout life, joyous celebrations, emotional tragedies, and societal changes impact the personalities, relationships, and consciousness of those involved. Consider, for example, the new members of an organization, sports team, gang, military squad, or political Party: once they adopt a certain group’s uniform or emblem and engage in its programs, their respective persona, morality, mentality, and consciousness become redeveloped to fit the group’s body politic.

In the mid-1920s, Herbert W. Schneider and Shepard B. Clough became interested in one of the growing phenomena of their era, namely, Italian fascism. Fascism was still in its infancy and had yet to develop into a totalitarian system of governance. Schneider and Clough decided to visit Italy to gain some firsthand knowledge, and they discovered that, after the March on Rome in October 1922, the *Duce’s* fascists were facing the task of molding their future generations, beginning with their youngest recruits, the *Balilla*.¹⁴

How to maintain governmental control rather than legitimate representation became paramount to fascist indoctrination. In a 1929 speech to Italy’s Chamber of Deputies, Mussolini remarked that “children must be educated in our religious faith, but we have the duty of integrating this education, we need to give these youngsters the sense of virility, of power, of conquest; and above all, we need to inspire them with our faith, and to inflame them with our hopes.”¹⁵ Thus, at the

¹³ Gearóid Barry, “Political Religion: A User’s Guide,” *Contemporary European History*, 24, no. 4 (2015): 623-638. In political religion, according to Barry, the will of the collective identity supersedes the will of the self; every individual is bound by the same obligations (as defined by the state, party, or nation); there is the vision of a utopia; and political liturgy worships an idealized “new man.”

¹⁴ Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 179. The *Balilla* (*Opera Nazionale Balilla*) was an all-boys fascist club. Not unlike the Boy Scouts, the *Balilla* found ways to impress the youth through physical activities. In addition, the *Balilla* offered fascist indoctrination.

¹⁵ Quoted in Finer, *Mussolini’s Italy*, 428.

age of eight, boys received their first taste of juvenile fascist military education.¹⁶ The fascist state designed these programs to ensure the constant transition of bodies into their Party's ranks. Since the boys' leaders were active militiamen, fascist Party members, and adamant about teaching them nationalism, the boys' primary curriculum consisted of military drill and ceremony, modern warfare tactics and training, and behavioral instruction.¹⁷ It had all the trappings of a patriotic education, but it manipulated the consciousness of these youth so that they would be ready to take up arms for the Party's nationalistic aspirations.

In his monograph *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy* (1996), Emilio Gentile notes that the youth organizations' members were the ones most susceptible and exposed to fascist propaganda.¹⁸ These young minds found themselves easily persuaded, especially since their schoolyard friends, neighborhood pals, church community peers, and fellow kin were toeing the line next to them. Scott Selisker has described what scholars of torture note as the "break" or "breaking point;" it is the psychological moment when a victim's sense of reality and agency seem to disappear. Torture chambers place victims into closed-off social spaces, similar to totalitarian states, which Selisker considers "prerequisites for coercive persuasion."¹⁹ While being water-boarded in confined spaces is more extreme than practicing drills outside, young minds are much more susceptible to persuasion when their social spaces have been manipulated.

The boys who had joined the *Balilla* youth program at the age of eight were encouraged to continue their education once they reached the age of eighteen in the ranks of the *Avanguardia*. In an initiation ceremony that mirrored the symbolic rituals of military units for their new comrades, these young men were given rifles and swore an oath of allegiance to this stricter and militarily structured organization: "I swear to obey the orders of the *Duce* without question, and to serve the cause of the fascist revolution with all my strength and, if necessary, with my blood."²⁰ The *Avanguardia* watched over its young recruits until they reached the age of twenty-one. At that time, the Party accepted them into its ranks, and they receive the full privileges that came with membership.²¹

In his 1973 monograph, *The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy 1919-1939*, Adrian Lyttelton points out that the *Duce's* goal of creating "the new fascist man" could not rely for its execution on Italy's schools and their teachers. Thus, Lyttelton

¹⁶ Michael Arthur Ledeen, *Universal Fascism: The Theory and Practice of the Fascist International, 1928-1936* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1972), 10.

¹⁷ Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 112.

¹⁸ Gentile, *Sacralization of Politics*, 98.

¹⁹ Scott Selisker, *Human Programming: Brainwashing, Automaton, and American Unfreedom* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 131.

²⁰ Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 179. While they were given a rifle and swore an oath of allegiance to their *Duce*, these young men were not yet conscripted into the army.

²¹ Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 367.

explains, the *Avanguardia* became a cornerstone for the “totalitarian regimentation of youth” because it “embodied the true spirit of fascist education and practiced a new ‘pedagogy’.”²² Emilio Gentile adds to this that “training for a ‘collective harmony’ [was built] on the supposition that conversion to the common faith of the fascist religion would morally—beyond disparities in social conditions, economic opportunities, and differences in gender and age—unite all Italians.”²³ Thus, scholars have found that the bombardment with fascist indoctrination throughout the youth’s “educational training” played a vital role in the total submission of their subconsciousness. The fascist Party used brainwashing to increase the membership of their *fascio*. However, beyond Italy’s youth, fascist society also needed a welfare program to recruit those in the blue-collar communities who kept the country’s trains running.²⁴

The fascist after-work program, *Dopolavoro*, controlled by Party Secretary Augusto Turati, was a social-welfare institution that encouraged those in the labor force to interact with their fellow Italians. Middle-aged Italians enjoyed free admission to cafés and wine shops where flirtatious gesturing, local gossiping, and political chitter-chatter filled the air.²⁵ In Herman Finer’s opinion, the primary reason for creating this and other welfare programs was to increase Party membership. By 1933, approximately two million Italians were members of the *Dopolavoro*, a staggering increase from its 280,000 members in 1926.²⁶

According to Adrian Lyttelton, the after-work program was the “most effective instrument of the regime for penetrating the working class.”²⁷ It served to pull those toward the Party who found themselves between the youth and the older, retired generation. Especially in Italy’s south, where farmers had little or no money to spend on leisure activities, the *Dopolavoro* provided affordable theatre tickets, historical sightseeing tours, and recreational adventures, all of which provided great opportunities for Party propaganda.²⁸ As they walked away from these events, fascism would have left a lasting impression on the minds of these poor farmers that Italy’s fascist Party and government were generous and supportive of the working class. While fascism certainly looked out for the country’s corporate elite, the *Dopolavoro* enabled the Party to enroll blue-collar workers into its ranks on a grand scale. Most fascist programs, especially those for the youth, had a strong physical component. Meanwhile, fascism’s symbolic expressions further encouraged national cohesiveness through its manipulative undertones.

²² Lyttelton, *Seizure of Power*, 409.

²³ Gentile, *Sacralization of Politics*, 101.

²⁴ London, *Backgrounds of Conflict*, 163.

²⁵ See Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 184; and Finer, *Mussolini’s Italy*, 486.

²⁶ Finer, *Mussolini’s Italy*, 487; and Lyttelton, *Seizure of Power*, 401.

²⁷ Lyttelton, *Seizure of Power*, 401.

²⁸ Lyttelton, *Seizure of Power*, 402.

II. Symbolism

There is ample historical precedent for the use of symbolism to manipulate individuals' minds. The ancient pharaohs of Egypt forced their people, as well as slaves, to create the architectural wonders along the Nile that symbolized their god-like status, thereby elevating themselves above everyone else both domestically and, by reputation, abroad. Similarly, albeit on a much smaller scale, Caesar Augustus commissioned larger-than-life statues of himself for the purpose of psychological manipulation. However, symbols do not have to come in the form of marble, plaster, or limestone. Symbolism can also be traced in physical acts, language, and spirituality.

For instance, the *Giovinezza*, the fascist Party anthem, was sung at public ceremonies, exhibitions, and parades,²⁹ and its lyrics symbolized an intense spirituality: *Il valor dei tuoi guerrieri / la virtù dei pionieri / la vision de l'Alighieri / oggi brilla in tutti i cuor* ("The valor of your warriors / the virtue of the pioneers / the vision of Alighieri [i.e., Dante] / shines today in every heart").³⁰ When those in attendance sang these words together at the top of their lungs, they symbolically joined themselves to the twentieth-century martyrs of the fascist revolution (*guerrieri*), but also to those associated in any form or fashion with Italian greatness throughout history (*pionieri*), represented by that famous poet, Dante (*Alighieri*) (1265-1321), whose works had ushered in the widespread use of the Italian vernacular. Thus, according to the *Giovinezza*, the fascist revolution was the culmination of Italian history—the culmination of valor, virtue, and vision. The logical conclusion was that Party members should be just as willing as those who had died for Italy in the past, as well as—more recently—for the fascist cause, to give their lives, if needed. Fascist organizers were aware that the *Giovinezza's* symbolism would encourage individuals to feel both anticipation and uncertainty, and the fascist Party cast itself as the patriotic answer to both.³¹

When people take an oath of allegiance, they promise to themselves, to the people around them, and to the spirit of the cause—for example, to God or to the nation—that their commitment to the cause will be eternal. In fascist Italy, the oath of allegiance sounded like this: "In the name of God and of Italy, I swear to execute the orders of the *Duce* and to serve with all my powers, and, if necessary, with my blood, the cause of the fascist revolution." Thus, the *Duce* (and not, for example, Christ) was considered the source of authority and redemption,³² and those who took the oath declared their willingness—both individually and collectively—to conform to their leader's bidding. A. James Gregor has suggested that human

²⁹ Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 396.

³⁰ Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 193.

³¹ Birchall, "Mussolini Greets Hitler;" Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 195.

³² Roger Eatwell, "Towards a New Model of Generic Fascism," in *The Fascism Reader*, ed. Aristotle A. Kallis (New York: Routledge, 2003), 78; and Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 377. According to the *Führerprinzip* ("leader principle"), all authority emanates from the leader.

history is a process of individuals conforming to laws without reason—a *subconscious* act—which is something the fascists understood perfectly.³³ Party members anticipated—*consciously*—a better future, but they were manipulated—*subconsciously*—to conform to whatever might be necessary to attain this better future. In the collective, as Party members, it became easier for them to support radical policies and practices because they viewed them as necessary, which meant that they no longer felt any need to subject these policies and practices to *conscious* reflection. This started a spiral of desensitization in which a sucker-punch turned into a stabbing, a stabbing into a shooting, and a shooting into a public execution or, eventually, into marching to the front of World War II. Thus, by gradually building on the oath they had taken, Party members were manipulated into subscribing to anything and everything that suited the Party's purposes. Meanwhile, most Party members probably still believed that they were acting—*consciously*—of their own free will when, in reality, they were being controlled by an authoritarian Party-state that decided for them.

Complementing the fascist anthem and the fascist oath was a physical gesture that allowed Party members to express their devotion to the *fascio* and witness the devotion of others. The fascist salute, or what Martin Winkler calls the *Roman salute*, had been popularized by the Italian nationalist Gabriele d'Annunzio in 1919 when he used it for propagandistic purposes in his short-lived independent state of Fiume.³⁴ A physical gesture where the entire arm was stretched forward in a slight upward angle, with the palm facing downward and the fingers stretched out and touching each other, the fascist salute became the customary greeting among members of the *fascio*.³⁵ This physical gesture says even more about the subconscious state of an individual when we compare the salute from one person to another. While Party leadership (including Hitler and Mussolini) occasionally offered an almost casual version of the salute, as if they were just “going through the motions,” fascist youth were expected to—and dutifully did—present the salute with precision and rigor to show their devotion to the cause.

The anthem, the oath, and the salute were three significant components of Italian fascism's symbolic arsenal. They served to unite Party members to draw strength from the past (the anthem), commit fully to the future (the oath), and physically express their alignment with one another and the cause (the salute). None of these symbols were individual; they were meant to be executed as part of the collective. In addition, they built on each other: from sung poetry, via a solemn spoken commitment, to an energetic “forward” gesture. They were also integral elements of fascism's manipulative rituals to which we now turn.

³³ Gregor, *Totalitarianism and Political Religion*, 93.

³⁴ Martin M. Winkler, *The Roman Salute: Cinema, History, Ideology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2009), 4.

³⁵ Schneider and Clough, *Making Fascists*, 192.

III. Rituals

According to Thomas Luckmann's theory of religion in modern society, Italian fascism had to compete with other "ultimate" sources of imagination and feared losing the attention of "'autonomous' individuals who [were] [...] potential consumers of their 'product'."³⁶ As Philip Morgan has argued, fascist strategists adopted a social and political alternative because they feared the "ultimate other" of a Bolshevik revolution.³⁷ To strengthen their fascist alternative, they utilized the trappings of political religion—reminiscent of the forms and rituals of traditional faiths like Catholicism, yet with distinct military undertones—that permeated the public and private lives of Italians with a transcendental flair.³⁸

According to Francesca Billiani and Laura Pennacchietti, the architecture of fascist Italy propagated a new *arte di stato*, ("art of the state") which celebrated an "anthropological revolution."³⁹ This anthropological revolution was also evident in the regime's parades and celebratory rituals which used Rome's Colosseum, triumphal arches, and other ancient buildings as backdrops, as seen during Hitler's visit to the Eternal City in 1938. All of this was intended to showcase fascism's transformative community.⁴⁰ It was remarkable to watch, in these parades, the entire spectrum of recruits, including women in military garb.⁴¹ Fascism valued women in particular, for, as mothers, they were the ones giving life to future Party members. Thus, fascists created programs that celebrated women as essential members of the militant state in order to entice them to join. As Perry Wilson has remarked, "fascism should be considered an innovator, and the interwar period a watershed in Italian women's history."⁴² Fascists took the traditional role of the mother, modernized it by portraying the mother as a militant woman, and thereby altered the psychological state of society's female members. The 1938 parade featured women alongside both their male counterparts and steel tanks, thus integrating women (and, by extension, mothers) into the militant state—and all this in the context of a very public celebration that seemed to transcend traditional gender roles. In effect, though, fascists reduced women's aspirations for modernity to those roles deemed essential for the militant state.

In Italy, the Catholic Church was a major competitor for people's imagination, which is why fascists needed to find a way to assert their dominance without

³⁶ Thomas Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Modern Society* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1967), 108.

³⁷ Philip Morgan, *Fascism in Europe: 1919-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 10.

³⁸ Luckmann, *Invisible Religion*, 109.

³⁹ Francesca Billiani and Laura Pennacchietti, *Architecture and the Novel under the Italian Fascist Regime* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 201.

⁴⁰ Birchall, "Italo-Reich Military Pact."

⁴¹ British Pathé, "Italians Goosestep For Hitler" (Version A), May 12, 1938.

⁴² Cited in Richard Bessel, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 80.

completely antagonizing the country's devout Catholics. Thus, when the Catholic Church celebrated the 800th anniversary of Saint Francis's death in October 1926, Mussolini followed up with a two-day spectacle. On the first day, he paid appropriate attention to the famous Italian saint, but on the second day, he focused almost entirely on the rebirth of Imperial Rome under his leadership, lecturing personally on Imperial Rome's maritime power and arranging for bands, parades, illuminated streets, and rows of banners along the entire *piazza*. It was a systematic effort to recruit Catholics to the fascist cause.⁴³

In their early years, Mussolini and his henchmen, among them Giuseppe Bottai, had devised a plan for the consolidation and monopoly of fascist power,⁴⁴ and their idea for a new social order was built directly on some of the teachings of Catholic morality. For example, fascism propagated a sense of religious duty by emphasizing mission (i.e., recruitment) and charity (i.e., social responsibility and self-sacrifice in the context of the fascist state) in order to appeal to practicing Christians.⁴⁵ To encourage the transition from the Catholic liturgical community into their own emotionally charged—and charging—community, fascists promoted a vision of imminent earthly change as their alternative to Catholicism's prospect of change in the "life to come" (i.e., only after death). As we have seen, fascism—as a modern civil or political religion—provided alternatives to many of the features of traditional religion: its own anthem (instead of hymns and liturgy), its own oath (instead of the Creed), its own salute (instead of the sign of the Cross), its own public parades (instead of church services and processions), its own architecture (instead of churches and religious monuments), and so forth—all this to "evoke, maintain, and renew a sense of collective identity."⁴⁶

Concerned that fascism's religious experience might not be emotionally compelling enough to rally all Italians to one nationalist cause, Mussolini's propaganda minister, Odoardo Dino Alfieri, devised a religiously framed exhibition that used the Party's revolutionary heroes as an alternative to the Christian saints. To Italian fascists, those who had died for their cause—as martyrs—had prepared the way for the ultimate, glorious chapter in their nation's history because they believed in a law that came from their aspirations and not from already established institutions.⁴⁷ What was needed now was a religious ritual to celebrate these martyrs and simultaneously reach all of Italian society.⁴⁸ The *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* ("Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution") opened in Rome on October 28, 1932, on the tenth anniversary of the revolution.⁴⁹

⁴³ Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, 226.

⁴⁴ Nino Tripodi, *I Patti lateranensi e il Fascismo* (Bologna: Capelli, 1959), 200.

⁴⁵ Gentile, *Sacralization of Politics*, 35.

⁴⁶ Gregor, *Totalitarianism and Political Religion*, 3.

⁴⁷ Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, 252.

⁴⁸ Gentile, *Sacralization of Politics*, 110.

⁴⁹ Gentile, *Sacralization of Politics*, 110.

In this cleverly developed exhibition, the fascist Party's "years of anguish" were portrayed via bloodied uniforms, heroic medals, and, most vividly, a final room known as the *Sacrarium*, a chapel dedicated to fascism's fallen.⁵⁰ Guarded by a militiaman, the small sanctuary featured a Christian cross, the names of the fallen, and a symbolic placement of the words "Present! Present!" and "To Us! To Us!"⁵¹

What was most remarkable about this exhibition was how the regime promoted it. For many Italians, especially farmers and peasants, visiting a historical exhibition in a place that was hours away from home was simply impractical. Thus, the Party cast the trip akin to a religious pilgrimage and offered to assist with transportation, meals, and housing so that all, including the poor, could experience the "cathedral whose very walls speak."⁵² Once in Rome, visitors of the *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* found themselves standing before a wall where each name represented a fallen comrade and where the carefully arranged blood-stained uniforms symbolized sacrifice. Engulfed by emotions intentionally triggered to make them feel united with each other and with those who had come—and given their lives—before them, visitors felt regret, sympathy, and patriotism. Some regretted that they were still alive while their brothers had died for the cause. Others sympathized with the mothers who had lost their sons. Together, the hundreds of thousands who visited the exhibition left with a burning desire for patriotic (and, by extension, fascist) action.

Conclusion

During the interwar period, fascist recruitment programs redefined what it meant to be an Italian by fostering physical collectivism, symbolic expressionism, and psychological idealism among all social classes. Based on an appeal to patriotism, youth organizations like the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardia* offered physical conditioning and military education to boys and young men, while the *Dopolavoro* drew in adults after work by combining fascist ideals and leisure activities. Italians expressed their devotion to the Party as a culmination of Italian history when they sang the *Giovinezza*; they expressed their commitment to the *Duce* and his vision for Italy's future when they took the fascist oath; and they expressed their unity and impetus to move forward when they greeted each other with the fascist salute. In doing so, they were no longer individuals but, rather, devoted soldiers who were ready to continue and expand the fascist revolution. This devotion ultimately manifested itself in fascism's various doctrines and rituals of political religion, which included a "modernized" vision of militant motherhood, the appropriation of religious holidays, and the pseudo-pilgrimage to the *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*—all designed to unite the masses of Italian individuals in the collective cult of the fascist state.

⁵⁰ Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 396.

⁵¹ Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 397.

⁵² Finer, *Mussolini's Italy*, 117.

In 1938, under Rome's blue sky, the people of Europe witnessed the alliance between Mussolini and the *Führer*, marking a turning point in international politics.⁵³ The high-stepping soldiers and historical uniforms projected the image of an Imperial army that had once ruled the Mediterranean world. Italian fascism had attained and expanded its political power by means of psychological manipulation. Yet instead of a new Roman Empire, there was merely another chapter in the history of dictatorships which, by 1945, had reached its conclusion.

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⁵³ See McCormick, "Europe: Der Fuehrer to Meet Il Duce;" N.a., "Dictators Pledge Lasting Friendship;" Birchall, "Italo-Reich Military Pact."

Dakota Vasco

*A Velvet Glove and a Big Stick:
General Douglas MacArthur, Emperor Hirohito,
and State-Building in Japan (1945-1952)*

ABSTRACT: *This essay examines the mindset (Kokutai) and actions of Imperial Japan before, during, and after World War II and how they relate to the country's post-war occupation period under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (S.C.A.P.), General Douglas MacArthur. An analysis of personal journals, military statistics, and witness accounts suggests that occupation was a success story and remains remarkable to this day.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; World War II; Japan; U.S.; Douglas MacArthur; Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito); Kokutai; post-war occupation; Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (S.C.A.P.); Far East Commission (F.E.C.)*

Introduction

The relationship between Japan and the United States of America is an intriguing geopolitical phenomenon. That these two economic giants have been enjoying such a strong partnership—despite their tumultuous history—remains an enduring legacy of diplomacy and mutual need. This is especially noteworthy from Japan's perspective, considering the robust tradition of U.S. aggression toward Japanese sovereignty, from Admiral Matthew C. Perry's forced opening of the secluded nation in 1853-1854, via the embargo against Imperial Japan just before World War II and the eventual detonation of atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the nation's U.S. occupation after its 1945 surrender. Viewing these events without context might lead to the conclusion that the United States and Japan should be bitter archrivals, yet quite the opposite is true. The reason for this unexpected outcome—and simultaneously the topic of this essay—is General Douglas MacArthur's careful attention to Japan's government during its post-war occupation. As a result, Japan's *Kokutai* was spared, preserved, and re-shaped to ensure the country's future stability once the occupation forces had left.

I. Pre-War Context

One should consider Imperial Japan and modern Japan as completely different entities, at least in terms of their respective mainstream culture. The term *Kokutai* is often defined as a concept that represents the culture, spirit, and sovereignty of Japan, usually revolving around the divinity and sovereignty of the emperor. While such a definition of *Kokutai* is rather general and does not cover its nuances or ideological contexts, as the concept changes over time according to the ideals of the populace, it is suitable for the purposes of this essay. Accordingly, the "spirit" of Imperial Japan was one of ultra-nationalism, militarism, and superiority over a self-declared "sphere of influence" in East and Southeast Asia. This is how *Kokutai* was commonly understood and used by Emperor Hirohito and the men who surrounded him, and this is how it was summed up in the patriotic pre-war song,

“One Hundred Million Souls for the Emperor,” with its upfront message of what Japanese leaders expected from the common people,¹ namely, self-sacrifice. Based on grand notions of superiority, nationalism, and militarism, Imperial Japan justified its aggressive behavior in China, Manchuria, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines by claiming that such acts served “to establish a solid basis for the nation’s self-existence and self-defense.”² This type of reasoning was not new and, in fact, relatively similar to the justification used by Japan’s ally, Nazi Germany, which also claimed to be threatened by imperial, political, and cultural domination from a burgeoning superpower to the east, the Soviet Union. There was also a lingering sense of resentment, as Japan felt it had been denied certain Pacific and Asian territories that it viewed as its own as spoils of World War I. And then there was Japan’s lack of natural resources.³ Hirohito was personally torn between his desire for world peace and his realization that Japan’s sovereignty and self-sufficiency could not be fully realized without conquest.⁴

Despite this predicament, one he faced in particular during the 1937 Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the emperor—as supreme commander of the Japanese military—had the authority under the 1889 Meiji Constitution to declare and wage war.⁵ As emperor, he was also the official head of the state religion—Shintoism—which held that he was a divine being; therefore, he was believed to be entitled to the self-sacrifice of his people, a notion that was exploited extensively when Japan prepared itself for its national defense.⁶ The idolizing of the emperor was used to justify Japan’s military expeditions in East Asia and ultimately helped to prolong the war by boosting soldiers’ morale. The Japanese state, its military, and its people viewed conquest as “purifying Asia from the polluting influences of Anglo-American political culture,” a notion that resembles America’s idealistic rhetoric of “Manifest Destiny.”⁷ Yet despite his role as supreme commander of the military, as head of the state religion, and as the sovereign spirit of the nation, Hirohito did not and could not act unilaterally. The Imperial Diet of Japan held most of the institutional political power, and the majority of the emperor’s functions and powers were his by designation of the Diet.⁸ In reality, though, the

¹ Paul Fussell, *Thank God for the Atom Bomb and Other Essays* (New York: Summit Books/Ballantine Books, 1988), 3.

² Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), 360.

³ Bix, *Hirohito*, 344.

⁴ Bix, *Hirohito*, 289.

⁵ John W. Dower, *Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, 9-11, Iraq* (New York: W. W. Norton/New Press, 2010; eBook), 2055.

⁶ Bix, *Hirohito*, 29; Dower, *Cultures of War*, 2074.

⁷ Bix, *Hirohito*, 29.

⁸ “The Constitution of the Empire of Japan” (1889), trans. Ito Miyoji, *National Diet Library* (Japan), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022, articles 4, 5, 6, and 9.

Imperial Diet's influence had waned and shifted toward Hirohito and, by extension, the military.⁹

As for the war itself, Japan's initial strategy was twofold: Nazi Germany's military superiority over Europe would lead to Japan wielding greater control over East Asia; this would be followed by quick and decisive attacks against the United States, crippling the latter's naval capabilities and forcing speedy peace negotiations.¹⁰ One of the Japanese army's main fears was its vulnerability to a Soviet invasion from the north while pushing through China, a fear that was allayed after Hitler's 1941 termination of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Japan's military leadership did not seriously consider the possibility of Germany losing to the Soviets, which is why it shifted its focus toward the Pacific. The Japanese Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, who had staunchly opposed a war against the United States, realized that the only way Japan could ever hope to prevail against the United States would be a surprise attack against the U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor,¹¹ completely destroying its aircraft carriers, which naval doctrine deemed the most important aspect of a modern fleet, and causing so much carnage to intimidate the U.S. public into opposing war. As Yamamoto explained to the war-hungry Japanese government under Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, failure to succeed in this twofold strategy would lead to major devastation and loss for Japan.¹² Ultimately, the surprise attack failed to cripple the U.S. fleet—no aircraft carriers were docked at Pearl Harbor that day—and it caused the exact opposite reaction that the Japanese leaders had hoped to attain with the U.S. public, namely, a sentiment of revenge.¹³ Japanese leaders knew the United States could produce warships and carriers at a significantly higher rate than Japan, so its attack against Pearl Harbor put the writing of failure on the wall. A successful attack against the U.S. Navy would have afforded Japan nearly complete freedom over the Pacific, allowing it to sweep up territories uncontested. Most importantly, the conquest of such territories would have provided Japan with a robust line of defense, forcing the United States to engage in prolonged island battles, resulting in high U.S. casualty rates and low public support for the war. While Japan's strategy was risky and allowed for next to no margin of error, it was considered feasible and, what is more, necessary. The entire system of governance in Imperial Japan relied on the notion of self-preservation, security, and resources acquired through conquest in East Asia—something that would not be possible if there was any intervention by outside military forces against Japan. The idea that the United States would only

⁹ "Constitution" (1889), trans. Miyoji, article 11.

¹⁰ Bix, *Hirohito*, 396.

¹¹ History.com Editors, "Isoroku Yamamoto, Japan's Mastermind of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Is Born," History, October 23, 2009, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

¹² History.com Editors, "Isoroku Yamamoto."

¹³ N.a., "Pearl Harbor Attack, 7 December 1941, Carrier Locations," *Naval History and Heritage Command*, April 1, 2015, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

be defeated if U.S. public support for the war would diminish due to extensive bloodshed and casualties was almost successful at specific points in the war, as no mother wants her son to die over an island she has never heard of before.

II. Wartime Bloodshed

The war in the Pacific did not turn in favor of the Allied Powers until the end of 1943 when they began to push the Japanese forces off several major islands and started to converge on Japan's main islands. Many back home in the United States were upset about the casualty ratios of Japanese soldiers to American soldiers, which were not as high as they had once been, ranging from a ratio of 7:1 for Saipan to 2:1 for Okinawa and 1.25:1 for Iwo Jima.¹⁴ Even as the Allied Powers were closing in on Japan, U.S. President Roosevelt and later U.S. President Truman struggled to find enough reserve manpower for a massive invasion of the Japanese homeland. Public outcry in the United States demanded that the longest-serving veterans should be sent home and that combat training should last at least six months before sending soldiers into battle. Meanwhile, according to opinion polls, the U.S. population felt that the war was only halfway over.¹⁵ Thus, Japan's war strategy of focusing on U.S. casualties and attrition rather than victory on the battlefield, particularly in light of the enemy's industrial and manpower capability, seemed to add up. It was this strategy that Emperor Hirohito and his high-ranking officials relied upon for months before their belated surrender.

What ultimately ended the war was the detonation of atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States. While it is counterfactual to speculate how much longer the war might have lasted, how high the casualty numbers might have been, and what the extent of physical destruction might have looked like without the use of these atomic bombs, Japan's war strategy of U.S. casualties and attrition provides context for the use of these bombs. The brutality and awful conditions endured by Allied soldiers provide additional context for the latter's prejudices and hatred toward Japanese soldiers and, by extension, civilians and leaders. All this impacted the U.S. occupation of Japan and its goals for reforming the country.

Ever since Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, two things were accepted as fact by both the Japanese and U.S. militaries: should the war last longer than a year, (a) Japan would never be able to win, and (b) the war would be horrendous and costly in terms of lives lost and resources. While both sides shared these notions, their respective strategic approaches were completely different.

¹⁴ Dennis M. Giangreco, *Hell to Pay: Operation Downfall and the Invasion of Japan, 1945-47*, updated and expanded ed. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2017), 98-99. For casualty numbers, see also Spencer Tucker, *Battles That Changed History: An Encyclopedia of World Conflict* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2010; ProQuest Ebook Central), 553.

¹⁵ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 101; "Roper/Fortune Survey," November 1944, quoted in Dan Olmsted, "How Long Will the War in the Pacific Last?" *The National WWII Museum, New Orleans*, June 25, 2018, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

Yamamoto understood that the war needed to be quick, especially due to the extensive war-capability gap between the two countries. The Japanese Navy would need to move swiftly to cripple or, better, knock out the relatively equal-powered U.S. Navy. Japan calculated that this would shock the U.S. government, military, and civilian population into accepting peace terms and, hopefully, retreating from Japan's sphere of influence in East Asia. Turning to the American view, Major General Graves B. Erskine of the 3rd Marine Division stated, albeit with a heavy dose of hindsight:

Victory was never in doubt. Its cost was [...] whether there would be any of us left to dedicate our cemetery at the end, or whether the last Marine would die knocking out the last Japanese gunner.¹⁶

Despite Erskine's confidence, the outcome of a war is always in doubt. In fact, the second half of his statement illustrates the effect of Japan's strategy on those fighting the war. Even as the Axis war machine was grinding to a halt, Japan's policy of maximum "bloodletting and delay" (*shukketsu* and *jikyū senjutsu*) remained tremendously effective in terms of casualties inflicted,¹⁷ a sentiment Hirohito and his officials propagated up until the day of surrender.¹⁸

Even as U.S. troops were closing in on Japan in 1945, Hirohito and his military leaders remained convinced that all they needed was one final, conclusive battle. Meanwhile, official Imperial conference records from June 6, 1945, almost exactly two months before Hiroshima, declared the "Basic General Outline on Future War Direction Policy" adopted, and stated that

The United States [...] is confronted with numerous problems; such as, mounting casualties [...], growing war weariness among the people [...]. Should Japan resolutely continue the war and force heavy enemy attrition until the latter part of this year, it may be possible to diminish considerably the enemy's will to continue the war.¹⁹

Thus, Japan was clearly ready to take this war as far as necessary.

III. Desperate Measures

U.S. intelligence was aware of Japan's grim situation, and some military officials, including Army Air Force Commander George C. Kenney, even believed that Japan was just moments away from surrendering due to its diminished military capabilities.²⁰ However, such an assessment utterly disregarded Imperial Japan's culture of military spirit (*Kokutai*) which explained why Japan had entered the war and why unconditional surrender was not an option. It could be argued that

¹⁶ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 27.

¹⁷ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 36.

¹⁸ Bix, *Hirohito*, 444-445.

¹⁹ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 27, quoting from Takushiro Hattori, *The Complete History of the Greater East Asia War* ([Tokyo]: [Headquarters, United States Army Forces Far East], [1953-1954]), 289-290.

²⁰ Gar Alperovitz and Sanho Tree, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 29.

Japan's leaders did not view their people as citizens but, rather, as mere subjects of the emperor and, by extension, the military. The only value placed on them pertained to their loyalty and to their devotion to give their lives for the state.

This does not mean that Japan's entire populace should be seen as harmless victims of an oppressive system. A culture of pride, devotion, brutality, and superiority had to be engrained to engage in the kind of atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers. The hypothetically "innocent" teenager in Tokyo had likely already been indoctrinated with this Imperial culture; he had been raised to view himself as superior to the Chinese, the Koreans, and certainly the U.S. Americans; and he would soon be enlisted as a soldier to go off and kill.

To underscore this notion, consider the lesser-known Japanese "Homeland Defense Strategy," named *Ketsu-Go* or "Decisive Operation," which took effect on April 15, 1945. It was laid out as a last-ditch effort to force the Allies, who were preparing for their invasion, into a horrible, bloody conflict across the mainland islands of Kyushu and Honshu. Consistent with the Japanese leadership's hope for a decisive final battle, it called for approximately 5 million Japanese men, women, teenagers, and the elderly to participate in deadly guerrilla tactics against the invaders.²¹ Bamboo spears, firebombs, small arms, and anything capable of killing were given to civilians, along with brief training on how to kill, such as group stabbing practice.²² If necessary, the entire populace would become the front line. Japanese leaders estimated that 20 million Japanese would die defending their country, all the while hoping that millions of American soldiers would be killed as well.²³ A *People's Handbook of Resistance Combat* was distributed which stipulated that "100 million of us [...] must exterminate them [i.e., the Americans] to protect our native soil and maintain our everlasting empire," followed by detailed fighting techniques.²⁴ In short, the "entire population of Japan [...] [was] a proper military target [...]. There [were] [...] no civilians in Japan."²⁵

This is not mentioned here to justify the killing of civilians at the hands of the Allies through bombing campaigns, invasion, or even the atomic bombs. However, it does explain how and why Hirohito and the militarists around him existed: their power was ultimately based on the obedience and engagement of the people who tolerated and perpetuated this system, even if this was accomplished by means of propaganda, brainwashing, or a state religion. This is why the Allies had such a difficult time obtaining an unconditional surrender: Japan's leaders

²¹ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 119-165.

²² Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 222.

²³ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 232.

²⁴ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 191, quoting an English translation of Japan's *People's Handbook of Resistance Combat* (April 25, 1945).

²⁵ Fussell, *Thank God for the Atom Bomb*, 27.

knew that millions would fight until the bitter end, if commanded to do so by his divineness, the emperor. It is also an argument why the post-war occupation strategies under General Douglas MacArthur for reforming a democratized Japan were so impressive: for change to occur from the bottom, the top had to be reformed.

But the Allies first had to win the war. In early 1945, while Nazi Germany was facing certain defeat, Tokyo and other major cities were being firebombed, Stalin was promising a Soviet invasion of Japan by summer, and the Allies were preparing Operations “Coronet” and “Olympic” (i.e., the invasion of Honshu and Kyushu respectively).²⁶ The situation was grim for Japan, yet its insistence to resist surrender provided the time for a most devastating new weapon to be prepared for deployment against the Japanese nation: the atomic bomb. Its use in World War II remains a controversial topic. There are those who feel that it was unnecessary to resort to such extreme force because there were claims that Japan was close to surrendering.²⁷ Others argue that the words and actions of Japan’s leaders, such as the *Ketsu-Go* plan, prove that Japan was not “close to surrender” but, in fact, prepared to face whatever the Allies would throw at them. Many U.S. military leaders believed the bomb would shorten the war by months and realized only after Hiroshima its potential to decrease the time until peace dramatically.²⁸ Those justifying the bomb’s use also cite Japan’s increasingly tumultuous political situation: U.S. leaders feared that continued public suffering would lead to rebellions across the country, making the rebuilding process exponentially more difficult; in fact, the *Ketsu-Go* operation called for a “Home Guard” with the sole responsibility to fight off any internal resistance.²⁹ Setting this debate aside, the atomic bomb’s destructive capabilities, as experienced by the Japanese, brought the war to an early end. Hirohito grudgingly accepted the Allied surrender terms, hoping that he would keep his divine status due to the vaguely spelled out conditions regarding the emperor in the Potsdam Declaration.³⁰

Just days after Hirohito’s surrender speech to the public on August 15, 1945, a rapid cultural shift took place: civilians now saw themselves as victims rather than

²⁶ Alperovitz and Tree, *Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, 30, regarding the March 9-10, 1945, Tokyo firebombing; “Agreement Regarding Japan,” in “Yalta Conference Agreement, Declaration of a Liberated Europe,” February 11, 1945, *History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive*, National Archives, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022; Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 270-272, regarding Operations Olympic and Coronet, which were planned to launch December 1, 1945, and March 1, 1946, respectively.

²⁷ Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam: The Use of the Atomic Bomb and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power*, 2nd expanded ed. (Pluto Press, 1994), 253.

²⁸ Michael D. Gordin, *Five Days in August: How World War II Became a Nuclear War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 23.

²⁹ Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 202-203.

³⁰ Bix, *Hirohito*, 451-452; “Potsdam Declaration: Proclamation Defining Terms for Japanese Surrender, Issued, at Potsdam, July 26, 1945,” *AtomicArchive*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

perpetrators of the war.³¹ Hirohito himself had expressed this sentiment in his speech by claiming that the war had been started to “preserve and stabilize” East Asia, meaning that surrender was only agreed upon due to the United States’ “new and most cruel bomb.”³² The Japanese use the word *Kyodatsu* (“exhaustion”) to denote the overall broken mindset that many of them had during the post-war period. *Kyodatsu* became emblematic of the *Kasutori* culture whereby alcoholism and severe depression gripped Japan’s population who saw no hope for the future.³³ This nationwide depression and victimization culture was compounded by apprehension over the unknown outcome of the U.S.-led occupation. Initially, the fear of a Soviet-style socialist government that would forcibly erase their *Kokutai* was on the forefront of people’s minds.³⁴ However, this fear was soon allayed when the Japanese realized that the actions taken by MacArthur were, in fact, intended to preserve their *Kokutai*.

IV. Post-War Occupation

After his arrival in Japan to discuss surrender terms, MacArthur quickly recognized that upholding the prestige of the emperor would be essential to ensure the success of any occupation-era reforms. He made a comment in passing when he noticed that Japanese soldiers were only following orders when said orders invoked the emperor as the authority.³⁵ Upon leaving his first meeting with Hirohito, MacArthur instructed General Bonner F. Fellers to write an official analysis of the relationship between the Japanese people and the emperor. In this analysis, Fellers stated that

to dethrone, or hang, the emperor would cause a tremendous and violent reaction from all Japanese [...] it would be comparable to the crucifixion of Christ to us [...]. An independent Japanese army responsible only to the emperor is a permanent menace to peace [...]. The emperor can be made a force of good and peace provided Japan is totally defeated and the military clique is destroyed.³⁶

While U.S. officials knew that Hirohito was not innocent of crimes committed during the war, using him as a vehicle for stable change was more important than

³¹ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 227-229.

³² Michinomiya Hirohito, “Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War,” August 15, 1945, *Air Force Magazine*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

³³ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 229, cites a poetic quote from a black-marketeer: “I drank trying to forget a life that hung suspended like a floating weed.”

³⁴ Gordon, *Modern History of Japan*, 226. The Japanese people feared radical change from first the Soviets and then the United States. Fears or hopes of revolution never occurred.

³⁵ Seymour Morris, *Supreme Commander: MacArthur’s Triumph in Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2014), 32. The event mentioned above occurred just after landing. Witnessing a Japanese general unsuccessfully ordering his men to take pills to fight combat sickness, MacArthur joked to the general that these men, like American G.I.s, would not listen. Like clockwork, the men refused the order until the general stated, “The emperor requests that each soldier take one capsule every four hours.” Only then, every soldier obeyed.

³⁶ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 79.

punishment. After all, to MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (S.C.A.P.), the Japanese militarists were those who had held the real power and needed to be targeted, separated from Hirohito, and dismantled.³⁷

Thus, MacArthur proposed to cast Hirohito as a more accessible figure and allow the Japanese people to see their emperor attend public ceremonies and visit war-torn cities to boost morale and cooperation. The emperor's status would still be purely symbolic, but it would provide the Japanese people with a sense of "spiritual regeneration."³⁸ Most importantly, it would remove the emperor's militaristic connotation and cause the Japanese people to see him as a purely public figure rather than a military leader. MacArthur noted how accepting Hirohito was regarding these changes and even proposed that his son, Crown Prince Akihito, be tutored by an "American woman of cultural background and maturity."³⁹ Both men figured that women would be crucial to help erase the militaristic culture of Japanese men, and seeing the crown prince tutored by a mature American woman might set an example.

On January 1, 1946, Hirohito publicly announced that he was not of divine origin, and this was followed by a complete transformation of his appearance. His military uniform was replaced by Western suits, and his traditional Japanese breakfast was replaced by bacon, eggs, and toast. Beyond this, MacArthur sent the emperor to sports events, concerts, and other public functions—all in an effort to humanize the emperor to the Japanese people.⁴⁰

From MacArthur's point of view, turning the emperor into a public civilian figure was merely "step one" on Japan's journey toward democratization and demilitarization. It was the transformation of Japan's government into a liberal democracy where MacArthur truly showcased his brilliance. He realized that the Japanese would never accept reforms forcibly put in place by a foreign occupier. Instead, he used his S.C.A.P. authority to play an advisory role in the Japanese Diet, whereby the bureaucrats would have the authority to formulate their constitution and demilitarize their armed forces.⁴¹ Key aspects of this new constitution included equality by law for all men and women; freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly; academic freedom; freedom to choose and dismiss representatives through voting; unions; establishing the emperor as a purely symbolic figure; and, importantly, the permanent renunciation of war.⁴² MacArthur proceeded this way for two reasons: to enable the Japanese to attain a sense of accomplishment and pride in reforming themselves, and to avoid being

³⁷ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 79-81.

³⁸ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 81.

³⁹ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 81.

⁴⁰ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 82.

⁴¹ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 87.

⁴² "The Constitution of Japan" (1947), [online](#), accessed June 15, 2022, chapters I, II, and III.

seen as a colonizing overlord.⁴³ His stance caused contention between him and other Allied officials, such as Sir George B. Sansom, who thought the Japanese would never be democratic if allowed to reform their own system and who, instead, called for public displays of military power in cities throughout Japan as an act of dominance.⁴⁴

The inclination toward domination, submission, and punishment was rather popular among Allied leaders, the American people, and members of the Far East Commission (F.E.C.). In a November 1944 Gallup Poll, 13% of respondents stated that they wished to see every single Japanese exterminated,⁴⁵ and the *New York Times* even ran articles on whether this could realistically be done. The F.E.C., consisting of the United States, France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand, India, Australia, China, the Soviet Union, and the Philippines, remained firm that punishment and retribution was the only appropriate solution for Japan, and some even argued that the Japanese should not be receiving food aid so as to prevent them from having a higher standard of living than the Soviets or the Chinese (the average Japanese citizen in 1945 lived on about 1000 calories a day).⁴⁶ However, MacArthur viewed the F.E.C. as nothing more than a vengeful power-grab and did everything in his power to keep the F.E.C. away from policy deliberations, stating: “We do not come in the spirit of conquerors.”⁴⁷

One way in which MacArthur showed the Japanese that the United States were looking for cooperation was by encouraging his soldiers to mingle and interact with the locals. Elizabeth Vining, Crown Prince Akihito’s American tutor, wrote,

Wherever Americans went, the children crowded about, shy, curious, friendly, smiling. They reflect what they hear at home. If there was hatred and bitterness in the family circle, the children would represent that.⁴⁸

The Japanese even referred to the Americans as the “happy soldiers” due to their kind and welcoming demeanor.⁴⁹ Some locals even invited soldiers to have dinner at their homes, a practice MacArthur allowed under the condition that soldiers bring their own food due to the food shortages.⁵⁰ U.S. soldiers were treated harshly

⁴³ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 87.

⁴⁴ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 87.

⁴⁵ Gallup Organization, Gallup Poll # 1944-0335: Presidential Election/Education.

⁴⁶ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 93-103, regarding complaints by the Far East Commission; Tucker, *Battles That Changed History*, 554, regarding the caloric intake for average Japanese citizen.

⁴⁷ Cited in Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 94. This was one of MacArthur’s famous quotes regarding the occupational policy that was heavily criticized by Far-East-Commission nations who wanted to carve up Japan for territory.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Gray Vining, *Windows for the Crown Prince Akihito of Japan* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2000; first published 1952), 116.

⁴⁹ Rinjirō Sodei *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese during the American Occupation*, ed. John Junkerman, trans. Shizue Matsuda (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001), 50.

⁵⁰ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 88.

for any crimes they committed against the Japanese, something the latter were surprised to learn, yet pleased to see. According to one recorded instance, a U.S. soldier was sentenced to ten years of hard labor for breaking into a local's home.⁵¹ While rape, assault, and theft did occur on occasion, such crimes were routinely met with harsh punishment. Many U.S. soldiers, as well as civilians stationed in Japan during the post-war reformation period, shared their experiences in interviews, letters, and memoirs. Each of their stories reflects the personal hardships endured by the Japanese due to the war and, in some cases, sheds light on how occupation policies were viewed as beneficial by many of the locals.

In a 2009 interview, one Nisei (i.e., an American-born descendant of Japanese immigrants) by the name of Frank Inami shared a story about himself and his wife eating sushi in Kyoto, where the woman working the food stand spoke with gusto about the fact that she no longer had to work on Sundays, thanking MacArthur for providing her with legal equality.⁵² Another Nisei soldier, Takashi Matsui, mentioned in his 2010 interview that poor, possibly homeless, children would follow trains carrying soldiers, hoping to obtain some candy. He then shared his recollection of meeting a former Japanese soldier who, by his guess, still wore his uniform because it was all he had. Matsui attempted to pay the local for a haircut, but the latter refused the payment, stating, "[You] owe me nothing." When Matsui forcibly handed the man some money and cigarettes, he replied, with tears in his eyes, "I [have] never seen a kind person like you."⁵³ And this was not Matsui's last encounter with a former soldier: he remembered an experience in Ginza where a former Japanese soldier was selling whatever he could to provide for his family, including his war medals.⁵⁴ Many American soldiers stationed in Japan during the post-war period had similar experiences with locals who, while desperate, appeared to be viewing the Americans with gratitude and optimism. Masuo Kato, one of two Japanese reporters on the USS *Missouri* during the surrender ceremony, reflected on his people's *Kokutai* during the imperial period:

We were poorly led, but we cannot ascribe our misguidance to the militarists and statemen alone. We were lacking [...] in the understanding of the importance of individual liberty and the will to protect it. In its place was only a feudalistic submission to power, and in that respect the whole nation must accept responsibility for the war.⁵⁵

During the first year of the occupation, the desperation to provide or find food was a constant theme for almost every Japanese civilian. Japan had already been

⁵¹ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 88.

⁵² Frank Inami, interview by Richard Hawkins, June 27, 2009, San Francisco, California, transcript, *Japanese American Military History Collective*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

⁵³ Takashi Matsui, interview by Richard Hawkins, October 18, 2010, Seattle, Washington, transcript, *Japanese American Military History Collective*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

⁵⁴ Takashi Matsui, interview by Richard Hawkins.

⁵⁵ Masuo Kato, *The Lost War: A Japanese Reporter's Inside Story* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1976), 88

facing serious food shortages before the surrender, and MacArthur knew that he did not have time to survey the situation: he needed supplies right away. Because Washington officials were more concerned with shipping food to war-torn Europe, MacArthur relied on former U.S. President Herbert Hoover, the honorary chairman of the U.S. Famine Emergency Committee. Hoover referred to the respective crisis in Japan as “comparable to a Buchenwald concentration camp.”⁵⁶ While it took time to figure out grain acquisition and delivery, within two and a half years the caloric intake of the Japanese was averaging closer to 1600.⁵⁷

The next major issue to tackle was the disarmament of the population, specifically targeting the military structure. Over three million troops needed to be disarmed, and ten thousand airplanes, three thousand tanks, ninety thousand artillery pieces, as well as millions of small arms, explosives, and naval mines around the coast, needed to be destroyed,⁵⁸ and this did not even include the weapons and arms stashed throughout the countryside that had been intended for the *Ketsu-Go* plan. Hundreds of thousands of tons of chemical-warfare supplies had to be destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of small arms were confiscated from the civilians.⁵⁹ As for the latter, they were not “forcibly” confiscated either, as MacArthur set up a system of self-disarmament whereby weapons were turned over willingly to U.S. forces in return for immense gratitude and praise by the general and his men.⁶⁰ Japan’s former soldiers and civilians expected to be humiliated, and when this did not happen, they felt that they had been lied to by their leaders who had claimed that the Americans and the West were cruel monsters intent on eradicating the people of Japan.

One last act worth mentioning here is MacArthur’s assistance in re-establishing baseball as a major sport. During the disarmament process, many baseball bats had been confiscated, but when MacArthur realized baseball’s potential for showcasing a commonality between the U.S. and Japan, he called for all bats to be returned, and he imported thousands of new baseballs and mitts to be handed out to children.⁶¹ Even though the country was still unstable, he called for professional baseball games to resume, had American soldiers teach the game to children, and even participated in games himself at times. MacArthur saw an opportunity for healing between two cultures, and the fact that baseball is still Japan’s biggest sport speaks volumes to the effort made during the post-war years in this regard.

⁵⁶ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 106. Buchenwald Camp was one of the largest and deadliest concentration camps in Nazi Germany where, similar to the practices at Auschwitz Camp, forced starvation and disease were among the primary killers. Hoover made the comparison to describe his reaction to the gaunt, skin-and-bone Japanese civilians.

⁵⁷ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 106.

⁵⁸ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 104.

⁵⁹ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 104.

⁶⁰ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 104.

⁶¹ Morris, *Supreme Commander*, 104-105.

Conclusion

General Douglas MacArthur's careful attention to Japan's government, society, and culture turned the post-war occupation into a success. The Japanese logically thought that harsh revenge was to be brought upon them due to their actions during the war. Had the United States not been the leader in the Pacific theater, a vengeful punishment exacted by other nations might have destroyed the Japanese nation, their *Kokutai*, their culture, and their sovereignty. MacArthur's role in overseeing the country's reformation allowed the Japanese to redefine themselves without a destructive revolution that might have led to yet another totalitarian regime. The leniency shown to them humbled the Japanese people enough to realize their own errors without feeling demonized. This is what is meant by this essay's title, "A Velvet Glove and a Big Stick:" MacArthur's delicate touch, backed by a powerful military presence, ultimately provides a lesson in post-war state-building. This approach is especially significant when an occupier seeks to leave key individuals of the previous regime in place. In the case of Japan, it likely prevented the kind of resurgence of ultra-nationalist rhetoric and agitation seen in Weimar Germany after the Great War. Thus, MacArthur's legacy—and the example he set between 1945 and 1951 in a defeated and occupied nation—is one to be studied and worthy of recognition.

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Michael Anderson

*Reigning Sound in Postwar Europe:
Holocaust Remembrance Music and the Healing Nature of Song*

ABSTRACT: *Focusing on Germany and Poland from 1945 until the present, this article examines Holocaust remembrance music, what it has done for survivors, its appropriation as a political tool, and its preservation of the voices of those who have been lost to history. It argues that Holocaust remembrance music has been most influential in its healing ability.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Holocaust; concentration camps; Germany; Poland; music; Yiddish music; klezmer; Aleksander Kulisiewicz; Lin Jaldati*

Introduction

Next to a pile of dead bodies in the pathology lab of the Buchenwald concentration camp, Jozef Kropinski (1913-1970), an inmate, composed his music at night by candlelight. As the Allies drew near in April 1945, the Nazis evacuated the camp, forcing its inmates on a “death march.” Kropinski was able to smuggle out hundreds of pieces of music, but most of his compositions, written on paper, had to be used for fire to keep him and his fellow prisoners alive. Decades later, Kropinski’s music was revived by Francesco Lotoro, an Italian musician who has spent the last thirty years traveling the world, “recovering, performing, and in some cases, finishing pieces of works composed” by concentration camp inmates.¹ For Waldemar Kropinski, Jozef’s son, the preservation of these songs has given his father’s music and story a new life. It serves as an example of the significance of remembrance. Stories like this offer unique insights into the experience of camp life during the Holocaust, but they also afford an opportunity for reconciliation.

Thanks to the efforts of Francesco Lotoro and others, the lives of many Holocaust victims have been remembered and honored. However, relatively little research has been conducted on the music that survives from the Holocaust, and much of what has been collected and performed since the end of World War II to commemorate this tragic event remains unfamiliar to the general public. During the war, the songs created by prisoners in ghettos and concentration camps offered inmates a temporary escape from the horrors of daily life, provided much-needed entertainment, and also acted as tools of resistance. In the aftermath of the war, a few researchers and scholars realized the importance of collecting and recording these songs from survivors before they would be lost, while others created their own music as a means of Holocaust remembrance. As an undertaking that has been historically important to some and profoundly personal to others, certain aspects of this music have even become politicized. Focusing on Germany and Poland from 1945 until the present, this article examines Holocaust remembrance music, what it has done for survivors, its appropriation as a political tool, and its

¹ Jon Wertheim, “Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps Made Music: Now it’s Being Discovered and Performed,” December 15, 2019, *60 Minutes*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

preservation of the voices of those who have been lost to history. It argues that Holocaust remembrance music has been most influential in its healing ability.

Much of the discussion concerning the musical commemoration of the Holocaust focuses on the music itself as a historical instrument. This is valuable because it reveals how music is uniquely connected to memory, but it leaves the question of how this commemoration has evolved over time largely unexamined. In her article, "Buried Monuments: Yiddish Songs and Holocaust Memory," Shirli Gilbert considers these pieces of music as "memorial objects," arguing that they actually have two functions, namely, "as historical sources that would enable future researchers to reconstruct what had happened, and as artifacts that could perhaps preserve the voices and thereby the memory of the victims."² Barbara Milewski's chapter, "Remembering the Concentration Camps," examines the life of Aleksander Kulisiewicz (1918-1982), a survivor who, after the war, collected and performed the music of camp musicians along with his own original pieces; Milewski focuses on how, "through his songs, [Kulisiewicz] sought to contribute constructive dialogue among nations and across different generations, believing this to be essential for lasting peace."³ Gilbert, Milewski, and others have underscored the significance of Holocaust music as a storytelling device, all the while revealing how these songs have been employed and understood in the postwar years as reminders of the horrors that mankind is capable of.

From the perspective of cultural history, this article examines how the impact of Holocaust music has changed over time, while the music itself has maintained its healing effect on those who feel connected to this past event. Oral histories, as well as interviews with survivors and researchers, offer first-hand insights into what this music has meant throughout the postwar years, while letters, articles, recorded songs, and scholarly analyses provide additional context.

I. Strength

Nothing speaks more to the inherent strength of Holocaust music than the existence of the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra. A touring ensemble of surviving Jewish musicians in postwar Germany, this group had its roots in Lithuania's Kovno Ghetto during the war. After liberation, they were sent to the St. Ottilien Monastery in Germany to recover. Initially naming themselves the St. Ottilien Orchestra in recognition of this, they first performed in May 1945 on the monastery's hospital lawn before a bewildered crowd of 400 patients who were still recovering from their traumatic Holocaust experience. One American soldier, U.S. Army journalist Robert L. Hilliard, recalled the emotional performance,

² Shirli Gilbert, "Buried Monuments: Yiddish Songs and Holocaust Memory," *History Workshop Journal* 66 (Autumn 2008): 107-128, here 107.

³ Barbara Milewski, "Remembering the Concentration Camps: Aleksander Kulisiewicz and His Concerts of Prisoners' Songs in the Federal Republic of Germany," in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141-160, here 147.

noting how the audience of survivors appeared to be in a state of disbelief, and “[w]hen the concert ended most people were crying, few more openly than I.”⁴

The orchestra wore customized “striped concentration camp uniforms” and performed songs from the ghettos and camps that referenced loss, homelessness, and the “larger trauma of forced displacement.”⁵ Their sets also featured a range of classical pieces, from Mozart to music that the Nazis considered “degenerate” (a term the Nazis used to describe art that was believed to be un-German, subversive, or threatening to the ideals of Nazism). Their dramatic stage design included barbed-wire fences and oversized Stars of David with the word “Jude” (i.e., “Jew”) printed on them. Following recovery, the ensemble was moved to the Landsberg Displaced Persons (DPs)⁶ camp in the American Zone of occupied Germany. It was here that the group changed its name to the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra, performing its first Landsberg concert in August 1945.⁷

Their concerts in a number of DP camps in the American Zone of occupied Germany between 1945 and 1949 represented a reclamation of humanity. In her article, “Displaced Music: The Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra in Postwar Germany,” Abby Anderton notes that, “[r]ather than shying away from memories of their internment, the orchestra made every effort to establish a culture of shared experience with audience members.”⁸ The solidarity of this “shared experience” empowered survivors to confront the past environment and reality of the concentration camps. With their program and stage setup, these powerful performances allowed both the musicians and those in attendance to reject victimhood and served as cathartic moments for those who had survived the horrors of the Holocaust, proving their resolve after having faced extermination. DP events were viewed as essential to the morale of survivors; they were employed by Allied authorities to “make them happy;” and they were deemed crucial for any hope of recovery.⁹ Thus, the performances were part of a vital

⁴ Bret Werb, “‘Vu ahin zol ikh geyn?’ Music Culture of Jewish Displaced Persons,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 75-96, here 86-87; Robert L. Hilliard, *Surviving the Americans: The Continued Struggle of the Jews after Liberation* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1997), 9-10.

⁵ Abby Anderton, “Displaced Music: The Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra in Postwar Germany,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 34, no. 2 (2015): 141-149, here 141-145.

⁶ After World War II, those who had been forced to leave their homes because of the war were labeled “displaced persons” (DPs). After the war, camps were set up and administered by the Allied authorities in Europe to temporarily house DPs as part of the relocation process. These camps were known as DP camps. For more information on the musical activities of DPs and DP camps, see Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 141-159.

⁷ Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 145-146.

⁸ Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 142, 144.

⁹ Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 148.

community effort to facilitate a return to normalcy, especially for Jewish musicians—a reminder that they had not been forgotten.¹⁰

Further endeavors toward such empowerment were Leonard Bernstein's performances in postwar Germany, which provided much-needed entertainment for a country trying to rebuild both physically and spiritually. Bernstein, a Jewish American composer, arrived in Germany in 1948. Initially invited to perform with the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, Bernstein added two more concert dates to his tour after hearing about the orchestra made up of former concentration camp inmates. In a letter to his secretary, Helen Coates, he wrote that "[t]here has been much trouble and fuss over this, but I insisted. I may have to hire the orchestra myself, but it's worth it."¹¹ Performing with the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra and the Munich Philharmonic presented Bernstein with two different experiences which, taken together, demonstrated music's ability to restore.

Recounting his experience with the Munich ensemble, Bernstein was delighted at the reception he received from both the orchestra and the audience, telling Helen Coates, "I had three obstacles to overcome—youth, Americanism, and Jewishness [...] There's nothing more satisfying than an opera-house full of Germans screaming with excitement."¹² That Bernstein, a Jew, was cheered on by crowds of Germans just a few years after the Holocaust is remarkable. On the other hand, performing with the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra in the DP camps of Landsberg and Feldafing, Bernstein experienced another kind of feeling: "I was received by parades of kids with flowers, and the greatest honors. I conducted a 20-piece concentration-camp orchestra [...] and cried my heart out. I can't tell this to you now—it's too deep and involved."¹³ These performances proved to be very emotional for Bernstein, as the honor of performing with survivors for survivors moved him to tears. In a bleak, postwar environment, these concerts helped foster a survivor community "bound by common experiences and traumas."¹⁴

Apart from their immediate impact on both musicians and audience members, these concerts also served to bridge the gap between Jewish DPs and German civilians. Despite initial concerns from the military, warning that these two groups "should never attend the same concerts due to ill will," survivors and civilians often attended the same performances. Instead of hostility, observers were amazed at the intermingling. The Munich ensemble, made up of German civilians,

¹⁰ Shirli Gilbert, "'We Long for a Home': Songs and Survival Among Jewish Displaced Persons," in *"We Are Here": New Approaches to Jewish Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, ed. Avinoam J. Patt and Michael Berkowitz (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 289-307, here 291.

¹¹ "Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Helen Coates," May 5, 1948, *Library of Congress*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

¹² "Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Helen Coates," May 11, 1948, *Library of Congress*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

¹³ "Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Helen Coates," May 11, 1948.

¹⁴ Anderton, "Displaced Music," 159.

attended both DP concerts, and Bernstein felt that this represented a “kind of expiation,” showing that they “wanted to atone somehow.”¹⁵ The fact that only three years after the war Jewish survivors and German civilians could amicably gather in the same space is a significant comment on music’s ability to facilitate reconciliation. It was a crucial step forward in the aftermath of the Holocaust, bringing people together at a time when the memory of war and genocide was still fresh in the Jewish and German consciousness. As for the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra, they adopted their final name—the Representative Concert Orchestra of the She’erit Hapletah (i.e., “Surviving Remnant”)—before disbanding in 1949.¹⁶

While the DP concerts demonstrate the power of musical performance, early recordings of concentration camp songs further reveal how Holocaust music could serve as an instrument of strength. After the war, there were a number of efforts to record ghetto and concentration camp music. Israel Kaplan and the Central Historical Commission of Liberated Germany, for example, took an early interest in recording songs and folklore from survivors in DP camps throughout postwar Europe.¹⁷ While their efforts are important, the work of David Boder in the summer of 1946 reveals a different take on this endeavor. Boder, a professor at the Illinois Institute of Technology, felt that this was an opportunity to use his magnetic wire recorder to interview DPs. He believed that this method would be useful in overcoming the “multiplicity of languages” and allow survivors to tell their stories in their own words, later to be translated into English.¹⁸

Boder initially asked the interviewees to sing as a way of easing them into telling their stories. However, after recording them singing, upon playback, he noted that “the wonder of hearing their own voices recorded was boundless.”¹⁹ As he realized the significance of this, Boder pursued song recording as an endeavor separate from the interviews, thus uncovering different insights into the prisoner experience. Combining the power of song with its remarkable ability to help survivors tell their stories, makes Boder’s contribution unique. Recording music had started as a byproduct of his objective, but once he understood music’s full potential, he had no choice but to make it a substantial part of his work.

One individual, Israel Unikowski, came to his interview with notes, nervously “hoping to read from a prepared text,” something Boder believed would “quash spontaneity and thus presumably limit the interview’s range.”²⁰ However, after he had been asked to sing (and had, in fact, done so), Unikowski was able to relax

¹⁵ Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 154, 156, 157.

¹⁶ Anderton, “Displaced Music,” 151, 158.

¹⁷ Alan Rosen, *The Wonder of Their Voices: The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 106-107.

¹⁸ David P. Boder, *I Did Not Interview the Dead* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949), xi-xii.

¹⁹ Cited in Rosen, *Wonder of Their Voices*, 108.

²⁰ Rosen, *Wonder of Their Voices*, 110.

and set his notes aside, making his interview much more conversational.²¹ Another interviewee, Bella Zgnilek, willingly sang part of a song she had learned from her camp, damning the “German swines,” but was reluctant to sing one specific verse. Boder was eventually able to sway her to recount it: “In front of the barracks in Gabesdorf / Stands a barbed fence around the yard / And the girls with sorrowful faces [or: sit sorrowfully] / while outside freedom glitters / Good-bye Sudetenland.” While this verse deals with the reality of camp life, the loss of one’s home, and perhaps Zgnilek’s own experience, the verse she had sung first had been easier to deliver because it expressed triumph over her oppressors. The second verse, on the other hand, was too personal and traumatic to recite. Through song, though, Zgnilek was able to confront her fear, revealing the power she could harness from the music to confront and conquer her painful memory.

Both cases show how music has the ability to reinvigorate. Singing calmed Unikowski and gave him the fortitude to speak about his experience in an unrestrained, informal manner. Similarly, singing enabled Zgnilek to face the trauma of her Holocaust experience. Whether songs allow individuals to simply let their guard down or provide a temporary escape from reality, the process of singing, in these cases, did something for these individuals. In *Music, Music Therapy and Trauma: International Perspectives*, Julie P. Sutton argues that music gives trauma victims the gift of autonomy, which enables them to make their own choices and take control of their surroundings, resulting in new confidence.²² Confronting the past through song provides survivors with the courage to overcome their fears and tell their stories, showing the restorative power of music.

II. Politicization

During the Cold War, Holocaust music continued to heal painful memories. At the same time, traditional Jewish songs were being politicized amidst the rivalry between East and West. The political appropriation of Yiddish music coincided with the deactivation of DP camps in the late 1940s. Yet while the Cold War contributed to the growing division between the Jewish and communist identities in institutional politics, music served as a link between the two, connecting them for the purposes of Soviet propaganda.²³ In this postwar environment, Lin Jaldati (1912-1988), a Jewish communist, Holocaust survivor, and musician, used Yiddish music as a commemorative tool. Like the Ex-Concentration Camp Orchestra, Jaldati performed in DP camps and around Europe, building on the “shared experience” with her audience of fellow survivors. Her path deviated from that of

²¹ Israel Unikowski, interview by David P. Boder, August 2, 1946, Fontenay-aux-Roses, France,” *Illinois Institute of Technology*, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

²² Julie P. Sutton, “Trauma in Context,” in *Music, Music Therapy and Trauma: International Perspectives*, ed. Julie P. Sutton (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2002), 21-40, here 29.

²³ David Shneer, “Ebehard Rebling, Lin Jaldati, and Yiddish Music in East Germany, 1949-1962,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music, and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 161-186, here 167, 169.

other performers, though, as her Jewish communist identity created a unique opportunity in the eyes of the German Democratic Republic (GDR).²⁴

Jaldati had performed Yiddish music as an inmate at Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen. After liberation, she resumed performing in 1946, but the increasing political divide between East and West gradually transformed her ideological approach to music. By the late 1940s, her communist identity was becoming more prominent, resulting in a unique blending of worlds in this polarized political and cultural climate, while still acknowledging the significance of Yiddish music and Jewish culture. In 1951, urged to relocate from Holland to the GDR to help “rebuild” the new Germany through her music and motivated in part by her socialist interests to contribute to the new state, Jaldati moved to East Germany with her husband, Eberhard Rebling. Both became involved in the state’s power structure, and Rebling received a high-ranking position in the GDR’s musical establishment. During this time, politics began to play a bigger role in Jaldati’s musical career, yet despite the era’s heightened anti-Semitism, she never sacrificed her Jewish identity for state ideology. Instead of being forced into the state’s socialist musical framework, she flourished as a Yiddish musician and never abandoned her Jewish community. In the end, the GDR promoted Jaldati as a Jew above all else, rarely mentioning her communist affiliation and, instead, using her as an example of “tolerance” in the context of the East’s anti-Semitism.²⁵

Lin Jaldati’s case shows that, despite the increasing divide between the communist and Jewish identities, Yiddish music and political identity could actually be synergetic for some. Naturally, the GDR used this music as propaganda to promote a more humane image of the communist state. Meanwhile, Jaldati used this opportunity to promote Holocaust remembrance and to draw attention to the Jewish suffering in a political context. However the state truly felt about her heritage, she saw a blending of the two identities as a way for healing and rebuilding during the postwar years. In the communist political landscape, Yiddish music was seen as a tool to bring people together for the ultimate goal of commemoration and understanding. While her political counterparts were becoming increasingly intolerant, Jaldati’s loyalty was to the music and to the shared remembrance of her heritage and the Holocaust.

East and West continued this trend of musical politicization over the following decades, which saw the consciousness of a younger generation coming of age. In the 1960s, the West German student movement made the connection between Yiddish music and political identity. Being the first to protest against their parents’ generation for having been active “or at least complicit in Nazi atrocities,” these

²⁴ Shneer, “Ebehard Rebling,” 166. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was the official name of East Germany, part of the Eastern Bloc controlled by the former Soviet Union. For more information on the politicization of Yiddish music in the GDR, see Shneer, “Ebehard Rebling.”

²⁵ Shneer, “Ebehard Rebling,” 168-172; Jaldati Rebling, interview by Allie Brudney, March 11, 2014, *Yiddish Book Center*, Berlin, Germany, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

young Germans were decried as *Nestbeschmutzer* (nest-foulers) for “digging up the past.” Their activities spread, though, and eventually led to the process of *Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung* (reappraisal of the past).²⁶ In 1963, Peter Rohland became the first German singer to attempt a “gesture of reconciliation,” criticizing the Nazis’ persecution of the Jews and the Holocaust. Left-wing artists embraced Yiddish music, identified as *klezmer* in this context, as a protest against their parent’s generation.²⁷ Throughout eastern Europe, the anti-Semitic communist state looked at this music with suspicion as being “Zionistic.” However, as *klezmer* is a musical tradition associated with Yiddish-speaking eastern European Jews, and Jewish music could in no way be part of National Socialism, the East ironically “needed Yiddish song as proof of its antifascist identity.”²⁸

Amid the chaos of *klezmer*’s politicization, one camp survivor sought to use Yiddish music to spread a message of peace and hope. Aleksander Kulisiewicz, a Polish political prisoner from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, had written music and memorized songs of fellow inmates during the Holocaust. After the war, under the supervision of the Polish Communist Party, he was invited to perform his “repertoire of prisoner’s songs on the road” as a remembrance of the past. While being promoted by the communist state, it was actually the “anti-authoritarian” counterculture movement’s support that allowed for his message to be heard on a grand scale. During the 1960s, Kulisiewicz became a central player on the folk revival concert circuit, performing at festivals in Europe that promoted antifascism and “peace between East and West.”²⁹ Through his performances, he used the politicization of Yiddish music to promote peace and the commemoration of victims of the Holocaust, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

While most festivals were in line with Kulisiewicz’s message—“leftist, antifascist, and peace seeking”—one major festival in West Germany, Burg Waldeck, became increasingly political. Like the youth movements of the United States in the mid-to-late-1960s, Burg Waldeck and the German counterculture movement began to deviate from social activism and shifted their focus against war, specifically the nuclear arms race.³⁰ In East Germany, too, “people were protesting against nuclear weapons with Yiddish songs,” which were truly becoming a “language of resistance.”³¹ Yet, between these politically charged youth movements and the communist agenda of the East, Kulisiewicz was still

²⁶ Lizzie Widdicombe, “What Can We Learn from the Germans about Confronting Our History,” *The New Yorker*, October 21, 2019.

²⁷ Magdalena Waligórska, *Klezmer’s Afterlife: An Ethnography of the Jewish Music Revival in Poland and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 180; Jalda Rebling, interview by Allie Brudney.

²⁸ Aaron Eckstaedt, “Yiddish Folk Music as a Marker of Identity in Postwar Germany,” *European Judaism* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 37-47, here 39, 41.

²⁹ Milewski, “Remembering the Concentration Camps,” 141-142, 146, 148.

³⁰ Milewski, “Remembering the Concentration Camps,” 148-149.

³¹ Jalda Rebling, interview by Allie Brudney.

able to adhere to his self-appointed purpose. The political climate, with its promotion of an array of leftist causes and messages, embraced his performances, which focused on remembrance as the key to harmony. For Kulisiewicz, healing the wounds of past injustice was essential for building a better future. As notions of peace were spreading eastward, his message similarly resonated with the counterculture's movement against the "ever-present, continuous threat of war."³²

When the Cold War began to wane, *klezmer* and Yiddish music became even more intertwined and politicized, creating a sort of hybrid genre linked to German and Polish identity. In fact, it was *klezmer's* political angle that kept it afloat in the mainstream culture of the East and aided in its revival during the 1980s. *Klezmer* continued to exist as an ambiguous genre that represented the Jewish heritage, antitotalitarian voices, as well as communist propaganda for East Germany's antifascist stance. Since the fall of communism, Jews and non-Jews in Germany and Poland have been debating *klezmer's* true significance and who it actually represents. At the heart of these debates lies the political question.

In Poland, for example, *klezmer* bands often perform at political events that are separate from any Jewish affiliation but attempt to use the music as a symbol of tolerance. While *klezmer* is not exclusively Jewish, its historical ties to Yiddish culture elicit strong feelings in the Jewish community regarding any political "appropriation." Therefore, other bands have made a deliberate attempt to avoid being "manipulated" for political gain, and efforts continue to transcend politics and simply promote *klezmer's* role in the "healing process between Jews and Germans." While this idea has been challenged as a "philosophy of easy forgiveness," it cannot be dismissed entirely.³³

Magdalena Waligorska has argued that, "[i]f the culture of the other serves a reflection of the collective self, it is not the factual that matters but the functional."³⁴ Listening to music is a personal, subjective experience that no label can predetermine, which is why songs move people in different ways. By politicizing *klezmer*, those feeling a connection to the Holocaust through music are able to embrace its ability to help them heal. Speaking of this embrace: from 1948 until 1988, Kristallnacht anniversary concerts were sanctioned by the East as communist propaganda, claiming that anti-Semitism was a product of German capitalism, and that the GDR could guarantee its Jewish citizens the "security that Western states were unable to offer."³⁵ Thus, the communist state accepted this music as an "antifascist" tool and propagated it as proof of its perceived superiority over the West. However, while it was allowed for political gain, people could, in turn, use it to honor and celebrate the Jewish heritage as it remained a constant reminder throughout the East and embodied in musical commemoration.

³² Milewski, "Remembering the Concentration Camps," 151.

³³ Waligórska, *Klezmer's Afterlife*, 180, 183, 188, 189, 191, for the quotes in this paragraph.

³⁴ Waligórska, *Klezmer's Afterlife*, 200.

³⁵ Waligórska, *Klezmer's Afterlife*, 182.

III. Preservation

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the story of Holocaust remembrance music continued with the preservation of camp and ghetto songs, now decades after liberation, thereby maintaining the healing process by breathing new life into forgotten victims of the past. In addition to the early field recordings of David Boder, others, such as Serge Kacerginski, also made significant contributions to the preservation of camp music and Jewish culture. Kacerginski's documentation of prisoner songs culminated in the influential 1948 anthology *Lider fun di getos un lagern* ("Songs from the Ghettos and Camps"), which has helped pave the way for like-minded musicologists and researchers. With the dwindling of Yiddish speakers since World War II, Kacerginski's anthology has become more than just a songbook; it has greatly enhanced the conservation of eastern European Jewish culture.³⁶ These early efforts, recognized as a retrieval of "Jewish cultural artifacts," marked the beginning of what would become a decades-long journey to recover the lost music of the Holocaust.³⁷ As the years went on, the purpose and meaning behind this venture evolved from person to person.

Returning briefly to Aleksander Kulisiewicz, his case reveals some of the personal significance that collecting these songs can have. Kulisiewicz's astonishing memory played a major part in his preservation efforts, as he dictated "[f]rom his hospital bed after the war [...] some 716 typed pages of poems and songs that he had heard and memorized in Sachsenhausen."³⁸ His concerts celebrated the victims and musicians he had known and heard of during the Holocaust, showcasing their songs as well as his own original works. After his festival days during the 1960s, the 1970s saw Kulisiewicz continue his earlier efforts of archiving, "collecting ever-more songs, poetry, artwork, and stories of the concentration camps."³⁹ On a personal level, Kulisiewicz's song collection and performances were meant to honor victims of the Holocaust, but his ultimate goal was to spread a message of peace and hope for the future. His personal experience as a camp prisoner gave him the unique perspective to raise awareness and warn future generations of mankind's terrifying capabilities.⁴⁰

What these preservation efforts "mean" has changed over time, especially as the past becomes more distant, and song collections, alternatively, become ways to connect with the voices of deceased and forgotten victims. Those who feel a direct link to the Holocaust have also found solace in the resurrection of

³⁶ Bret Werb, "Yiddish Songs of the *Shoah*: A Source Study Based on the Collections of Shmerke Kacerginski" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014), ii, 195-196.

³⁷ David E. Fishman, *The Book Smugglers: Partisans, Poets, and the Race to Save Jewish Treasures from the Nazis* (Lebanon: ForeEdge, 2017), 148, 158.

³⁸ Peter Wortsman, "Aleksander Kulisiewicz: A Singer From Hell," *Sing Out! The Folk Song Magazine* 26 no. 3 (1977): 14-15.

³⁹ Milewski, "Remembering the Concentration Camps," 151.

⁴⁰ Milewski, "Remembering the Concentration Camps," 152.

concentration camp music. Continuing the efforts of people like Aleksander Kulisiewicz and Serge Kaczerginski, Francesco Lotoro has carried the torch of ghetto and concentration camp song preservation, recovering and reciting pieces that were written in the camps. Lotoro has been on this journey since 1988, and – to this day – he sees it as a personal calling of sorts, something he cannot quit or conclude until he feels the journey is complete.⁴¹ He has already uncovered around 8,000 musical scores, but his work is important beyond the preservation of historical “artifacts;” he is also helping to preserve the memory and, in turn, the lives of victims.⁴² Among the millions of people killed in the Holocaust, “an entire generation of talented musicians, composers and virtuosos perished,” leaving behind only their music.⁴³ Their songs live on and provide proof that they actually existed. Their music provides insight into who they were and assigns them a more tangible identity. Without individuals like Francesco Lotoro, the Nazis—to a certain extent—would have succeeded in the extermination of an entire generation, yet these victims now live on in their music.

Aside from memorializing those who perished in the Holocaust, the preservation and performance of this music has also offered a sense of peace to the survivors and their relatives. In the 1990s, Lotoro formed an orchestra to perform the music he was uncovering which he called “concentrationary music.” The respective repertoire included well-known pieces from prominent composers, as well as those from unknown artists that had been lost or forgotten until Lotoro “deciphered, transcribed and arranged them.” Lotoro has also collected music from “Quakers, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Roma (Gypsies), political prisoners, homosexuals, and others held in camps and prisons as far afield as Asia,” including songs written by American GIs held in Japanese POW camps, as well as songs written by German prisoners held in Allied POW camps.⁴⁴

Lotoro’s work has provided a valuable service. For some, hearing these songs has had a profound effect, allowing painful memories of lost relatives to heal. For instance, Jozef Kropinski’s son Waldemar has described what it means to him to hear his father’s songs: “I thought it was something that was of no interest to anyone because my father was already dead and not even one camp composition of his was performed in Poland [...]. It was a very personal feeling. Even today, although I know these pieces, I go back and listen to them often, and every time I hear them, I cry.”⁴⁵ Apart from his father’s music, nothing can provide this experience for Waldemar. His father’s journey was almost lost to history, and his

⁴¹ Wertheim, “Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps Made Music.”

⁴² Julia Rampen, “The Salvaged Music of the Holocaust: How a Concert Brought Lost Songs to Life,” *New Statesman* 147 no. 5, 417 (May 4, 2018): 15-16.

⁴³ Wertheim, “Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps Made Music.”

⁴⁴ Ruth Ellen Gruber, “Man on a Mission,” *Baltimore Jewish Times* 328 no. 5 (October 5, 2012): 41-42. The quotations in this paragraph stem from Gruber’s article.

⁴⁵ Wertheim, “Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps Made Music.”

father's art almost faded into obscurity. But today, Waldemer can connect with his father by listening to his songs, thanks to Francesco Lotoro.

The recording and performance of this preserved music has had a significant impact on society and Jewish culture. As made evident through the pervasiveness of its commemoration, this music has been incorporated into the healing process for survivors and the relatives of victims. Consequently, collecting and preserving these songs has become an increasingly focused effort in the Holocaust memorial community, and more and more institutions are being established to honor these lost victims. Lotoro is in the process of developing a campus in Barletta, Italy, that will include a "library, a museum, [and] a theater, and will house more than 10,000 items" he has collected.⁴⁶ *Exilarte: Zentrum für verfolgte Musik* is an organization in Vienna, Austria, set up to "recover and study" music that was banned by the Nazis; they have compiled the works of twenty composers, and they arrange performances and recordings of music to be shared with the public. Other musicians, such as James Conlon and Mark Ludwig, have undertaken similar work, organizing and performing the lost songs of concentration camp inmates.⁴⁷

While these preservation efforts largely center on honoring victims of the Holocaust, they also serve as a reminder of the world we live in, similar to Aleksander Kulisiewicz's message of remembrance. For example, in 2018, a concert at Jerusalem's International Convention Center, sponsored by a British charity, was set up to express to the world that "[a]nti-Semitism in England is a major cause for concern."⁴⁸ These types of messages are, in some way, as important as Holocaust remembrance, because they raise awareness in hopes that nothing like the Holocaust will ever happen again. Commemorative concerts can provide a unique platform to speak to the masses about important issues surrounding this tragedy. The healing process is steeped in community, and since the end of World War II, people have been coming together, in solidarity, to remember the past and champion a better future.

Conclusion

The story of Holocaust remembrance music is multifaceted. It demonstrates that, no matter what other purpose the music may be serving, it always comes back to its ability to help heal and reconcile. Beginning with musical performances by Holocaust survivors, remembrance emerged as an instrument of strength in the immediate postwar period, providing a "shared experience" for musicians and audience members. The empowerment of victims singing songs from the camps, while confronting their past, further speaks to the strength that this music was able to provide survivors after the war. During the Cold War, Yiddish music was

⁴⁶ Wertheim, "Prisoners in Nazi Concentration Camps Made Music."

⁴⁷ Milton Esterow, "Saving Music That Survived The Holocaust," *New York Times*, June 23, 2020.

⁴⁸ Rampen, "Salvaged Music," 15-16.

increasingly politicized. Consequently, Jewish suffering and Holocaust remembrance were constant reminders in both the East and the West, allowing survivors and the relatives of victims to find consolation in the musical community. More recently, preservation efforts by contemporary artists and institutions have helped foster a community of commemoration that allows a dynamic approach to understanding the past. This has created a direct link to the Holocaust, connecting loved ones to the memory of lost victims, while also raising awareness and educating people in hopes of a more harmonious existence.

During the Holocaust, music was a symbol of life and vitality, survival and defiance, existence and perseverance. Since liberation, these songs have represented an affirmation of humanity, a true affront to the Nazi's attempted "Final Solution."⁴⁹ Musical commemoration of this tragic period in history allows people to connect, remember, and honor the lives that were lost, while also learning important lessons from the past. However one looks at this music, experiencing the lives of Holocaust victims through the songs they wrote facilitates an alternative, more intimate understanding of this period's significance. This trajectory of Holocaust remembrance music reveals the healing power of song, whatever generation or decade we are in. Built around community, these efforts prove that mankind is capable of overcoming hate and fear, and while we still have a long way to go, we can always look to the power of song to find solace in the face of adversity.

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⁴⁹ The "Final Solution" was the Nazis' program for the extermination of all Jews in Europe, implemented from 1941 on. For more information on the "Final Solution," see John M. Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, vol. 2, *From the French Revolution to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), chapter 26.

Luca Azuma

The Case for a Bigger Tent: Perspectives from Gay Conservatives in America

ABSTRACT: *There are conservatives of all different stripes, even rainbow ones. This article is a study of gay conservatism in American history from pre-Stonewall activism to the present. It seeks to uncover what gay conservatives believe, who they are, and how they have interacted with broader political and cultural movements in the United States, particularly where they fit in (and stick out) in the rise of an ideologically monolithic Republican Right over the last half-century. The author demonstrates that gay conservatives are an ideologically diverse group, share some similarities with mainstream conservatives, but do have distinctive beliefs, which shows the need for a reworking of scholarly definitions of conservatism in the United States.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; Civil Rights; conservatism; libertarianism; Republican Party; Right and Left; gay conservatives; Log Cabin Republicans (LCR); LGBTQ+*

Introduction

The term “gay conservatism” elicits a wide range of contorted facial expressions, which demonstrates everything that is wrong in this relatively small field of study. I will spare you the cringe of an obligatory but gratuitous pun about gay conservatives needing to “come out of the scholarly closet” or the like and instead remark that gay conservatives are like blemishes on a favorite white shirt: the more you look for them, the more you find. Despite the oft-muted existence of these figures in the history of American conservatism post-coming out, their existence in substantial numbers and in influential posts of the movement is undeniable. Yet the swept-under-the-rug nature of their existence should in no way obviate the studying of these individuals. If anything, it should increase our interest, for the contorted facial expressions belie an assumption that the existence of gay conservatives is a contradiction at worst and a paradox at best. The intersection of two identities that should be mutually exclusive in the eyes of many has recently gained traction in the study of minority conservatives and, to a lesser extent, gay conservatives, as these unexpected crossings are rich soil for deepening our understanding of the social currents that move in the United States.¹

Despite the limited number of gay conservatives, the scholarly work on this group is far too small in volume and scope even for gay conservatives, as their study reveals a trove of complexities and connections that will gain relevance as society changes at a rapid clip. There has yet to be a comprehensive look at queer

¹ For African American conservatism, see Leah Wright Rigueur, *The Loneliness of the Black Republican: Pragmatic Politics and the Pursuit of Power* (Princeton University Press, 2014). For Latino conservatism, see Geraldo L. Cadava, *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, from Nixon to Trump* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2020); and Benjamin Francis-Fallon, *The Rise of the Latino Vote: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019). Asian American conservatism lacks a monograph of its own, the closest thing to it being Stanford Ph.D. candidate Vivian Yan-Gonzalez’s dissertation, tentatively titled, “A Spectrum Apart: Conservatism in Asian America, 1920-1990.”

conservatism's relatively expansive history – in fact, there is not a single historical work of monograph length on the subject of gay conservatism at all, and most studies of any length are from the fields of Communications and Political Science, and concern themselves only with taking stills of gay conservatism at certain moments in time rather than reflecting on the historical presence of these individuals in politics and culture.² The historical scholarship that does exist is biased heavily toward accounts of the most easily identifiable of gay conservatives in the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR) organization, famous for being the largest conservative organization of its kind. This article ventures to scratch the surface of the broader field of gay conservatism that not only reflects, but even exceeds, the diversity of opinion found in the larger coalition of the Right, but that also vindicates emerging trends in the selection of theoretical frameworks in the historiography of conservatism in the United States.

The emerging trends to which I refer can be found in studies on minority conservatives and in those concerning race and conservatism in the United States. The rules for hunting the “ducks,” as Barry Goldwater used to call swing voters, have changed since the *Brown* U.S. Supreme Court decision (1954) and the Civil Rights movement, which altered the American social and political climate, a fact that many historians either recognize implicitly or argue for explicitly.³ There is plenty of evidence identifying the melting of “massive resistance” proponents into mainstream “colorblind” conservatism, which makes suspect the motives of those who employ such language. The interest in coded appeals and undercurrents of prejudice and hate is prevalent in academic studies on conservatism in the United States, and rightfully so. Yet many historians still focus almost exclusively on “coded, racial appeals” when looking at politics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, an approach that, in the words of Joseph Crespino, “overemphasize[s] continuity in Southern politics” and not just Southern politics but politics in general.⁴ Matthew Lassiter minces no words in declaring that “the ‘Southern Strategy’ explanation of the political transformation of the modern South is wrong,” positing a scholarly “overreliance on race-reductionist narratives to explain complex political transformations,” which “downplays the centrality of class ideology in the outlook of suburban voters and

² The only historian to address gay conservatism directly is Clayton Howard; see Clayton Howard, “Gay and Conservative: An Early History of the Log Cabin Republicans,” in *Beyond the Politics of the Closet: Gay Rights and the American State Since the 1970s*, ed. Jonathan Bell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 141-164.

³ See Wright Rigueur, *Loneliness of the Black Republican*, 118-120, 156, 159, 160; Geoffrey M. Kabaservice, *Rule and Ruin: The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party, from Eisenhower to the Tea Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 188; Cadava, *Hispanic Republican*, 276; and Francis-Fallon, *Rise of the Latino Vote*, 240; all of which recount the use of middle-class values by Republicans to appeal to minority voters.

⁴ Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 6, 7.

ignores the consistent class divides among white southerners evident throughout the Civil Rights era.”⁵

The point is that an approach favoring class, especially during the emergence of what many consider a New Gilded Age, is entirely more appropriate for inspecting gay conservatism than a more traditional paradigm that has a penchant for being engrossed in pointing to smokescreens and the contrails of racism and bigotry in conservatism so that it misses a (purportedly) burgeoning conservative constituency in areas where conservatives were once thought to have no constituency at all.⁶ Middle-class ideals of normalcy and respectability play a central role in gay conservative thought, as they do indeed in any discussion of queer acceptance in society. Most egregiously, the conventional approach often employs bloc categorizations that assume a Manichaean human being that contains no internal contradictions—a sort of Platonic form of a human that is nowhere to be found in actuality. It is therefore the goal of this article to utilize a more class-based and political-theoretical approach to get a fuller picture of who gay conservatives are and what they stand for and, in the process, challenge longstanding definitions of conservatism as it is understood on an academic and popular level. Hence, this article argues that there are different strands of thought among gay conservatives and presents for dissection gay conservatives’ politically significant understandings of gay history in the United States.

The analysis presented here primarily relies on a series of polemical texts, published between 1989 and 2005, when intellectuals from the queer Left and the gay Right engaged in a “war of ideas” for the soul of the LGBTQ+ community. Authors from the gay Right include Marshall Kirk (psychologist and amateur historian) and Hunter Madsen (marketing specialist), Rich Tafel (former national president of the Log Cabin Republicans), Bruce Bawer (gay rights activist and academic), and Andrew Sullivan (Harvard Political Science Ph.D., journalist, and blogger). The queer Left is represented by Richard Goldstein (journalist and editor) and Paul Robinson (Stanford Professor of Humanities Emeritus). To show the continuous historical presence of gay conservatives, this article also uses archival sources from the late 1960s to the mid-2010s, ending around the seminal *Obergefell* (2015) and *Masterpiece Cakeshop* (2018) U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

I. The Different Strands of Gay Conservatism

Gay conservatives are an incredibly amorphous group of people, if they constitute a group at all. A more appropriate description is that they are a category of individuals, and a very broad category at that. First and foremost, members of this category are all *gay* conservatives, not *queer* conservatives—gay conservatives have a visceral reaction to the “queer” label that causes them to eschew the term

⁵ Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 4, 5.

⁶ Cadava, *Hispanic Republican*, xii, conveys the assumption, shared by many, that minority groups and Hispanics in particular “will help to end the Republican Party.”

with vigor.⁷ Though Bruce Bawer holds positions unique to his strand of gay conservatism, his statements on the label “queer” stand for gay conservatives collectively when he says that the term “queer” is “an odd and problematic word, often less indicative of sexual orientation than of ideology” that describes a “socially marginal rebel, defined primarily by his or her sexuality, who is perpetually and intrinsically at odds with the political and cultural establishment.”⁸ The implication of this is that gay conservatives do *not* see their sexual identity as primary to their existence, an opinion that holds true across the different strands and, in conjunction with clinging to traditional values, is what sets gay conservatives apart from the broader Left-leaning queer community.

The categories of gay conservatives have some overlap with categories identified by historians of the twentieth-century conservative movement in the United States. Hence, they inevitably come with the same complex web of relations that make gay conservatives just as much of a loose coalition as the broader conservative movement, beginning with gay conservatism’s strong libertarian bent. Studying libertarianism in the context of gay conservatism brings to the fore the very independent nature of libertarianism and two very distinct features: first, gay libertarians want recognition for gay rights, but simultaneously refuse to support public accommodations legislation; and second, during their early days in the 1970s, libertarians did not see themselves linked to conservatism at all. Thus, gay libertarians have a convoluted, outsider relationship with the rest of the Right, fittingly mirrored by Ayn Rand’s complicated relationship with the Right.⁹ Libertarians and the Libertarian Party are defined by an uncompromising, all-important dedication to freedom, but in a way that holds sacred the rights of the individual and the individual’s agency, as opposed to the goal of deconstruction by the semantically similar Gay Liberation Front.¹⁰ Their unilateral commitment to freedom has historically caused some wariness of libertarians by the traditional Right because this commitment has led libertarians to endorse positions that are

⁷ Therefore, this article uses the term “gay” instead of “queer,” for similar reasons that Cadava, *Hispanic Republican*, uses the politically incorrect term “Hispanic” instead of “Latinx,” because—in Cadava’s case—the former is the label preferred by the majority of the respective demographic (*ibid.*, ix) and because the term “Latinx”—or in the case of this article “queer”—“implies a particular political identity” (*ibid.*, x). This is not to say that the subjects of study in this group are all specifically gay; they may also be transgender, lesbian, bisexual, etc., though their demographics will be addressed shortly. “Gay” or “homosexual” will also be used at various points when referring to queer history to avoid anachronism.

⁸ Bruce Bawer, *Beyond Queer: Challenging Gay Left Orthodoxy* (New York: Free Press, 1996), ix.

⁹ Jennifer Burns, *Goddess of the Market: Ayn Rand and the American Right* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ Grant Walsh-Haines, “Issue Framing and Identity Politics in the Log Cabin Republicans” (Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 2018), 42, which addresses queer theory’s goal to radically transform understandings of sex and gender. Andrew Sullivan, *Virtually Normal: An Argument About Homosexuality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 57, describes liberationists’ greatest end as to “be free of all social constructs.”

not in line with those who have held the reins of power in the Right's resurgence, namely, evangelical Christians.¹¹

In the case of gay libertarians, this is evidenced by their unencumbered participation in Libertarian Party affairs since the first days of this organization in the 1970s. The party platforms of the 1970s often addressed the issue of sexual relations directly, offering a stance that promised not to police the bedroom. As early as 1976, Alyn W. Hess, secretary of the local Libertarian Party chapter in Milwaukee and a founder of the Gay People's Union, used his influence in the queer community to draft letters expressing his frustration with mainstream candidates Ford and Carter, acclaiming the works of Rand, and outlining how he had overcome his doubts whether the Libertarian Party "was the best way for gay people and truly liberal people to go."¹² Hess explains why he was casting his vote for Libertarian Party candidate Roger MacBride, citing the party and MacBride's intention "to repeal ALL the victimless crime laws, which of course includes the oppressive anti-gay sex laws. In fact, they [i.e., the Libertarians] have published a pamphlet[t] publicly stating their pro-gay views."¹³

The Hess correspondence reveals little in the way of LGBTQ+ interest in economic thought, save for a section conjecturing that the IRS was targeting homosexuals and a few lines about abolishing the Federal Reserve, but it does reveal a strong affinity for privileging *social* freedoms over economic concerns. This explains why someone like Hess, who was expressing concerns over the environment and "the flagrant discrimination [which had been] perpetrated against talented women, blacks, Chinese and gay people," and later in life appeared to associate himself with liberal, Democratic Party politics, would be attracted to libertarianism at some point in his life.¹⁴ Judging by his notes from the Wisconsin State Libertarian Convention in April 1977 (on what "marginal utility

¹¹ Kabaservice, *Rule and Ruin*, documents in great detail the fall of moderate Republicans, while Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religions, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2011), describes the rise of the religious Right, especially in southern California.

¹² Alyn W. Hess, "A Personal Message from Alyn Hess," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections.

¹³ Alyn W. Hess, "A Personal Message from Alyn Hess," and "Cover Letter to Gay Pride," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections.

¹⁴ Alyn W. Hess, "Questions I Wanted to Ask MacBride," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections; and Eldon Murray, "Milwaukee Activist Alyn Hess Dies of AIDS Complications," *The Wisconsin Light*, April 19, 1989, 1, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022. See also Sue Burke, "Milwaukee Gays Become Politically Active in 1970's," *The Wisconsin Light*, February 8, 1989, 9, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022. Hess also voices his displeasure with MacBride's showing in Milwaukee in "CRITIQUE of Roger MacBride in Milwaukee," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections, criticizing MacBride's failure to meet with the local Libertarian chapter. There may be a correlation with social libertarians leaving for the Democratic Party when neoliberal economics reached its zenith and it became more difficult to separate social and economic libertarianism.

theory" and "Austrian economics" portended for the country), Hess was still relatively new to the neoliberal economics that would become the most recognizable feature of libertarianism in the later twentieth century.¹⁵

The pamphlet referenced by Hess in his draft of a letter to acquaintances in the queer community is most likely Ralph Raico's "Gay Rights; A Libertarian Approach," written in 1975 and published in 1976. Like Hess's correspondence, it has little to say about the economic side of the libertarian message, but instead offers a defense of sexual rights and a pitch for the Libertarian Party, criticizing the "oddly selective" freedoms espoused by the Right and picking apart the "timid" efforts toward equality by liberals, though Raico does reserve some praise for Democrats such as Sargent Shriver for their stance on the issue of gay rights, further muddling the libertarians' place on the political spectrum in their early years.¹⁶ Indeed, the newsletter of the Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns shows a concerted effort by gay libertarians *not* to be associated with the Right,¹⁷ expressing a more staunchly libertarian viewpoint than Hess's. However, Raico's text indicates that the Libertarian Party, while supporting rights for gays, also opposes "infringements on the rights of homophobic persons," choosing instead to direct the reader's attention to "the mortal enemy of homosexuals [which is] the state."¹⁸ This view, while not pragmatic and highly idealistic, is in keeping with the singularly focused ideology of libertarianism in its purest sense, showing Raico's unwavering commitment to individual rights above all else.

Clearly, less ideological libertarians like Hess saw more appeal in the message for gay rights than in the more nuanced, yet more ideological view expressed by Raico, but this was to be expected given Raico's higher position in the national Libertarian Party. Raico, along with fellow gay libertarian Justin Raimondo, were regular contributors to the *Libertarian Review*, demonstrating their staunch libertarian identity and acceptance in the party by their articles on government overreach in criminalizing marijuana, the libertarian movement in Italy, and libertarian political philosophy.¹⁹ These early libertarians were more concerned

¹⁵ Alyn W. Hess, "Libertarian State Convention," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections.

¹⁶ Ralph Raico, "Gay Rights: A Libertarian Approach," January 1, 1975, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022, according to which "[t]his essay originally appeared in a 1976 presidential campaign pamphlet published by the Libertarian Party."

¹⁷ George Meyer, "Gay Libertarians Hit Anti-Discrimination Laws," *Libertarians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns Newsletter*, no. 1 (September/October 1983): 1, Alternative Press Collection, University of Connecticut Archives and Special Collections. Alyn Hess also devotes time to differentiating libertarians from Ronald Reagan: "A Personal Message from Alyn Hess," and "Libertarian State Convention," Papers of Alyn W. Hess, Box 1, University of Virginia Library Special Collections.

¹⁸ Raico, "Gay Rights." This is followed, in true libertarian fashion by a proposition to abolish the FBI and CIA to end the pamphlet.

¹⁹ *The Libertarian Review*, 7, no. 4 (May 1978): 11-13, 25, 28.

with social libertarianism than the neoliberal economics and business ties for which today's libertarians are famous, perhaps because economic freedoms are more compatible with the conservative coalition than social freedoms. The rise of the Chicago school of economics with the likes of Milton Friedman and James Buchanan has strengthened libertarianism's economic theory and increased its appeal to the mainstream but has not deterred continuing gay libertarian participation and acceptance in libertarian circles, and the party's stance remains relatively unchanged from what Raico had expressed in the mid-1970s.²⁰ For instance, shortly after *Obergefell*, an article published in *Reason* magazine, a libertarian publication, expressed that, "[a]s a gay libertarian, I support the right of a baker to decline to produce a wedding cake for a same-sex couple, but don't expect me to buy so much as a cookie at their shop," referencing the then pending *Masterpiece Cakeshop* case in which the courts were asked to rule on a Christian baker who had refused to bake a wedding cake for a gay couple.²¹

Another strand of gay conservatives, here dubbed institutional conservatives, are those whose beliefs are closer to that of the mainline Republican Party and who choose, and have always chosen, to operate within its boundaries. Because of their organizational structure and institutional history, this group has received the most scholarly attention of any of the strands discussed here, which is why the most information is available about them. Demographic studies on these institutional conservatives have been attempted, revealing them to be of the same stock as the stereotypical Right-wing voter: white, mostly male, middle-aged, religious, and middle-class or higher.²² They are represented most conspicuously by the Log Cabin Republicans, the largest national organization for LGBTQ+ conservatives.

²⁰ Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* (New York: Viking, 2017); Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). Maclean mostly tracks the story of Buchanan and his ties with the Kochs, while Jones is more concerned with the theoretical lineage of neoliberal economics from Hayek down to Friedman and Buchanan.

²¹ Scott Shackford, "A Libertarian-Gay Divorce?" *Reason* 47, no. 6 (November 2015): 38-44, here 44.

²² Kenneth W. Cimino, *Gay Conservatives: Group Consciousness and Assimilation* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2007). Cimino estimates that, out of 118 who answered his survey, 92% of Republican queers are white (*ibid.*, 95, 97); they are much more likely to be married, namely, 35.6% compared to 22.1% for the broader LGBTQ+ population (*ibid.*, 99); and they are more likely to be religious, namely, 84% compared to 75% for liberal queers (*ibid.*, 101). The oft-cited study by Mary F. Rogers and Phillip B. Lott, "Backlash, the Matrix of Domination, and Log Cabin Republicans," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1997): 497-512, which assembles a few different demographic sources from surveys to LCR ("Log Cabin Republican") meeting minutes, also conjectures that Log Cabin Republicans are overwhelmingly white, male, and upper-middle class. However, Michael S. Chouinard, "He Leans to the Right: The Personal and Political Identities of Gay Republicans" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2015), interviewed several persons (only one of whom was a member of the LCR) and found that, though they were mostly white, they came "from a diverse array of political backgrounds, social classes, geographic locations, and generations" (*ibid.*, 90). See also Courtney Sanders Muse, "Elephant in the Room: Organizational

A solid percentage of these institutional conservatives seems to be associated with the conservative movement that swept the United States during the second half of the twentieth century, opposed for example, to feminism, abortion, and some Civil Rights legislation²³—a position shared, most famously, by the late Marvin Liebman, a close associate of William F. Buckley Jr. Interestingly enough, Liebman did not consider himself part of the far-Right, disparaging these groups as having “little in common with the conservative philosophy that is primarily based on the sanctity and power of the individual over the state,” despite the fact that he supported Barry Goldwater.²⁴ To give a better understanding of where Liebman stood, he was opposed to both the radical John Birch Society and former governor of New York Nelson Rockefeller, a moderate.²⁵ This is probably the furthest to the right on the political spectrum that one will find gay conservatives, for many seek to disassociate themselves with the conservative movement of the twentieth century and instead find themselves among the moderates who were purged out of positions of power in the Republican Party between 1970 and 2000.²⁶

These moderates are characterized by their support for a “two-party strategy” for the LGBTQ+ community, similar to that practiced by racial minority groups in the Republican Party. This strategy claims to foster competition for votes between parties to keep them accountable for the interests of minority groups.²⁷ To former Log Cabin Republicans president Rich Tafel, the pursuit of this strategy stems from a feeling of being “taken for granted by Democrats.” In his autobiography, Tafel repeatedly points out that the Democrats’ pre-election promises for reform were consistently pushed aside once an election was over.²⁸ However, the use of this strategy can also stem from feeling a responsibility to work for gay rights from within Republican ranks. In this sense, the two-party strategy is exemplified in the following statement by gay Republican representative Steve Gunderson:

I was far more interested in working for gay rights from within the system than I was in making myself a Republican poster boy for the gay community [...]. It seemed to me that the gay

Framing and Personal and Collective Identity Conflict Resolution among Log Cabin Republicans” (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 2008), 147.

²³ Howard, “Gay and Conservative,” 159-161.

²⁴ Marvin Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative: An Autobiography* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1992), 12.

²⁵ Liebman, *Coming Out Conservative*, 165.

²⁶ Kabaservice, *Rule and Ruin*. Kabaservice offers a detailed account of the long fall of moderates from power after the Eisenhower administration.

²⁷ Wright Rigueur, *Loneliness of the Black Republican*, 12-13.

²⁸ Richard Tafel, *Party Crasher: A Gay Republican Challenges Politics as Usual* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 22-23, 73, 79-81; *ibid.*, 99: “As long as Democratic leaders can point to evil Republicans outside the gates, gays are less likely to make any demands of their protectors;” Howard, “Gay and Conservative,” 148-150, 155.

community was far better served by me, a member who was sensitive to gay issues, even if I felt obliged to remain quiet about my sexual orientation to preserve my electability.²⁹

Moderate and more staunch gay conservatives who make their home in the Republican Party have also been identified as “overwhelmingly libertarian” by Rich Tafel, though Michael Chouinard’s assessment that the gay conservative often “identifies as a fiscal conservative, but is socially more liberal,” might be a better fit than the single-minded devotion of libertarians to individual freedoms.³⁰ This should be unsurprising, given that many gay Republicans view the religious Right and their traditional values as mortal enemies, seeing their alternative in libertarian or moderate conservatism as “a less constrictive form of Republicanism” and “a more open-minded view, particularly on social issues.”³¹

The social issues that preoccupy gay conservatives center primarily around the extension of institutional protections to the LGBTQ+ community while, like the libertarians, upholding a standard of “no special rights.”³² The Log Cabin Republicans gained national acclaim for their support of gay marriage, filing an *amicus* brief in *Obergefell* and bringing a lawsuit against “don’t ask, don’t tell” policies in the U.S. military. Fighting to prevent discriminatory laws in various legislation packages brings fierce, often personal conflict with the religious Right.³³ Log Cabin Republicans and other mainstream gay conservatives combat this in two major ways: first, by putting the onus on the religious Right: “by declaring the radical Right as the source of party divisiveness, the LCR can then emphasize its more inclusive and moderate platforms;” and second, by arguing that “the Religious Right rejects multiple positions on controversial issues that are historically conservative,” hence claiming the conservative legacy not of the late twentieth century but of the nineteenth century.³⁴ Even so, marriage equality and equal treatment in the military are issues primarily advocated for *by the gay Right*,

²⁹ Steve Gunderson and Robert Morris, *House and Home* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), 133.

³⁰ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 49; Chouinard, “He Leans to the Right,” 89.

³¹ See David Brooks Alexander, “Redefining What It Means to Be a Republican: A Rhetorical Analysis of Same-Sex Marriage” (M.A. thesis, Clemson University, 2007), 19, for the LCRs’ fight against the Family Research Council; Chouinard, “He Leans to the Right,” 94.

³² Raico, “Gay Rights.”

³³ In a 1994 debate over the Elementary and Secondary Education Act on the House floor, Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) of the more conservative, religious Right outed gay conservative and deputy whip for the Republican Party Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-WI): Gunderson and Morris, *House and Home*, 1-13; Chris Bull, “The Out House: Congressional Debate over an Education Bill Gets Personal and Nasty,” *The Advocate*, May 3, 1994.

³⁴ Muse, “Elephant in the Room,” 28; Megan R. Loden, “The Rhetorical Elephant in the Room: How Three Political Action Committees are Strategically [Re]Defining the U.S. Republican Party,” (M.A. thesis, California State University, Long Beach, 2010), 78-79, relates the origins of the “log cabin” term, associating it with the “log cabin” president, Abraham Lincoln; David Lampo, *A Fundamental Freedom: Why Republicans, Conservatives, and Libertarians Should Support Gay Rights* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 195, also paints the religious Right as the enemy.

not the queer Left, because of what these two groups signify.³⁵ It is no coincidence that of all the queer or LGBTQ+ organizations in the United States, many of whom are more influential than the Log Cabin Republicans, the LCR were the ones who brought a suit against discrimination in the U.S. military. The political values of the Right and the Left are reflected in the issues they choose to pursue.

There is one more major category of gay conservatives that needs to be addressed here—one that is perhaps the most interesting of them all, because their credibility as conservatives is debatable. The reason these individuals stay under the penumbra of the conservative label is because the concept of conservatism in the United States has far too long been far too attached to a strictly political meaning. As Geraldo Cadava has put it in *The Hispanic Republican*, “there are differences between being conservative and being a Republican,” an epiphany that is a non-negotiable prerequisite for the study of gay conservatism because of the labyrinth of considerations that go into navigating an identity that has, for various reasons, slipped through the cracks of mundane social boxes.³⁶ The individuals of the group in question here are defined by their centrist or liberal identity; their queer sexuality or non-binary gender identity; and their status and belief system that marks them as “sexual conservatives” to the LGBTQ+ community.

The greatest difficulty in defining this group is that, when asked on a survey if they are conservative or Republican, they will check the box that says “no.” Hence, the demographic studies listed above that concern more mainline gay conservatives do not apply here, nor can we be sure how many of these conservatives there are. Whatever their numbers or sociological traits may be, many of their arguments echo those described for libertarian and mainstream conservatives, the first and most important of which is their penchant for assimilationism. The assimilationist approach is widely recognized as an approach to politics of the LGBTQ+ community that chooses to seek inclusion in society rather than trying to change society and deconstruct its norms. These conservatives are very focused on maintaining an image of what Nyan Shah calls “respectable domesticity:” living in accordance with expected social norms.³⁷ One need look no further than the aptly titled, *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society*, by Bruce Bawer to see what it is that these gay conservatives seek. Bawer and others of this stripe find the “everything I do is gay” attitude repugnant and argue that LGBTQ+ publications and media present a “narrow, sex-obsessed

³⁵ According to Paul Robinson, *Queer Wars: The New Gay Right and Its Critics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 81, “many gay radicals [...] agree that the ban is unjust, but they hate the idea of gays being corrupted by the military’s ugly male chauvinism and its fondness for foreign adventure;” Robinson also addresses this *ibid.*, 7. Sullivan, *Virtually Normal*, 63-64, makes the same observation concerning the political divide over support for these issues.

³⁶ Cadava, *Hispanic Republican*, xix; Loden, “Rhetorical Elephant,” 4-5, also addresses this difference.

³⁷ Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco’s Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

image of gay life” with “little resemblance to [...] the lives of the vast majority of gay Americans.”³⁸ This image, Bawer continues, is “defined by a small but highly visible minority of the gay population” whom Kirk and Madsen in *After the Ball* identify as the gay leadership, the perpetrators of writing the “Fairy Tale of Gay Life.”³⁹ Mainline conservatives and sexual conservatives agree on this observation; according to Tafel,

[t]he gay establishment have tried to convince gay people that there is a “gay” way to act, dress, eat, converse, walk, socialize, shop, a gay place to live, and even a gay way to vote. Gays in fact share only two fundamental qualities—a sexual attraction to and love of people of the same sex, and an awareness of the societal rejection that results.⁴⁰

To this idea of a uniquely gay subculture, Bawer responds that “there is no one ‘gay lifestyle’ any more than there is a single monolithic heterosexual lifestyle,” though the myth of this has resulted in a retreat to a “gay ghetto,” because, as Kirk and Madsen put it, this elite “would rather live in a ghetto of gay orthodoxy” than live in a pluralistic society.⁴¹ Indeed, a hallmark of gay conservatives of any stripe is their insistence that “most gays live in the mainstream” and “have appropriately moderate political views,” in contrast with “the leadership and intellectuals [who] remain stuck in their revolutionary infantilism.”⁴²

The sexual conservatives have many prescriptive remarks about the behavior of the LGBTQ+ community in conjunction with their assimilationist approach. In a long diatribe, Kirk and Madsen enumerate the issues that have arisen as a result of the “gay press” condoning all behaviors, however questionable, that are done in the name of sexual freedom or the freedom of the LGBTQ+ community. They accuse this small but vocal elite minority of pushing an unsustainable, glorified, “fast-lane” lifestyle; of encouraging misbehavior in gay bars that has built a hierarchy of youth and beauty and a purely physical approach to romance among LGBTQ+ individuals; and, most scathingly, of enabling “a pathological degree of self-absorption” creating a generation filled with a type of man who “places his own desire to continue to have orgasms ahead of his partner’s desire to continue to live.”⁴³ While some, like Bawer, and certainly mainline conservatives like Tafel, would advocate for the type of relationships that are ubiquitous among heterosexual couples in the institution of marriage, this is not always the case

³⁸ Bruce Bawer, *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993), 19, 153; Marshall Kirk and Hunter Madsen, *After the Ball: How America Will Conquer Its Fear and Hatred of Gays in the 90s* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 351, reluctantly accept Bawer’s point with regard to sex-obsession.

³⁹ Bawer, *Place at the Table*, 19; Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 362.

⁴⁰ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 29.

⁴¹ Bawer, *Place at the Table*, 33; Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 352.

⁴² Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 17; Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 12.

⁴³ Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 293, 303, 307, 296, 299. The last quotation above is a reference to the AIDS epidemic that swept through the LGBTQ+ community in the later twentieth century.

among the sexual conservatives. Though Kirk and Madsen advocate for changing behaviors in their community, they “challenge [...] those straight Americans who, arrogating themselves the right to define the word ‘family,’ have declared unfit and invalid any social unit other than that comprising one heterosexual father, one heterosexual mother, and 2.3 protoheterosexual children.”⁴⁴

While gay libertarians take a hands-off approach to gender roles and gay mainstream conservatives rarely address them at all, sexual conservatives spend a great deal of time stressing the importance of masculinity, especially in traditional gender roles.⁴⁵ In the type of polemical texts mentioned above, both Robinson and Goldstein associate gay conservatism with brash macho, which Goldstein reads as a part of the “crisis of masculinity” being experienced in the United States, a wave of insecurity “rising among men as their prestige wanes.”⁴⁶ From Goldstein’s perspective, “[m]asculism is what holds the conservative movement together. It makes brothers of fundamentalists and libertarians despite their deep differences,” and he may well be correct. On the religious Right, this crisis has simultaneously seen the rise of titles like *Raising Men, Not Boys*, which lament “the moral confusion that surrounds any discussion of gender these days,” attempting to consciously inculcate traditional gender roles in children in the face of the liberationist challenge.⁴⁷ Kirk and Madsen go to great lengths to preserve these roles, arguing that “men and women really are physiologically and psychologically different, in ways bearing cogently on their differing approaches to affairs of the heart and body,” suggesting that this is a reason for the brevity of same-sex relationships; and Sullivan adds to this, remarking that “the lesbian experience is somewhat different from the homosexual male experience” because “it is far more rooted in moral and political choice than in ineradicable emotional or sexual orientation,” and that “women can be less defensive about emotions and sexuality than boys and men.”⁴⁸

II. The Gay Conservative Version of Gay History

One thing that all the strands of gay conservatives agree upon is a particular version of gay history—one that is fundamental in understanding what gay conservatism is. But first, it is imperative to understand why their version of history is unique by apposing it to the widely existing narrative of our times. The

⁴⁴ Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 371.

⁴⁵ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 3.

⁴⁶ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 94; Richard Goldstein, *The Attack Queers: Liberal Society and the Gay Right* (London Verso, 2002), 66.

⁴⁷ Goldstein, *Attack Queers*, 75; Mike Fabarez, *Raising Men, Not Boys: Shepherding Your Sons to Be Men of God* (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 2017), 10 (Fabarez, of the New Calvinist tradition, is head pastor of Compass Bible Church in Aliso Viejo, California); Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 2, observes that “gay conservatives seek to rescue homosexuality from its association with gender deviance—with effeminate men and mannish women.”

⁴⁸ Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 318-319; Sullivan, *Virtually Normal*, 16-17.

generally accepted narrative among most academics and especially intellectuals on the queer Left is the insistence that “the gay movement began on the Left” and was “aligned closely with liberal ideologies and broad-based efforts to achieve social equality.”⁴⁹ Grant Walsh-Haines suggests that the Mattachine Society, a forerunner to the gay liberation movement, had “Marxist roots” and a broader anti-discrimination platform from the very start.⁵⁰ In this widely accepted version of events, the spark of the Gay Liberation Front and the movement for LGBTQ+ rights began with the Stonewall riots in 1969, when a police raid on a gay bar marked the beginning of Pride parades and the ascension of queer theory.⁵¹ The assumption is then that the movement remained in solidarity until the formation of the Log Cabin Republicans in response to the Briggs Initiative (Prop. 6) in California in 1978, which sought to prevent any LGBTQ+ individuals from holding a K-12 teaching post in the state.⁵²

Conservatism among LGBTQ+ individuals, it has been posited, reached its zenith in the 1990s when, as Goldstein maintains, “right-wing rump movements arose in every minority community, [and] a group of gay writers emerged to join” them.⁵³ At this time, claims Goldstein, sexual conservatives appeared regularly on mainstream media outlets and had a “media blackout” on “queer Leftists,” and that this “alliance between the gay Right and liberal society [was] part of a broader backlash against the liberation movements of the past thirty years.”⁵⁴ Writing only a few years after Goldstein, Robinson muses that “gay conservatism should be thought of as a luxury [...] because gays are now so firmly established in the American mainstream, they no longer need to maintain the united front of earlier times,”⁵⁵ recapitulating the trend in LGBTQ+ history as it is widely narrated. In short, the movement for gay rights began on the Left and remained in solidarity until, in the last few decades of the twentieth century, gay conservatives “seceded” from this unified community and brought forth a heretical philosophy.⁵⁶

While the narrative of the Left and of some academics sees a liberationist movement being usurped in the 1990s, the Right sees the parallel existence of a

⁴⁹ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 1; Walsh-Haines, “Issue Framing and Identity Politics,” 1. Robinson is less sure that the queer left is expected to support other causes of social justice, but the majority of academics and others of the queer intelligentsia do see a connection between the different constituencies that make up the Left; see Angela D. Dillard, *Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner Now? Multicultural Conservatism in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 141.

⁵⁰ Walsh-Haines, “Issue Framing and Identity Politics,” 2; Goldstein, *Attack Queers*, 22, agrees.

⁵¹ Walsh-Haines, “Issue Framing and Identity Politics,” 41-42.

⁵² Walsh-Haines, “Issue Framing and Identity Politics,” 5-7.

⁵³ Goldstein, *Attack Queers*, x.

⁵⁴ Goldstein, *Attack Queers*, x, 10.

⁵⁵ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 5.

⁵⁶ Goldstein, *Attack Queers*, xi: gay conservatism is “a highly articulate attempt to secede from” the LGBTQ+ community.

“decidedly unpolitical” movement since the mid-twentieth century, a difference perhaps best summarized from a gay conservative’s perspective by Bruce Bawer:⁵⁷

The moderate gay-rights movement is, quite simply, about gay rights. By contrast, gay-Left leaders apparently view those rights as only one plank of a comprehensive socialist platform that all gays are inherently obliged to support.⁵⁸

This narrative pushed by gay conservatives begins at the very roots of the movement for LGBTQ+ rights. Bawer, in keeping with the conservative attempt to detach gay liberation from its place as the true heir of the LGBTQ+ movement, opines that, before there was gay pride and gay liberation, there were “a few small groups of men in business suits and women in dresses [who] staged sober, orderly marches at which they carried signs that announced their homosexuality and that respectfully demanded an end to anti-homosexual prejudice.”⁵⁹ The heavily gendered image presented by Bawer is no coincidence, as it is part of his agenda to reinforce gender norms from within LGBTQ+ ranks. Rich Tafel joins Bawer in recognizing earlier activism, pointing to libertarian Dorr Legg’s 1958 writings in *ONE* magazine, claiming Legg made “one of the earliest moral arguments that closeted behavior is immoral and ultimately unhealthy,” though a critique of this reference might be that these references do not reveal the kind of organized fronts which emerged in the post-Stonewall years.⁶⁰

The response to this critique is that gay liberation’s champions were usurping an already-extant gay establishment.⁶¹ Take the following example:

[Donna Minkowitz of *The Advocate* is] using the cause of gay rights to advance her own program, which would seem to have little to do with furthering understanding and acceptance of homosexuality as it really exists in America and everything to do with promoting radical-Left political ideas.⁶²

However, claims like this are not new. As early as the 1960s, Foster Gunnison Jr., founder of a gay libertarian organization, the Institute for Social Ethics in New York, shared concerns with his group about the new Gay Liberation Front, which he saw as more interested in promoting Leftist political ideologies than supporting the purely gay-rights agenda of his organization and others.⁶³

Furthermore, in a fascinating turn of events, there have recently been some rumblings in academic circles that investigate pre-Stonewall LGBTQ+ activism and that date serious activism’s beginnings on behalf of this community earlier in

⁵⁷ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 32.

⁵⁸ Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 17.

⁵⁹ Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 9.

⁶⁰ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 50-51.

⁶¹ Bawer, *Place at the Table*, 168.

⁶² Bawer, *Place at the Table*, 177-179; this sentiment is echoed in Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 8.

⁶³ “Special Report to the Institute of Social Ethics,” November 10, 1969, Institute for Social Ethics Archive, Foster Gunnison, Jr. Papers, University of Connecticut Archives and Special Collections.

the twentieth century. As Armstrong and Cage posit, “timing mattered [...]. Stonewall activists were the first to claim to be the first” activists in a “construction” of Stonewall as the “spark” of the movement; the “Stonewall story,” they claim, “is thus better viewed as an *achievement* of gay liberation rather than as a literal account of its origins.”⁶⁴ It would be highly ironic if the heavily politicized version of history that gay conservatives present eventually became better aligned with scholarly understandings of LGBTQ+ history than that of the queer Left, but only time will tell.

Nevertheless, undermining Stonewall as the beginning of LGBTQ+ history continues as a concerted effort. The Log Cabin Republicans have chosen to take the Black Cat Tavern protests in 1967 Los Angeles as the beginning of this movement.⁶⁵ In lockstep, Tafel’s version of Stonewall is that “the bar was in violation of many health codes;” that “Hepatitis spread quickly through the patrons of the bar;” that the bar was a Mafia front without a liquor license; and that “it isn’t clear whether this particular raid was a result of police not being paid off or another in a cycle of police raids to make Mayor John Lindsay look good in the upcoming election.”⁶⁶ Tafel concludes this fact-finding mission of ulterior motives by stating that “what really happened at Stonewall is less important than the mythology liberationist writers were able to create.”⁶⁷ Tafel’s statement indicates precisely why gay conservatives work so hard to build an alternative vision of gay history in the United States. By discrediting the events at Stonewall, they hope to delegitimize gay liberation’s founding; and by asserting that “queer ideology is essentially a legacy of the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York,” Bawer hopes to isolate Stonewall’s legacy as merely one strand of LGBTQ+ thought that emerged in the twentieth century.⁶⁸

In tandem with this telling of LGBTQ+ activism’s early history, gay conservatives then accuse the LGBTQ+ elite of being stuck in its “revolutionary infantilism.”⁶⁹ Kirk and Madsen revile LGBTQ+ leadership as “psychologically frozen in a bygone era,” too focused on issues of the past, with Bawer calling for a “move beyond the Stonewall sensibility.”⁷⁰ Mixed with this is criticism of liberationist philosophy as purely deconstructionist—having no “broader, deeper

⁶⁴ Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Cragg, “Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth,” *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 5 (2006): 724-751, here 725 (emphasis/italics original).

⁶⁵ Log Cabin Republicans of Orange County, “The History of Log Cabin Republicans of Orange County,” *Facebook*, March 2, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

⁶⁶ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 39.

⁶⁷ Tafel, *Party Crasher*, 39.

⁶⁸ Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, ix-x.

⁶⁹ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 12.

⁷⁰ Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 349; Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 6.

argument about the ends of society as a whole.”⁷¹ On top of this, while queer liberals see gay conservatism as rising in the 1990s, gay conservatives in turn insist that the 1990s saw the strengthening of a “gay political fascism” from the queer intelligentsia, who “reject all criticism of the community itself [...], using exactly the same tactics of oppression employed by our straight oppressors.”⁷² This is the most salient and most common complaint across the gay Right, who despise “those instruments of power which require no broader conversation” supposedly used by the queer elite, especially the “focus on outing, on speech codes, on punitive measures against opponents on campuses, and on the enforcement of new forms of language, by censorship and intimidation.”⁷³ Using the language of conservatives outside the gay conservative realm, Bawer offers the example of Stephen H. Miller, former chair of the media committee at the New York chapter of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance against Defamation; in this anecdote, Bawer claims Miller was hounded by Left-leaning members of the organization as part of an agenda he titles, “Gay White Males: [Political Correctness’s] Unseen Target.”⁷⁴ According to Bawer, this was a powerful trend, for “in the early ‘90’s [sic], old-guard gay activists began to be supplanted by younger PC types,” among whom the culprits counted “militant lesbian feminists.”⁷⁵

In typical fashion, both the Right and the Left see the other’s power rising at the same time, indicating either false impressions crafted by fear or political strategy, or possibly a rise in partisanship in the LGBTQ+ community. Bawer adds to these problems by questioning queer studies as an emerging academic discipline. While not opposed to the idea of queer studies itself and the promise, he says, it holds for younger gays who have not grown up in supportive environments, Bawer offers these thoughts on the field: “In practice, it is less a traditional field of objective inquiry than a collective attempt to use the methods of contemporary cultural theory to advance the gay subculture’s view of homosexuality.”⁷⁶ Bawer also complains that “anything a gay scholar has ever done or thought is relevant in a work of Gay Studies scholarship precisely because he is gay: if it happened to him it is by definition a Gay Idea, a Gay Experience, a piece of Gay Testimony to be entered into the Gay Book of Life.”⁷⁷

⁷¹ Sullivan, *Virtually Normal*, 90.

⁷² Kirk and Madsen, *After the Ball*, 348, 350.

⁷³ Sullivan, *Virtually Normal*, 93; Gunderson and Morris, *House and Home*, 131-134, express similar feelings in recounting personal experiences with such tactics by ACT UP (“AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power”) during Gunderson’s time in office.

⁷⁴ Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 24-26.

⁷⁵ Bawer, *Beyond Queer*, 25. “PC” stands for “political correctness.”

⁷⁶ Bawer, *Place at the Table*, 209-210.

⁷⁷ Bawer, *A Place at the Table*, 212.

Conclusion: On the Silent Majority and Definitions of Conservatism

An article published in the wake of the 2020 election by a transgender conservative woman and a gay neoconservative who voted for Joe Biden comments on the increase in LGBTQ+ support for Donald Trump between 2016 and 2020, stating that “a sizeable number of LGBTQ voters apparently feel safe and liberated enough to vote much like the rest of the country, which is something to applaud.”⁷⁸ It confirms a conjecture made by Clayton Howard in his piece on the Log Cabin Republicans that, “if the GOP sheds its most homophobic policies, a significant share of gay and lesbian voters would avidly support Republican candidates.”⁷⁹ Yet there has been no explosion of LGBTQ+ participation in Republican politics – no sudden, monumental shift in the political landscape of the United States. Rather, Richard Nixon’s silent majority has struck again, for while most LGBTQ+ individuals are most likely not closet Republicans, as some gay conservatives might have us believe, they might not be “natural Democrats” either.⁸⁰

It would seem imprudent to suggest that a majority of LGBTQ+ individuals will begin to vote Republican, as the Trump administration’s actions toward transgender individuals in the military suggest a continuing affinity between the Republican Party and limitations on LGBTQ+ rights. But in a post-*Obergefell* age some LGBTQ+ individuals may feel they have more options, especially as younger Republicans see LGBTQ+ identity as less salient of an issue.⁸¹ Should these hypotheses prove correct, other identities held by LGBTQ+ individuals, previously dominated by concerns over sexual rights, may surface in their voting patterns—for, as Paul Robinson opines, “now that homosexuality is widely tolerated, gays no longer have to be concerned about voting their sexual interests and can vote their pocketbooks instead.”⁸² Voting by “pocketbook,” however, is a shallow one-liner for what is occurring as this phenomenon progresses. The appeal of middle-class fiscal and cultural values as voting criteria may well rise among LGBTQ+ ranks, ensconcing them with the culturally more centrist, more conservative some might say, silent majority that is playing the greatest two-party strategy of all time. It would confirm the assessments of Matthew Lassiter and Joseph Crespino addressed in the introduction, that there is a need for a spatial

⁷⁸ Giselle Donnelly and James Kirchick, “The Increase in LGBTQ Support for Trump Has a Silver Lining,” *The Washington Post*, November 30, 2020.

⁷⁹ Howard, “Gay and Conservative,” 163.

⁸⁰ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 1.

⁸¹ Chouinard, “He Leans to the Right,” 41, references a 2014 study by the Pew Research Center: Jocelyn Kiley, “61% of Young Republicans Favor Same-Sex Marriage,” *Pew Research Center*, March 20, 2014, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022; Kerry Eleveld “Unlocking the Conservative Closet,” *The Advocate*, no. 1043 (November 2010): 26-29, contributes to this idea of young Republicans from an anecdotal perspective.

⁸² Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 5.

and class-based turn to historiographical lenses of conservatism, especially as it pertains to approaching topics of gender and sexuality.

The study of gay conservatism also reveals a need to follow the trend of intellectual history identified by Kim Phillips-Fein in her 2011 article on the state of conservatism, burningly so when it comes to defining this phenomenon.⁸³ Recency bias dominates academic and popular ideas of conservatism, which has narrowed the definition to reflect only the twentieth-century movement by the far-Right in the United States, failing to account for intra-movement strife which resulted in “Burkean conservatives” fading from the GOP’s inner circles and melting into the center, and perhaps even the Democratic Party, after the role reversal of the parties in the 1960s and 1970s.⁸⁴ This is especially true after examining writings by Bruce Bawer, Justin Raimondo, Ralph Raico, and Andrew Sullivan, who represent gay conservatives whose “sexual opinions are decidedly to the left of the conservative mainstream.”⁸⁵

Returning to Geraldo Cadava’s point that conservatives and Republicans are not always one and the same, it would be more beneficial to return to a definition of conservatism that accounts for the *entire* conservative legacy, from its early modern foundations in the works of Edmund Burke, Alexis de Tocqueville, Alexander Herzen, and Jacob Burckhardt, to the contributions of recent moderates like Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, and Edward Brooke. This would allow historians to adopt a definition of conservatism that is not incontrovertibly tied to a relative position on the political spectrum and a false narrative of historical “progress,” but rather give substance to core beliefs that a conservative holds. Finally, gay conservatism’s characteristics reinforce the necessity of building a definition for conservatism which recognizes that, while categories are useful for identifying and processing stereotypes, individuals often have *tendencies* toward categories, not steadfast allegiances—a definition of conservatism which sees clearly that humans can and do walk comfortably in paradox and contradiction.

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⁸³ Kim Phillips-Fein, “Conservatism: A State of the Field,” *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 3 (2011): 723-743, here 730.

⁸⁴ Jennifer Burns, “Liberalism and the Conservative Imagination,” in *Liberalism for a New Century*, ed. Neil Jumonville and Kevin Mattson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 58-74, here 62, 70-71.

⁸⁵ Robinson, *Queer Wars*, 65.

Humberto Mendez Valadez

*The Decline of Romania's Population after Communism:
The Impact of a Missing Generation*

ABSTRACT: *Romania, a country in eastern Europe, is known to many only as the home of the legendary Transylvanian Count Dracula. This essay examines the emigration of Romanians during the post-communist era since 1989 and the repercussions of their absence. It considers why adult Romanians leave the country and how this impacts their children as well as the elderly left behind. The author argues that, while life abroad may be attractive to Romanians for economic reasons, it leaves their relatives back home in a dire situation.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Romania; Bulgaria; European Union (E.U.); United Kingdom (U.K.); migration; demographics; documentaries; news media; Eurovision Song Contest*

Introduction

Since 1989 – the end of the communist era in its history – Romania has been losing its working-age population to the West at a steady pace, and with no end in sight to this exodus, the country is headed toward a large-scale domestic crisis. Romania shares a border with Moldova, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary; it was a member of the Soviet Bloc until its revolution in 1989; and it has since been transformed into a semi-democratic country that is slowly being integrated into the West.¹ Romania's steady loss of its working-age population is a direct result of its dire economic situation, which has caused many Romanians to lose hope for a personal future in their home country. If nothing is done to counter this development, Romania will lose roughly twenty-five percent of its population by 2050.² This essay examines the repercussions of Romanian emigration. It argues that, while living life abroad may be attractive to Romanians primarily for economic reasons, it leaves their relatives back home in dire straits by causing trauma for the children and unexpected burdens for the elderly.

While this is a subject matter of considerable historical relevance, the fact that it is relatively recent and still ongoing means that there are no readily available archival fonts or extensive English editions of primary sources yet, which is why the evidence used here derives from video documentaries, news stories, and, in one instance, a song. Video documentaries cover a wide range of topics, but their main benefit is that they feature footage from interviews with individuals who offer their personal perspectives; that said, individuals interviewed live on camera also tend to limit what they say to protect their own image. The value of news stories is that they often provide useful contextual information and, not unlike video documentaries, the testimonials of individuals closely involved in the

¹ Lucian Boia, *Romania: Borderland of Europe* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2001), 148-151. Boia argues that the elite of the communist era simply transitioned into the post-communist era and retained power. While the dictator was killed in 1989, everything else remained the same.

² Ilinca Păun Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities in Romania: Former Mining Cities in Valea Jiului," *Built Environment* 38, no. 2 (2012): 214-228, here 216.

reporting; the main source-critical caveat with regard to news stories is that they frequently pursue a specific angle and are liable to omit evidence that does not pertain to that angle. The song discussed below, “De la Capăt” (“From the Beginning”) by the band Voltaj, draws attention to the millions of Romanian children abandoned by parents who seek prosperity elsewhere – ostensibly to be able to take better care of their children; what makes this song evidence is the fact that the combined votes of a jury and television audiences in Romania determined that this song would represent their country in the 2015 Eurovision Song Contest.

The steady departure of Romania's working-age population for the West since 1989, as well as its respective repercussions back home, are increasingly attracting scholarly attention. For example, in 2008, Tom Gallagher's monograph, *Modern Romania: The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation*, pointed to the rampant inequality in the country;³ in 2012, Ilinca Păun Constantinescu published an article on related economic, environmental, and urban issues;⁴ in 2014, Charles A. Nelson, Nathan A. Fox, and Charles H. Zeanah employed psychological and sociological methodologies in their groundbreaking study, *Romania's Abandoned Children: Deprivation, Brain Development, and the Struggle for Recovery*;⁵ and in 2020, Vasile Gherheș, Gabriel-Mugurel Dragomir, and Mariana Cernicova-Buca discussed the “migration intentions of Romanian engineering students.”⁶ Taking its cues from these and other publications, this essay first considers why adult Romanians leave the country; secondly, how this impacts their children; and thirdly, how it affects the elderly who are left behind, often in places with limited infrastructure.

I. Why Leave Romania?

Leaving one's homeland and roots is rarely an easy choice, but it is seen as a necessary stage in life by many Romanians. This section explores their motives for emigration, their experiences abroad, and the potentially positive impacts of the latter. Those leaving must believe that it is rational and better for them to emigrate instead of staying in Romania. Yet, while living life abroad might indeed be beneficial for some individuals and even some Romanian communities, the overarching concern is the impact of emigration on those left behind.

To better understand why working-age adults leave Romania, consider the example of Carolina Muraru, a fifty-year-old veterinarian who lives in a village in

³ Tom Gallagher, *Modern Romania: The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

⁴ Constantinescu, “Shrinking Cities.”

⁵ Charles A. Nelson, Nathan A. Fox, and Charles H. Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children: Deprivation, Brain Development, and the Struggle for Recovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁶ Vasile Gherheș, Gabriel-Mugurel Dragomir, and Mariana Cernicova-Buca, “Migration Intentions of Romanian Engineering Students,” *Sustainability* 12, no. 4846 (2020): 1-31.

the country's northeastern region.⁷ Without mentioning a specific country, Mrs. Muraru relates that she lived abroad for an undisclosed period of time,⁸ stating that she did so "for money."⁹ When asked why she thinks other people are leaving Romania, she answers, "for a better life," and then emotionally adds that "it is Romania that is pushing us away. Bad salary, no studies."¹⁰ In her opinion, the future of Romania is grim; she fears that, soon, "all the youth will be gone. I am worried about the future of my child. No work, no money. We have a beautiful country, but the youth need a future."¹¹ From Mrs. Muraru's perspective, something is not working in Romania. Without divulging too many details, she informs us that she only returned to Romania because of family problems,¹² suggesting that, if it were up to her, she would still be working abroad. She paints a picture in which the youth have no option but to leave their homes. Romania is not providing for its citizens, and that falls on the Romanian government: according to Mrs. Muraru, one cannot even use education to pull oneself up the social ladder.¹³ Her prediction concerning Romania's future is disconcerting, as she fears that all the young people will leave. She appears convinced that this trend could be reversed through better wages, better jobs, and a better education system. Economic factors were her primary motivation for leaving the country, and many Romanians list economic factors as their motivation for emigrating as well.

Scholars have taken notice of the various issues brought up in Mrs. Muraru's interview, including migration for economic reasons and the country's respective rural-urban divide. After the fall of communism in 1989, Romania switched to a capitalist market system where everything was privatized, meaning that industrial centers that were not profitable were simply closed.¹⁴ Due to these closures, people in many rural areas and smaller towns lost their opportunity to earn good wages, and poverty became rampant there; combined with the overall lack of social mobility, this caused many Romanians to emigrate.¹⁵ Indeed, the rural parts of Romania were more heavily affected by the post-communist economic downturn. Since job opportunities were increasingly limited to the country's main cities, an internal migration brought more and more people to the cities, leaving the rural areas to their own devices.¹⁶ Mrs. Muraru's interview was recorded in a small

⁷ Joris Slotboom, "Documentary: Migration in North-East Romania," March 19, 2019, *YouTube, online*, accessed June 18, 2022. Carolina Muraru's interview starts at 00:36:54.

⁸ Slotboom, "Documentary."

⁹ Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹⁰ Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹¹ Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹² Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹³ Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹⁴ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 219-220.

¹⁵ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 220.

¹⁶ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 217.

village, a farm setting,¹⁷ and she indicates that Romania's rural areas have been left behind. Constantinescu's scholarship confirms this observation:¹⁸ Romanians are following the money – just as Mrs. Muraru had done – from the countryside to the cities, and from there in increasing numbers to job opportunities abroad.

To get a sense of what awaits Romanians abroad, we turn to Victor Spirescu, a young Romanian construction worker employed in southwestern London in the United Kingdom (U.K.).¹⁹ After Romania had joined the European Union (E.U.) in 2007, Romanians eventually became eligible to work in other E.U. member states.²⁰ On January 1, 2014 (a year and a half before the Brexit referendum), Mr. Spirescu arrived in the United Kingdom, and he soon had a stable job with a steady wage.²¹ He tells us, "When I came, I wanted to stay only three or four months, but now, I have my own company, I have my own job, you know, and, why – I don't have any reason to go ... home."²² According to Mr. Spirescu, only those who work hard reap the benefits of staying abroad, while those who seek to abuse the system by relying on government assistance accomplish nothing.²³ Mr. Spirescu indicates that he is now living the kind of life he did not have in Romania, and he is adamant that there is no reason for him to go back. We do not learn whether he still has a family back in Romania or any other connections, but he even seems to hesitate when referring to Romania as "home." His statements suggest that he, too, had left Romania for economic reasons, and his willingness to work hard has clearly been rewarded.

Mr. Spirescu's interview underscores that he views himself as better off in the United Kingdom. The logic is the same for scores of others. Doctors and nurses in Romania are grossly underpaid and often neglected, so a majority of them are leaving Romania to settle in other E.U. countries that appreciate and pay a living wage for their work.²⁴ Another example with more finite data pertains to Romania's engineering students who, in 2019/2020, were asked about their intentions to leave the country after graduation.²⁵ Of the 1,782 students interviewed, between 20% and 30% said they would leave, around 30% said they

¹⁷ Slotboom, "Documentary."

¹⁸ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 224.

¹⁹ ITV News, "Romanian Migrant: 'I Don't Have Any Reason to Go Home'," August 28, 2015, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁰ Tom Gallagher, *Romania and the European Union: How the Weak Vanquished the Strong* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 262.

²¹ ITV News, "Romanian Migrant."

²² ITV News, "Romanian Migrant."

²³ ITV News, "Romanian Migrant."

²⁴ Ginger Hervey, "The EU Exodus: When Doctors and Nurses Follow the Money," *Politico*, September 30, 2017, [online](#), accessed June 16, 2022.

²⁵ Gherheș, Dragomir, and Cernicova-Buca, "Migration Intentions," 1-31.

would not, and about 50% said they were undecided.²⁶ Of those who responded that they would be leaving, approximately 60% said it was because of low wages in Romania and a lack of money.²⁷ These students, like Carolina Muraru and Victor Spirescu before them, look abroad for a chance to better their economic situation. In Romania itself, inequality remains high, and scholars point out that this inequality drives working-age adults out of the country.²⁸ Romania's Gini coefficient of 35 makes it the country with the highest level of economic inequality in central and eastern Europe.²⁹ Inequality, lack of opportunity, and low salaries literally push Romanians, who are ready to work, to go abroad.

Money earned by Romanians abroad sometimes does help communities back home. For example, by 2014, about 1,000 adults from a small region in northwestern Transylvania were working in the United Kingdom and sending money home to rebuild their villages.³⁰ According to one of them, Andrey Pavlovic, a young Romanian worker in a London glazing firm who was back home for the holidays, "Over here [i.e., in Romania] in a month you can get about, maybe, 300 pounds a month, but in England, you can get this money in two or three days."³¹ Maria Nestea, another worker back in Romania for the holidays, relates that all her adult family members are also working abroad.³² Explaining why she left Romania, she says, "There is a chance to win some money for our families because here it is very hard to win the money for life."³³ Throughout this news segment, we see big houses that are being built in these villages from money earned abroad.³⁴ The fact that about 1,000 adults from this small region alone are working abroad seems to suggest that there is a certain amount of pressure—an expectation even—to go abroad and make money. While, once again, economic factors loom large, in this case, the workers spend time abroad and earn a good living, but they then send some of their earnings back home and, during the holidays, return to Transylvania to help rebuild their villages. Thus, their connection to their communities is strong, and their impact on their communities is positive. While they are temporarily absent from their villages and clearly being missed, the interviews strongly suggest that they plan to return eventually. They have not abandoned Romania.

²⁶ Gherheș, Dragomir, and Cernicova-Buca, "Migration Intentions," 10.

²⁷ Gherheș, Dragomir, and Cernicova-Buca, "Migration Intentions," 7.

²⁸ Andrei-Florin Crețu, "Income Inequality in Romania: A Comprehensive Assessment," October 23, 2016, paper, 3, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁹ Crețu, "Income Inequality," 3-5.

³⁰ ITV News, "Romanian Communities Transformed by Money Earned in the U.K.," February 10, 2014, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³¹ ITV News, "Romanian Communities."

³² ITV News, "Romanian Communities."

³³ ITV News, "Romanian Communities."

³⁴ ITV News, "Romanian Communities."

These examples show that earning money is the key motivation that drives Romanians abroad. The lack of opportunity, especially in the country's rural and more remote areas, rather forces people to leave,³⁵ and most of those emigrating are not expected to return.³⁶ Yet, the example from Transylvania indicates that there are exceptions to this rule. Essentially, those going abroad are seeking a better life—either “just” for themselves, in which case they often emigrate permanently, or for their entire communities, in which case they have every intention of returning. Until Romania can offer its citizens the opportunity to improve their lives at home, the country's working-age adults will continue—and will have to continue—to go abroad.

II. A Future Abandoned: Children Left Behind

As we have discovered, many Romanians emigrate to work abroad, meaning they leave everything behind—including their children. The children do not get an option or a say in the matter; they are simply left in their home country. Sometimes they are taken in by relatives, other times they are just abandoned. In 2018, there were over 96,000 children who had officially been placed into the legal custody of relatives.³⁷ While that number is high, it is believed that the real number is considerably higher.³⁸ Not having parents is sure to impact a child, so this section focuses on those of Romania's children who have been left behind.

Romanians know that this is an issue, and they have been trying to tackle the problem. They do so by raising awareness of the issue and by urging parents to not abandon their children. One example of this is the Romanian entry for the 2015 Eurovision Song Contest, “De la Capăt” (“From the Beginning”) by the band Voltaj.³⁹ The combined votes of a jury and television audiences in Romania determined that this song would represent their country in this international music competition. “De la Capăt” tells the story of a Romanian child left behind by his parents while they work abroad. In the beginning, the child is writing a letter to his parents in which he asks, “Why don't you come?” As the song continues, the child loses contact with his parents, and he finally ventures out to find them himself.⁴⁰ In their video of the song, the band included a slide of text, highlighting that over three million Romanians work abroad and that their children are left behind.⁴¹ In the contest, Romania placed 15th out of 27 countries.

³⁵ Constantinescu, “Shrinking Cities,” 217-218.

³⁶ Constantinescu, “Shrinking Cities,” 219.

³⁷ TRT World, “Romania Emigration: Population in Decline as Citizens Move for Work,” April 7, 2018, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³⁸ TRT World, “Romania Emigration.” Researchers have tried to establish the number of children left behind by their parents, but there are no reliable numbers.

³⁹ Cat Music and Voltz Media, “Voltaj—De La Capat (Official Video),” December 1, 2014, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁰ Cat Music and Voltz Media, “Voltaj—De La Capat.”

⁴¹ Cat Music and Voltz Media, “Voltaj—De La Capat.”

"De la Capăt" certainly revived awareness of the issue in Romania, but it also garnered a lot of interest and support all over Europe. Thus, the song really served two purposes: first of all, it highlighted the issue itself and educated other Europeans that Romanians working abroad, including those in their respective countries, often felt compelled to leave their children back home due to adverse economic circumstances; secondly, the song put pressure on Romanian parents not to leave their children. Considering Europe's long history with international guest workers, it should not be automatically assumed that all parents were fully cognizant of the harm they might do to their children by leaving them, but the child's struggle in "De la Capăt" resonated with many.

Scholars agree that, when a parent leaves a child, that child is more prone to mental health problems.⁴² The respective trauma derives from a lack of close feelings with loved ones, and it can hinder a child's ability to develop and show emotions appropriately.⁴³ While this goes beyond the immediate message of "De la Capăt," it is a reality for many children left behind in Romania. The main trigger seems to be the lack of belonging to a close-knit (family) unit and the lack of love.⁴⁴ Leaving children with relatives or close friends, who are dedicated to raising them in a loving home, can alleviate this to a certain extent.

In recent years, there has been a movement in Romania to close state-run orphanages and place the respective children in foster homes.⁴⁵ The logic behind this is a consensus that children should grow up in homes where they can feel love and get a sense that they belong.⁴⁶ During the communist era, Romania's state-run orphanages had a dark history as horrific places of neglect, detrimental to children's mental and physical health.⁴⁷ While they improved post-1989, their negative reputation lingers, and some of the children placed in these orphanages are the ones left behind by parents working abroad. Yet these are not the only circumstances that can lead to orphanage placement, as the example of the five Minole sisters shows, who were eventually adopted by their aunt and uncle.

In a documentary, one of the teenage sisters recounts how they ended up in an orphanage: "My mother left home many years ago. We were left with our father, who was killed. We were underage, and we had to go to the institution. We were taken by the child protection agency."⁴⁸ In her account, one thing stands out: it appears that their mother completely abandoned them, including their father. The documentary does not reveal whether the girls knew why their mother had left,

⁴² Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 152-154.

⁴³ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 154.

⁴⁴ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 155-156.

⁴⁵ "Romania's Last Orphanages," *The Economist*, August 7, 2018, YouTube, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁶ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 155-156.

⁴⁷ "Romania's Last Orphanages," *The Economist*.

⁴⁸ "Romania's Last Orphanages," *The Economist*.

nor where she had gone, but theirs is an example of a parent leaving and not being involved in the children's lives. When they lost their father, too, apparently due to some kind of tragedy, they were put under state protection. Luckily, their aunt and uncle stepped up and obtained custody of all five girls, explaining that they did so because they wanted the girls to grow up in a loving environment.⁴⁹ Romania's movement to close the orphanages and the actions of the Minole sisters' relatives show that there is an acknowledgment of the negative impact when children are left alone and raised without a loving environment. Romanians do try to ensure that all the children left behind are cared for and raised in the best possible conditions.⁵⁰ Yet, the mental impact on children who are forced to grow up without their parents is significant, and sometimes, when these children grow older, they find themselves trapped in challenging situations due to their parents' earlier actions. As the following case demonstrates, some children are left to carry their parents' burden.

Ioana Bujor, a young woman from a city in northeastern Romania, is an example of how trauma and unexpected responsibility can affect a young person left without a parent.⁵¹ According to Ms. Bujor, her father had left her and her mother in order to work abroad when she was seven years old.⁵² She states that she understood the reason why her father had left them, but she felt indifferent because the economic rationale did not change the fact that her father had left them.⁵³ What is more, after he had left, she felt that she had to take care of and stay close to her mother.⁵⁴ As a result, she did not want to have anything to do with her father, even though he was calling her on the phone from Sweden. Two things stand out from Ms. Bujor's interview; first, she experienced trauma when her father left her; and second, she seems to feel trapped in Romania. Children left at a young age often experience some form of trauma.⁵⁵ While Ms. Bujor does not seem to consider her mother as a burden, she appears to resent the sentiment of not feeling at liberty to leave Romania as her father had done. Scholars would argue that Ms. Bujor is suffering from a childhood trauma.⁵⁶ Someone was unexpectedly placed into her care, making it hard for her to leave, which, in turn, made her resent the person who had left them in this position. Thus, her trauma impacts her relationship with her father. Extrapolating from this case, it is fair to assume that trauma plays a big part in the lives of young Romanians whose parents have left them back home to pursue economic opportunities abroad.

⁴⁹ "Romania's Last Orphanages," *The Economist*.

⁵⁰ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 159.

⁵¹ Slotboom, "Documentary." The interview segments with Ioana Bujor begin at 00:05:58.

⁵² Slotboom, "Documentary."

⁵³ Slotboom, "Documentary."

⁵⁴ Slotboom, "Documentary."

⁵⁵ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 159.

⁵⁶ Nelson, Fox, and Zeanah, *Romania's Abandoned Children*, 158-160.

Romanian children left behind by their parents suffer considerably, and their number is not small. As we have seen at the beginning of this section, in 2018, around 96,000 children had officially been placed into the legal custody of their relatives. As emigration accelerates, this official number is bound to grow – to say nothing of the many children not included in such official statistics because they have simply been left to their own devices. Romanian society is taking some steps to alleviate the situation by making sure that orphaned and left-behind children get the chance to grow up with some love and care in foster families, but the root of the problem still exists. It is up to parents who leave the country to consider the well-being of their children. It is up to them to make sure their children are taken care of. Parents who go abroad for better wages cannot simply ignore their children. The full impact of all this on the generations of Romanian children who are forced to grow up without their parents has yet to be revealed, as journalists and scholars gather the ever-mounting evidence.

III. Carrying the Burden: Romania's Elderly

When Romania's working-age adults emigrate, they do not just leave the youth – they also leave the elderly. This section sets out to demonstrate that the elderly are the carriers of the burden in Romania. They often find themselves taking care of the children that have been left by their parents, and they have to make life work in villages where most able-bodied adults are gone. Thus, they pay a heavy price for the country's population decline that is caused by emigration.

To illustrate this, we turn to the example of an elderly grandmother who is taking care of one of her grandchildren. Mrs. Paraschiva Dihore is the legal guardian of her teenage grandson. She claims that his parents are significantly involved in his upbringing, and she brushes off any praise that is coming to her for raising the teenager while his parents are gone.⁵⁷ Mrs. Dihore states that her grandson is a good young man and that he is doing well, overall, with his parents not being there.⁵⁸ While she credits her grandson's parents a lot, it is she who is actually raising the young man and being there with him. It is clear that Mrs. Dihore has contact with her children and in-laws, including the parents of her teenage grandson. It can only be assumed that they help her financially, but she bears the responsibility of raising the teenager alone. Throughout her whole interview, she remains upbeat and proud of how well the young man is doing, but she probably realizes that he, too, will have to go abroad one day. As Dumitru Sandu, a professor at the University of Bucharest, states, "Romania is a poor and disorganized country. Romanian migration is economic migration. But it's becoming more and more a social issue. Doctors, for instance, leave because they don't have adequate working conditions."⁵⁹ Sandu's statement, once again,

⁵⁷ TRT World, "Romania Emigration."

⁵⁸ TRT World, "Romania Emigration."

⁵⁹ TRT World, "Romania Emigration." The interview with Dumitru Sandu begins at 00:00:59.

underscores the dire economic conditions that drive people out, but he also seems to blame the government for the country's poor work environment.

While some Romanians abandon their children, the same happens to some of the elderly. As Ioana Bujor mentions in her interview, she has plenty of friends her age (i.e., in their twenties) who simply leave their elderly parents without any support.⁶⁰ While she chose to stay in her town to take care of her mother, others did not feel the same way. In one of the documentaries, an unnamed Romanian shopkeeper points to another aspect of this:

All the youth are moving to the city or to another country to work and the people in the village are very old. Nobody is taking care of things. We belong to nobody. We are far away from the city, and we are isolated. In twelve years, there was 280 who died and only 6 were born. The whole commune consists of 13 villages, and from all the villages there are only 15 kids in the classroom. Back in the day when I was little, there were like 60 children in one classroom.⁶¹

While Ms. Bujor's interview suggests that disregard for the elderly is a general problem in the country, the unnamed shopkeeper's statement indicates that it hits those in the countryside, the elderly villagers, particularly hard. He seems to call out the younger generation for simply leaving, but he also blames the government when he asserts, "Nobody is taking care of things." With many of Romania's elderly left behind, the people expect the government to provide for them and, in the long run, facilitate the kind of economic opportunities and work environment that would entice the younger generations to stay in the country, including its villages and more remote areas. However, as scholars point out, Romania's government is wrought with corruption and incompetence.⁶² So, Romanians feel like their government is failing them; some would even argue that real democratic reforms have yet to occur in the country,⁶³ an assessment shared by scholars.⁶⁴

Our final example for the plight of the elderly does not come from Romania itself but, rather, from its southern neighbor—Bulgaria. A documentary focusing on and filmed around the village of Altimir (which is in northwestern Bulgaria and just across the border with Romania), follows Yordan, an elderly villager who lives with his wife and two grandchildren.⁶⁵ Yordan talks about how lonely Altimir has become since most of its working-age people have left to work abroad.⁶⁶ He fears that the village will disappear because no one will live there

⁶⁰ Slotboom, "Documentary."

⁶¹ Slotboom, "Documentary." The interview with this unnamed man begins at 00:38:27. While he talks to the camera, one can see two elderly people in his store; while they are not addressed directly, they seem to agree with what this unnamed man is saying.

⁶² Gallagher, *Modern Romania*, 300-302.

⁶³ Gallagher, *Modern Romania*, 305.

⁶⁴ Gallagher, *Modern Romania*, 302-303.

⁶⁵ Kay Hannahan, "Bulgaria: The World's Fastest-Shrinking Country," *The Atlantic*, March 15, 2019, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁶⁶ Hannahan, "Bulgaria."

once he and his elderly friends will have passed away.⁶⁷ Throughout the interview, Yordan shows the camera crew around the village on his bicycle, and he even points out the old factories that once provided jobs but have long since closed.⁶⁸ Yordan speaks about his life and their struggles, and—through his interview—documents and preserves Altimir's history,⁶⁹ thus leaving a legacy for future generations, including his grandchildren.

While this documentary pertains to Bulgaria, the same is happening in Romania. In fact, entire villages are becoming depopulated throughout eastern Europe due to a lack of opportunities, infrastructure, and overall quality of life.⁷⁰ Villages in remote rural areas are most affected by this trend, and unless there is a significant economic revival, they will continue to decline and eventually disappear.⁷¹ Thus, Yordan's Altimir may no longer be around in the future, and the documentary featuring his memories may well turn out to be one of the few things reminding Bulgarians of its existence.

The elderly are Romania's unsung heroes. They carry the burden when the younger, working-age adults leave to go abroad, particularly by watching over the thousands of children left behind by their parents. Throughout Romania, the elderly do their best to make life work alongside their remaining friends and family. They are the ones currently keeping the country moving forward, albeit at an incremental pace, and without them, even more issues would arise.

Conclusion

An examination of Romania's post-1989 generations—the youth, the working-age adults, and the elderly—reveals that, while there are certain advantages to the emigration of working-age Romanians to other European countries for the purpose of finding well-paying jobs (as evidenced by the money that is being sent back to family members back home), the adverse effects on the youth and the elderly are considerable: both groups suffer immensely, whether it is in the form of trauma for the children that leads to developmental and mental-health issues, or in the form of abandonment of the elderly without resources.

The issues addressed in this essay leave ample opportunity for future research, particularly since pertinent scholarly work in English is still limited. It would be worthwhile to gather both quantitative and qualitative evidence systematically from across Romania—the countryside, villages, small towns, and larger cities—to better assess the impact of the country's missing generation. While quantitative data could be gathered from government agencies, economic organizations, and

⁶⁷ Hannahan, "Bulgaria."

⁶⁸ Hannahan, "Bulgaria."

⁶⁹ Hannahan, "Bulgaria."

⁷⁰ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 223-226.

⁷¹ Constantinescu, "Shrinking Cities," 219-220.

perhaps charitable, cultural, and educational institutions, qualitative data could be obtained by means of an extensive oral-history project.

While some may feel inclined to blame Romania's working-age adults for emigrating and thereby harming the country's youth and elderly, that would be unfair, because their personal economic circumstances and the country's overall economic situation all but force them to leave. The future of the Romanian nation is in jeopardy, and decisive action is needed. It appears that it is now up to Romania's elected officials to provide the kind of leadership that will, over time, facilitate improvement at home.

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Alison Jean Helget

*Branding the American Jezebel:
The Evolution of a Consumer Character*

ABSTRACT: *Historically, when white supremacists wanted to validate racial subjugation, they employed theories of natural selection, biblical references, and beastly promiscuity to portray black women with low IQs, thwarted by their inability to control their sexual desires. This essay examines the evolution of the “Jezebel” character from her emergence in anecdotes prior to the American Civil War to the imagery that captured consumers in post-World War II society. The analysis of this inaccurate, yet prevailing, stereotype demonstrates the archaic, xenophobic influences that continue to dominate contemporary depictions of black femininity.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; race; stereotypes; femininity; white supremacy; black fictional characters; Bible; Jezebel; film*

Introduction

To most movie enthusiasts, Quentin Tarantino’s Golden-Globe and Academy-Award-winning film *Django Unchained* (2012) depicts an unlikely pair of bounty hunters (Django and Dr. King Schultz) and their attempt to coerce an inhumane plantation owner (Calvin J. Candie) into selling them a “special,” female slave. The film’s combination of the Old West and the Antebellum South evokes several racial stereotypes. In one scene, the audience witnesses the provocative attires and sensual behaviors of two African American women. When Django and Dr. Schultz meet Candie at his gentlemen’s club, a black girl in a hiked-up maid’s skirt escorts them inside. Once she has taken Dr. Schultz to his seat, she picks up a handful of multi-colored candy balls from a side table, and while the men exchange introductions, she slowly slips the sweets into her mouth, maintaining eye contact with the men the entire time. The camera then skips to Django who is having a drink at the bar. On the farthest stool, a finely dressed black lady eyes him intently. She then picks up a glass of champagne and a bottle and walks over to a spacious love seat, swinging her hips along the way, while the man tries to ignore her seductive moves by sipping on his sweet tea and bourbon.¹ On the opposite side of the room, Candie and his white associates cheer on a “Mandingo” fight.² The lady disregards the screaming and focuses her attention on the black stranger. When Candie questions Django about his “Mandingo” knowledge, his associates are astonished that he, a white man, would consult a black man, thereby implying

¹ *Django Unchained*, directed by Quentin Tarantino (New York: The Weinstein Company, 2012), DVD.

² The term “Mandingo” has a systematically oppressive performance history. Rather than recognizing individuals by their names, this label consumed their identity. During staged “Mandingo” fights, slaves killed their opponents for their masters’ satisfactions. The exploitation of the Black body in live entertainment is explored further in Taylor Spratt, “The Operation of Names: Historical Memory, Social Imagination, and the Phenomena of Blackness in Claudia Rankine’s *Citizen*,” *WIG: The Martin Worman Review of Performance Research at Antioch College* 1 (2016), [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

that the latter might be versed in the matter. Django's snarky comment impresses the sultry lady, suggesting that his domineering personality is attractive to the submissive. After Candie dismisses the maid and the bartender, he turns toward the black lady, whom he addresses as Sheba, and commands her to remain in the room. Sheba observes the order but states that she had planned on staying anyway, with or without his consent. By teasing Candie's authority, Sheba perks his interest with a bit of defiance in addition to their exchange's sexual undertones. For the sex-crazed white man, she deliberately transforms herself into a toy, one used for pleasure or pain at his disposal, and thus takes charge of the game.³

Since *Django Unchained* features a number of notable actors using derogatory language, it immediately received severe backlash. However, Hollywood critics only targeted the racialized ethos insofar as it pertained to masculinity. Moon Charania, a film analyst, highlighted the black-on-black violence, black passivity, and white supremacy portrayed by the predominantly white male cast. Rather than endorsing racial equality, Charania argued, the movie is an exhibition of the severity of slavery without deconstructing slavery's discrimination from its theoretical roots; it appears to be a white satirist's ill-willed attempt at "fictional vindication," one xenophobic remark away from prejudicial propaganda.⁴

In his monograph, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Film* (1973), Donald Bogle analyzes classic black movie characters, yet he does not consider the iconography of the "Jezebel."⁵ The same oversight is evident in more recent studies on film, such as *Returning the Gaze: A Genealogy of Black Film Criticism, 1909-1949* and *Film Blackness: American Cinema and the Idea of Black Film*.⁶ These studies of white-created stereotypes fail to deconstruct the Jezebel, let alone mention her by name. Instead, they allude to her as a transitional character, used to evoke sexual undertones. The Jezebel's absence in scholarly analyses does not stem from a lack of evidence; rather, it derives from the authors' choice of sources and their focus on attacks against black intelligence, not sexuality. Thus, scholars impede their own objective of detecting inaccurate caricatures, thereby allowing the latter to continue to seep into American culture.

Due to the prominence of the "sambo," "pickaninny," "zip coon," and "Uncle Tom" characters, it seems easier to identify attacks on black masculinity. By contrast, the "Mammy" character is considered to serve as comic relief. In 1914, a blackface version of Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, titled *Coon Town Suffragettes*, depicted the Mammy in her physical form for the first time; it featured a group of

³ *Django Unchained*, directed by Tarantino.

⁴ Moon Charania, "Django Unchained: Voyeurism Unleashed," *Contexts* 12, no. 3 (August 2013): 58-60, here 59-60.

⁵ Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Black in American Films* (New York: Continuum, 2009; first published 1973).

⁶ Anna Everett, *Returning the Gaze: A Genealogy of Black Film Criticism, 1909-1949* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Michael Boyce Gillespie, *Film Blackness: American Cinema and the Idea of Black Film* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

black washerwomen who rallied to keep their lethargic husbands in bed and away from places of ill repute. Besides this curmudgeon attitude, directors showcased the Mammy as a domineering woman. By the 1930s, the ill-tempered and in-charge Mammies routinely received push-back from leading female characters, perhaps most famously in *Gone with the Wind* (1939); at the same time, these “handkerchief heads” or “Aunt Jemimas” embodied religious virtue through their attentive nature toward their white bosses. Their depictions drew attention to social hierarchies, not the free-spirited nature of the Jezebel whose character appeared comparatively stagnant. While the Mammy was humanized for her labor, the Jezebel remained trapped in the confines of her imposed sexuality.⁷

This essay attempts to fill a void in the existing literature that has primarily focused on the Mammy. The latter’s overstudied stereotype seeks to counteract misogyny but thereby indirectly validates the Jezebel. A fixture in the homes of white folks, the Mammy refutes the debauchery of the Jezebel, thus creating a rift within the black female identity. Thus, this essay intends to recast the African American woman as the only rightful proprietress of her own sexuality.

While critics did not realize, or at least not acknowledge, the misrepresentation of African American women in *Django Unchained*, it is more or less evident throughout the film. Disguised by alcohol and sex, such typecasts exist as by-products of a racially complex history. While white females gradually managed to overcome, or at least reduce, promiscuous typecasting, the emergence of black women into questionable types of femininity predates the advent of film. Society’s ignorance toward prevailing racial stereotypes allowed black sexuality to be manipulated into inaccurate molds. Tarantino employed the Jezebel character in particular because she enhances the film’s machismo-centric theme. The Jezebel is a prominent, yet understudied, stereotype of black females as licentious and lustful objects who warrant sexual conquering, and they possess an innate, sexual power that cannot be replicated by their white counterparts.

The absence of meaningful scholarly discussion on the iconic renditions of the Jezebel proves that this character, through years of recreation, has ultimately been normalized by being embedded into American culture. This forces black women to falsely assume an association with the behavior of the Jezebel. Preconceived notions about African American women morphed from thoughts on paper to a physical persona around a hundred years ago, namely, with the start of screen entertainment. Due to the peculiarities of its era of formation, the typecast remains an incorrect, yet thriving, version of black femininity, and it influences perceptions of black masculinity as well. As *Django Unchained* illustrates, the stereotype encompasses all of black identity as susceptible to the supervision of white, cultural brokers. Those who vie for cultural domination employ stereotypes as power in group conflicts or as a means to justify the status quo. They become mechanisms for maintaining control over the people whom they strip of power.

⁷ Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, 9.

Due to their extensive reach over society, stereotypes serve as ideal structures to distribute “raw material for daily conversations.”⁸

Rhonda Walker claims that cartoons are the most overlooked socio-political tool in the media. They use humor as an “equalizer” that allows everyone to formulate a public opinion. Since cartoon stereotypes are operated by the dominant party as cultural weapons under the protection of comedy, the attacked minority cannot combat or resist them. Thus, the most overtly powerful version does not appear in playacting but, rather, in sketches, which eliminates the constrained human factor and permits the guiltless harassment of blackness. Due to the mass production of cartoons in the 1940s and 1950s, the Jezebel character, as a caricature, became fully embedded into American culture with a “perfected” physical adaptation that linked black women with hyper-sexuality.⁹

The Jezebel woman has been around since biblical writers intertwined stances for slavery and against feminism. She resurfaced after the Civil War in a series of theoretical texts on racial inferiority, again including references to gender. At the dawn of the twentieth century, directors transferred bigoted descriptions from the written word into public entertainment. These repeated offenses increased the Jezebel’s popularity, naturally attaching themselves to the black female identity. This essay incorporates a historiographical approach to the intersectionality of racism and sexism that upholds the traditional state of race-and-gender relations in the media. In *Social Crisis and Social Demoralization* (2005), Ronald Kuykendall explains that examining people’s social status in relation to their complex identities reveals how an artificial hierarchy places people not according to their actions but, rather, according to the actions of their identity predecessors. Those in charge of granting social status wield their authority through years of manipulating the image of other people’s interactions. Thus, an identity is only accurate to the degree that the dominating party wants it to be perceived. When white supremacists compiled their racist propaganda, they only included the characteristics that upheld previous ethnic notions about black women.¹⁰

Since the individuals in question are both black and female, they suffer from racist and sexist attacks on their identity. Feminist and antiracist scholars often operate along a “single-axis framework” that ignores the other dimensions of identity experiences, meaning that they cannot find solace in the social movements of the respective other side. In opposition to this single-mindedness, Kimberlé Crenshaw, a leading voice in the field of critical race theory, has coined the term “intersectionality” which highlights the compound marginalization of subjects –

⁸ Donald R. Brown, Charles M. Firestone, and Ellen Propper Mickiewicz, *Television/Radio News and Minorities* (Queenstown: The Aspen Institute, 1994), 8.

⁹ Rhonda Walker, “Political Cartoons: Now You See Them!” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 26, no. 1 (2003): 16-21, here 16.

¹⁰ Ronald A. Kuykendall, *Social Crisis and Social Demoralization: The Dynamics of Status in American Race Relations* (Portland: Arissa Media Group, LLC, 2005), 10.

a central theme in the refutation of legal arguments that favor color-blindness. Intersectionality halts the traditional approach of dividing race and gender into single-faceted constructs that neglect the interconnectedness of the African American woman's experience and obscure her unique perspective in the narrative by stories of black men and white women. Intersectionality merges the two histories of intolerance into a new, individualized story.¹¹

According to Patricia Hill Collins, the systems and intensities through which oppression is administered affect people's perception of their identities and respective intersectionality. Collins refers to this as the "matrix of domination" which comprises an array of events, sequences, and patterns. Thus, intersectionality does not constitute a single lens of persecution. Discrimination comes from multiple angles, and it is imperative to acknowledge the degrees to which gender and race have been employed as means of subjugation.¹²

The Jezebel exists as a combination of perpetuated misconceptions concerning blackness and womanhood, and it controls white society's perception of the black female identity. It is near impossible for black women to escape their prescribed character that the media continue to endorse. To track the progression of this stereotype, scholars must cover material that extends from the sentiments behind anti-abolitionist papers to contemporary portrayals of blacks in the media. While the stereotype's persistence does not denote legitimacy, it suggests a social acceptance of encoded discrimination. This essay first considers the origins of the Jezebel story. It subsequently turns to the creation of an Americanized Jezebel, which supported the racialized attitudes of the transition from slavery to Jim Crow. It examines reviews of white actresses and their failed attempts to portray African Americans and, in its last section, analyzes the consumerist exploitation of the Jezebel in 1940s and 1950s cartoons. The stereotype was shrouded during the Civil Rights era, only to be reclaimed by the mass media in 1970s blaxploitation.¹³

Today, some social conservatives blame hyper-sexualized black women for all the ills of the world. In a recent *YouTube* episode, a Mississippi preacher named Shane Vaughn commented on Oprah Winfrey's 2021 interview with the Duke and Duchess of Sussex in the wake of their split from the British royal family. Meghan

¹¹ Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140, no. 1 (1989): 139-167, here 139; Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margin: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241-1299, here 1244.

¹² Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2002; first published 1990), 18.

¹³ Josiah Howard, *Blaxploitation Cinema: The Essential Reference Guide* (Godalming: FAB, 2008), offers an in-depth chronology and analysis of the portrayal of African Americans in feature films. In addition to motion pictures, Howard assesses the posters and advertisements that promoted erotic and eccentric images. Yvonne D. Sims, *Women of Blaxploitation: How the Black Action Film Heroine Changed American Popular Culture* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2006), complements this article's Black feminist focus.

Markle, the biracial wife of Prince Harry, had indicated in the interview that representatives of the monarchy had denied her son Archie a title because he jeopardized the white bloodline as the royal family's first baby of color. In addition, the events of the past several years had led Markle into a deep depression in which she even contemplated suicide. In his reaction, Vaughn criticized Prince Harry, "pray[ing] every night that God would...give [him] the backbone of a man [...] that [he] would take control of [his] house and quit letting Jezebel lead [him] away from [his] family." Although the essence of the Jezebel survives in popular culture, Vaughn's reference points to classical arguments of slavery and eugenics. According to Vaughn, Markle, a racially confused woman, had corrupted the cowardly Prince Harry like the wives and concubines who had debased King Solomon in the Bible;¹⁴ the white crown reigns as a sign of racial superiority, and a suicidal deviant was compromising an ancient color line.¹⁵

While some whites wield the Jezebel in their attacks against black women, some black men employ the same type of messaging, especially in the entertainment industry. Kanye West, an award-winning hip-hop artist, goes beyond generalizations and objectifies Serena Williams, one of the world's top tennis players, who happens to be black. In "Gold Digger," West states, "my psychic told me she'll have an ass like Serena."¹⁶ This suggests that the respective discriminatory imagery is pervasive in black-and-black relations as well. Guillermo Rebollo-Gil has argued that even hip-hop, supposedly a product of black culture, is employed as another stigmatic tool by white American critics. This means that misogyny is swept up into a "social vacuum where the larger U.S. racial and social structure [has] [...] no bearing on the production and distribution of the musical product."¹⁷ Kanye and other black male artists empower themselves through the patriarchal brotherhood to exploit African American women's sexuality, ultimately attacking the reputation of specific individuals directly.

Since African American women are viewed as threats to two social dynamics, this essay concentrates on a specific stereotype that excludes them from feminist and antiracist movements. Although she is nameless in contemporary conversations, the Jezebel serves as a vehicle by which white racism attempts to conceal the truth by means of overt sexuality. When the Jezebel is used as a symbol of a collective identity, the people who employ the stereotype use a repressive device that derives from the post-slavery sentiment of protecting the white race. Thus, the Jezebel survives, awaiting redemption.

¹⁴ The story of King Solomon and his wives and concubines can be found in 1 Kings 11: 1-13.

¹⁵ RWW News, "Shane Vaughn Attacks Meghan Markle as a 'Jezebel' and a 'Narcissist'," *Right Wing Watch*, March 9, 2021, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

¹⁶ Kanye West, "Gold Digger," track 4 on *Late Registration* (Universal Music Group Recordings Incorporation, 2005), *Spotify*.

¹⁷ Guillermo Rebollo-Gil, "Black Women and Black Men in Hip Hop Music: Misogyny, Violence and the Negotiation of (White-Owned) Space," *Journal of Popular Culture* 45, no. 1 (2012): 118-132, here 119.

I. The Story of Jezebel

The Jezebel's story begins in the Old Testament of the Bible. According to the Books of Kings, she was a Phoenician princess from Tyre, the daughter of the Sidonian king Ethbaal, and married to King Ahab, the ruler of Israel. Since she was a non-Jew and her people worshipped different deities, the Israelites deemed Ahab's union with Jezebel an exemplification of sin.

1 Kings 16:31: And as if it had been a trifling thing for him to walk in the sins of Yarov'am [Jeroboam] ben Nebat, Ahav [Ahab] took as his woman Izevel [Jezebel] bat Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, and went and served Ba'al, and worshiped him.

According to Wilda C. Gafney, a specialist in womanist biblical interpretations, the name "Izevel" shares a similar linguistic structure with the word Jezebel; it may derive from the phrase "Ba'al Exalts," perhaps subsequently transformed by the writer into an insult, meaning "Lacking Nobility" or "Fecal Matter."¹⁸ Its negative connotation continues in the Old and New Testament:

2 Kings 9:22: When Jehoram [Joram] saw Yehu [Jehu] he asked, "Have you come in peace, Yehu?" "How can there be peace," Yehu replied, "as long as all the idolatry and witchcraft of your mother Izevel abound?"

Revelation 2:20: Nevertheless, I have a complaint to make: you tolerate the woman Izevel who claims to be a prophetess, and by her teaching she is luring my servants away to commit the adultery of eating food which has been sacrificed to idols.

In the first excerpt from 2 Kings, the term "witchcraft" purportedly refers to sexual seduction and prostitution, but in Revelation 2, the slur attacks Jezebel's spirituality and classifies her as a heretic. Since she has agency in the canon, biblical writers could not omit her from their texts, but they did employ language condemning her sexuality and idolatry. Based on her foreign status and practices, Jezebel was portrayed as someone who was threatening the Israelites' religion and culture through sex and paganism. Perhaps because her religion embraced the human body, biblical writers included the gruesome details of her death. According to 2 Kings 9:30-37, Queen Jezebel, in anticipation of her execution, put on makeup and fixed her hair. When she taunted Yehu from an upstairs window, he challenged those around her to throw her down, which they did. When Yehu later commanded her burial, her body had been devoured by dogs, thus fulfilling a prophecy of Elijah about ending the worship of Ba'al and avenging Jezebel's killing of the prophets of Israel's god. All that remained of Jezebel's body were her skull, hands, and feet, while the rest was "like excrement on the ground" (2 Kings 9:37). The text is a warning to those who claim autonomy that the physical structure they employ in their exercise of power will perish into oblivion. In particular, it is a warning to females, especially "foreign" females, who try to use their sex to operate outside traditional patriarchal hierarchies of civilization.

¹⁸ Wilda C. Gafney, *Womanist Midrash: A Reintroduction to the Women of the Torah and the Throne* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2017), 240.

North American authors latched on to the corruption of the Jezebel and used it to reinforce sexism and racism.¹⁹ Even though biblical characters are not of white descent, white supremacists employed biblical references to establish a racial hierarchy with lighter skin tones at the top. They claimed that God had instituted racial division during Creation and, naturally, appointed whites—those with the fairest complexions—as the masters over humanity. In 1900, Charles R. Carroll, a self-proclaimed scientific race theorist, published his thoughts on the evolutionary process. He rationalized social inequity by pointing to a culprit who exemplified lowliness: the black woman. According to Carroll, the Adamic family is of pure lineage, and God condemns hybridization; thus, the offspring of parents who belong to different races will live as flesh of “beasts.” Carroll exempts black men from blame: since it is the black woman who physically carries a baby to term, she is the one who renews the cycle of oppression. Carroll also suggests that, if a white woman gives birth to a dark-skinned child, there must have been non-consenting circumstances at conception, thus nullifying a white woman’s contribution to hybridization and the cycle of oppression. According to Carroll, the black woman bears the entire weight of racial damnation for all eternity.²⁰

Carroll critiques “beasts” and their incomplete qualities that trickle down the line: “The soul creation in its imperfect and dependent state in the germ of the [black] man, finds no corresponding side or part in the negress.”²¹ Thus, while a black male possesses an incomplete soul, a black female does not have one at all. Carroll argues that, in order to obtain the three aspects of human creation, namely, matter, mind, and soul, both parents must carry these attributes, meaning that these attributes cannot be made. Due to a black woman’s “animalistic” nature, the soul lives outside of her reach. Carroll suggests that the black woman understands this ethical dilemma, yet she continues to bring humanly deficient babies into an unwelcoming world. She is a shame to motherhood, the role normally entrusted to women to protect children; thus, while women involuntarily assume the responsibilities of safeguarding morality, these standards punish black women due to the confines of their color. Society assigns a specific task to women, but it declares that women from unequal (i.e., non-white) races live outside the sphere of “womanhood” and its entitlements. They have no opportunity for redemption. Based on Carroll’s pseudo-science, since a black woman does not fit the criteria of white womanhood, she cannot be considered a woman at all, even if she abides by the same gender roles; she is only identified by her blackness. These two

¹⁹ Gafney, *Womanist Midrash*, 246; Tamura A. Lomax, *Jezebel Unhinged: Loosing the Black Female Body in Religion and Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 42-43.

²⁰ Charles R. Carroll, *The Negro a Beast or In the Image of God [...]* (St. Louis, MO: American Book and Bible House, 1900), 70-71. The full title of Carroll’s book is too long (over 90 words) and too offensive to be reproduced here.

²¹ Carroll, *Negro a Beast*, 60.

characteristics—race and gender—isolate the black female, allowing white supremacists to strike at her sexuality as the source of her unique, beastly nature.²²

Virginia historian Philip Alexander Bruce (1856-1933) claimed that slavery supported the responsibility of African American women to serve as leaders of morality: “As long as the negress was a slave, there was no danger of her presuming upon an immoral intimacy—a fact well known to her white paramour for his encouragement.”²³ Bruce argued that servitude prevented African American women’s sexually provocative behavior from overcoming their familial obligations. Thus, according to Bruce, the white institution of slavery served as a compulsory check over black femininity. Bruce believed that black women who succumbed to their instincts would not convey chastity to their daughters. He blamed sexually liberated black women for ruining the reputation of their peers. Bruce considered former slave masters to be authorities on black sexuality since they had witnessed its effects following abolition.²⁴

In *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (2004), Patricia Hill Collins asserts that such assumptions about sexuality—like the ones just outlined—were not enough to cement them into American culture. Instead, the behavior of black men became an example of the effects of black women’s eroticism. Due to their allegedly sex-crazed bodies, black females could never be sexually satisfied, so their counterparts had to result to raw force to bring about fulfillment. This implies, then, that men could not rape black women because the latter essentially “asked for it” due to their carnal need for ravishment. Collins shows that the proliferation of rape rests on stereotypical characters, like the Jezebel, who appear as lascivious. Rape allowed white men in particular to annex black women’s bodies and usurp their agency for their personal advantage.²⁵

While white men could use these assumptions to try to rationalize their rape of black women, the same assumptions also served as a basis to rationalize the alleged sexual inclinations of black men. It was argued that, once the latter had escaped from the plantations, they sought out white women for their eloquence and gentleness. While black men were captivated by white women’s tenderness, they had become dull to passion; they sexually violated their female counterparts because they did not know any other methods of pleasure. After the Civil War, large numbers of Southerners used such racist theories to insist that black men’s violent tendencies warranted the reinforcement of racial tyranny through lynching and other types of public punishment. As supposed keepers of morality, black

²² Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984), 31, 49.

²³ Philip Alexander Bruce “Evolution of the Negro Problem,” *The Sewanee Review* 19, no. 4 (1911): 385-399, here 389.

²⁴ Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*, 31.

²⁵ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (London: Routledge, 2005; first published 2004), 56, 66.

women were thus blamed for any deviant sexual conduct by members of their own ethnicity, causing some black men to resent them as well.²⁶

Just as America's caste system periodically redesigns itself, the Jezebel stereotype undergoes revisions as well; however, it always seems to retain the characteristics used by white supremacists during the Reconstruction era to rationalize their beliefs concerning black inferiority. While slavery was abolished in 1865, its remnants survive in subliminal forms, including the Jezebel stereotype. Even in contemporary film, as we have seen, the Jezebel appears as overly dramatic and aggressive, using sex for pleasure, drugs, or money. Thus, the media retain the pre-manufactured sexuality of early racist sympathizers like Carroll and Bruce, while simply modernizing the stereotype with popular contemporary elements; according to cultural critics, this modernized version translates to "gold diggers" or "skeezers." Sexuality is being systematically exploited via race, socio-economics, ethnicity, religion, and gender, which increasingly complicates the understanding of intersectionality. Thus, marginalized groups become linked to a long-lasting, historical narrative: the Jezebel connects to slavery like "rape to patriarchy [and] child prostitution to contemporary global sex work."²⁷ In the past, black females were accused of threatening the integral unit of the nation—the family. Now, they are being accused of undermining morality on a grand scale, so society dehumanizes them by means of a nameless and shameless caricature.²⁸

II. The Portrayal of Jezebel

Travis L. Dixon, a media studies scholar, claims that the human mind prefers to approach the media in a heuristic manner because it facilitates numerous, cognitive associations with regard to various social entities without the stress of personally engaging with someone and formulating an opinion.²⁹ Yet reliance on this process can lead to stereotypical assumptions strengthened by repetition. Typically, it reinforces a white narrative that portrays people of color negatively, resulting in stereotypes being absorbed by themselves. White cultural brokers build typecasts with minimal black resistance, allowing them to be sold on the open market without racial authentication. However, such depictions only display a distorted image rather than the experiences that inspire a person's identity.

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, light-skinned performers doused themselves in thick coats of dark paint to mimic African Americans. These entertainers then acted antagonistic or dull-witted, but the Jezebel could partake in both traits. White actresses portrayed her as foolishly helpless; however, her alter ego turned

²⁶ George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 281-282.

²⁷ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 11.

²⁸ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 127-128.

²⁹ Travis L. Dixon, "Media Stereotypes: Content, Effects, and Theory," in *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, ed. Mary Beth Oliver, Arthur A. Raney, and Jennings Bryant (New York: Routledge, 2002), 243-257.

her into a scornful sex addict. They ultimately failed to capture the demeanor of their black characters because they were detached from their experiences and identity, thus creating a major problem on the sets of motion pictures.³⁰

In 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe had written a piece of anti-slavery fiction titled *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Published a few years before the Civil War, the novel exposed the continuing plight of African Americans subjected to slavery and contributed significantly to the abolitionist movement. Yet theatre and movie directors soon contrived derivative versions that would have aggravated Stowe. In 1901, an article in the *New York Tribune Illustrated Supplement* critiqued a live production of the tale. While it does not comment on the makeup, it praises Topsy's sexuality, stating that "[she] is a wonderfully and delightfully original conception [...] endowed with the additional charm of juvenility and sex."³¹ Thus, the article seems to suggest that Stowe had created a character with the enhanced allure of the Jezebel, completely ignoring the countless Jezebel narratives that had preceded Stowe's work. The article then proceeds to retract its initial statement, recognizing that the character is not a product of literary genius, and, instead, attacks Stowe's "plagiarized" composition:

There may be no good reason for crediting Mrs. Stowe with this conception: the minstrel end man may never have entered into her thoughts, nor Topsy into those of the original end man; Mrs. Stowe may have had a very different and much more serious idea in her creation; but all these things are as ancient history to the contemporary New-York schoolgirl, who accepts Topsy as pretty good ragtime fun.³²

The article's author then realizes that Stowe's character appears as a collective reference to all black females because she carries the sexually deviant traits that white writers like Carroll and Bruce were trying to corroborate via the Bible or science. This is an early instance where the Jezebel is not just a character but, rather, the true essence of black femininity. These subjective traits followed African American women into mainstream media and opened the door for amplified racial stereotyping. However, the hard part would prove to be the casting of a white actress to break the limitations of the color line in acting.

Mary Alden (1883-1946), a Broadway star trying to make it in Hollywood, achieved stardom through her role in the controversial film *Birth of a Nation*. Directed by D. W. Griffith, this silent movie contains several assaults on gender and race. In one scene, a mix-race maid (played by Alden) swoons over House Representative Austin Stoneman who captures her heart through his fight for abolition. She tears her clothing in a suggestive manner, but he ignores her seductive attempts, pities the "tragic mulatto," and offers her comfort.³³ The

³⁰ Dixon, "Media Stereotypes," 248.

³¹ "Uncle Tom's Cabin," *New-York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, March 17, 1901.

³² "Uncle Tom's Cabin," *New-York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*.

³³ The "tragic mulatto" is another stereotypical figure of American fiction that appeared around 1830. This stereotype suggests that, due to her mixed-skin tone, the mulatto cannot find

audience watches as the emotionally disturbed maid pursues Stoneman as a solution to the racialized disparity. This part of Griffith's story references the relationship between real-life House Representative Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868) and his housekeeper Lydia Hamilton Smith (1813-1884). Scholars believe that Stevens, an opponent of slavery, enabled Smith to become a businesswoman by accepting her as his common-law wife. In the film, Stoneman's interaction with the maid suggests that Stevens surrendered to Smith's sexual allure. *Birth of a Nation* heavily influenced the use of illicit relationships to portray exaggerated stereotypes in the film industry. Since President Woodrow Wilson screened the film at the White House, it served as America's cultural guide to race relations.³⁴

Casting a multiracial mulatto as the Jezebel proved to be racially imperative. While the Mammy is depicted as overweight and very dark-skinned, the Jezebel appears slim and lighter-skinned by comparison. Psychologist Carolyn M. West acknowledges that body-image issues affect individuals from all racial and ethnic backgrounds, but for black women, beauty is intensified by historically white standards.³⁵ While the size of the Mammy excuses food as a coping mechanism for financial and familial stress, a lighter-complexioned lady appears to retain whiter characteristics that uplift her physical attractiveness. The Jezebel is more appealing to society and exhibits a stronger personality. Film scholar Jared Sexton suggests a supplementary theory regarding the stereotype's mixed color. In *Amalgamation Schemes*, he claims that the mulatto evokes a "distorted desire [within the white man] to transgress the color line."³⁶ Simply put, the lighter-skinned woman seduces the weak white man, thereby vindicating the inevitable sexual encounter.³⁷

From the perspective of white racism, these sexually explicit and racially blended women instigate white genocide; if a black woman conceives a child with a white man, the mixed offspring is racially impure; and once blackness infiltrates whiteness, a portion of it survives for eternity, no matter the number of times reproduction tries to bleach away the contamination. While sterility might be

solace in either race, which makes her the victim of a binary society, and she is depicted as depressed, sometimes even suicidal. The Jezebel and the "tragic mulatto" share similar physical traits as well as lascivious attitudes. It would be misleading, though, to conceptualize all mixed-race women under the umbrella of the "tragic mulatto." The Jezebel has emerged as the stereotype's predominant rendition. For the social legacy of this stereotype, see Emily Clark, "The Tragic Mulatto and Passing," in *The Palgrave Handbook of the Southern Gothic*, ed. Susan Castillo Street and Charles K. Crow (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 259-270.

³⁴ *The Birth of a Nation*, directed by David Wark Griffith (New York: Epoch Producing Corporation, 1915), YouTube.

³⁵ Carolyn M. West, "Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel: Historical Images of Black Women and Their Implications for Psychotherapy," *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 32, no. 3 (1995): 458-466.

³⁶ Jared Sexton, *Amalgamation Schemes: Antiblackness and the Critique of Multiracialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 208.

³⁷ West, "Mammy, Sapphire, and Jezebel," 459-460.

considered the greatest obstacle to the perpetuation of the white race, the negativity surrounding the Jezebel deems the disassembly of white civilization by means of the black female body a far greater offense. The Jezebel endures the never-ending identity crisis caused by the separation of race and gender, thereby cultivating an unhinged character who cannot achieve legitimacy in any aspect of her life. While these are all theories about the emergence of the light-skinned Jezebel, a simple argument suggests that blackface makeup could not obscure whiteness; thus, the mulatto character solved the issue of flawed complexions.³⁸

Catherine M. Cole and Tracy C. Davis have suggested that the makeup, engineered from charred corks and grease traps, was only the beginning of botched attempts to conceal whiteness. In their work, Cole and Davis readdress the historiography, analyze international reinventions, and challenge uncorroborated connections between minstrelsy and racism in America; they claim that the combination of the minstrel actors' gestures, dialects, and unrhythmic movements clearly labeled them as insensitive imposters. Although Mary Alden's celebrity status possibly protected her from harsh critiques, up-and-coming actresses who dabbled in blackface in a desultory bid to enter the film industry were spotted and denounced by journalists. Thus, this antiquated method of performing could lead to the abrupt and inopportune conclusion of promising acting careers. Ethel Barrymore Colt (1912-1977), the daughter of the "First Lady of American Theatre," experienced this demise first-hand. While she shared her mother's name, she would struggle to find success in the family business because she could not overcome her experiment with blackface.³⁹

When Ethel Barrymore (senior) acquired the dramatic rights to Julia Peterkin's Pulitzer-Prize-winning work, *Scarlet Sister Mary*, in January 1929, Ethel Barrymore Colt saw a chance to emerge from her mother's shadow. Similar to Stowe, Peterkin had abandoned a white mindset to contribute to literature without the prevailing stereotypes. Set in South Carolina, Peterkin's adaptation of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* concerns the existential dilemma of the title character Mary who contemplates two opposing lifestyles: vice and virtue. Mary's complex character appealed to the talented young Barrymore, so she agreed to take the stage in the family's first attempt at blackface. Ultimately, her hopes backfired, and her famous name could not save her from relentless backlash.⁴⁰

Before Broadway, the show toured the Great Lakes region with an opening night in Columbus, Ohio. While the eighteen-year-old Barrymore celebrated her

³⁸ Sexton, *Amalgamation Schemes*, 208.

³⁹ Catherine M. Cole and Tracy C. Davis, "Routes of Blackface," *The Drama Review* 57, no. 2 (2013): 7-12, here 8.

⁴⁰ Carol Stein Hoffman, *The Barrymores: Hollywood's First Family* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), presents exclusive photographs and portraits from the family's personal collection. The author documents the Barrymores' history from Elizabethan England to the early days of Hollywood, showcasing the accomplishments of six generations that collectively fashioned the Barrymores as American media icons.

debut, the critics compiled a list of theatrical disasters. News of a Barrymore failure rapidly spread across the country. On October 11, 1930, the *Pittsburgh Courier* published an article with the headline, "Columbus Critics View Miss Barrymore's 'Scarlet Sister Mary' With Alarm," relating that, according to H. E. Cherrington of the *Columbus Dispatch*, "the drama of the Negro is best realized by his own race."⁴¹ The idea was that a white actress could never master a black persona because racial cognizance emerged from personal experience. Thus, these types of performances came across as overtly racist and senseless efforts to avert the legitimization of blacks in entertainment, even though the cultural curators could also not allow their stereotypes to be manipulated by black people to display their humanity.

While Barrymore had selected Mary to showcase her range, she gave in to the stereotypical portrayal of an African American woman who was living in a perpetual state of oppression. According to the reviewer, Barrymore could not "shake off the shackles of repression, which is the essence of her finest art, and Sister Mary is anything but a repressed being."⁴² While Barrymore received the harshest reviews, other actresses—new to the Hollywood scene—struggled similarly with the racial-acting line. They often thought that the easiest and most-polished representation of black females stemmed from traditional notions of disenfranchisement or eroticism. Sister Mary, though, was written as a woman who was conducting herself as sexually free, something Barrymore completely omitted from her portrayal. Additionally, the reviewer noted errors in the dialect, a common deficiency of white actors in blackface. Nevertheless, readers would have noticed that a majority of the negative comments targeted Barrymore's "black inexperience," thereby dragging her down as a corroborating victim.⁴³

Writing for the *Brooklyn Times Union*, Rowland Field questioned Barrymore's willingness to participate in a substandard medium. He contradicted others who deemed it a decent production because, as he put it, "it is hard to imagine [whites] impersonating colored characters."⁴⁴ Field did not scrutinize Barrymore's limited control over the theatrical concept. He excused the naïve actress for following an unsustainable trend. While she was not famous herself, her name alone increased concern about the efficacy of blackface throughout the industry.

Once show business critics acknowledged the shortcomings of these imitations, they temporarily subsided. Directors understood who played the best black person, but they could not authorize dark-skinned actors and actresses to serve as cultural figures in the spotlight; after all, the chance of African Americans twisting intricately constructed stereotypes to showcase the truth remained all too

⁴¹ Associated Negro Press, "Columbus Critics View Miss Barrymore's 'Scarlet Sister Mary' with Alarm," *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 11, 1930.

⁴² Associated Negro Press, "Columbus Critics."

⁴³ Associated Negro Press, "Columbus Critics."

⁴⁴ Rowland Field, "The New Play," *Brooklyn Times Union*, November 26, 1930.

possible. The movie sector saw the effects of allowing black artists a role in music, so they refused to surrender all of entertainment to a racial revolution.

Attempting to embrace the Jezebel, the black blues community reversely accepted the white-saturated version, thus altering an obscene storyline into one of triumph and awe. Jane E. Goodman has analyzed the evolution of songs from composer to singer from the angle of one Kabyle song in Algeria. While the tribal song is copyrighted, its reproductions lose the connection to the village women who wrote the lyrics. The singers serve as the visible conveyors of the message, gaining a unique repertoire for each song. This demonstrates a transfer in the power dynamics of culture. Under the same perception theory, black blues artists employed their expressionism to capitalize on words written by white males. Rather than attacking sexualized culture, they wielded it as a socio-political weapon on behalf of their personalities. Thus, scholars trace their persona in popular culture back to these lyrical legacies. These women spun criticism about toxic sexuality from a mechanism of shame into a mode of empowerment.⁴⁵

Bessie Smith, the “Empress of Blues,” spent the 1920s and 1930s exposing her risqué spirit through song. In 1931, she recorded “Need a Little Sugar in My Bowl.” In its second chorus, Smith sings, “I need a little sugar in my bowl / I need a little hot dog between my rolls”⁴⁶—thus, instead of denying her desires, inviting any man to fulfill her sexual appetite. Although the public subconsciously propagated the Jezebel stereotype, Smith’s open invitation to pleasure spotlighted a socially taboo topic. In her rendition of “Shave ‘Em Dry” (1935), blues singer Lucille Bogan presented another prohibited discussion about a female enjoying sex: “Say I fucked all night, and all the night before, baby / And I feel just like I wanna fuck some more.”⁴⁷ These metaphors, when performed with a visceral passion in voice and figure, painted the exact image of African American women that white society feared. Both Smith and Bogan showed their rawest selves, thus leaving audiences in uncomfortable awe of their abrasiveness. This aggravated white creators who saw their cultural power being distributed to the black domain.

The film industry could not stand the idea of a similar upheaval on the silver screen, and neither could they overcome the limitations of white acting. Thus, they took advantage of comedy and cartoons, which explains the historiographical lapse in the timeline from blackface to blaxploitation. In the 1940s and 1950s, racist cartoons caused new issues apart from a xenophobic national culture. They added to the identity crisis African American women had been facing since slavery.

⁴⁵ Jane E. Goodman, “‘Stealing Our Heritage?’ Women’s Folksongs, Copyright Law, and the Public Domain in Algeria,” *Africa Today* 49, no. 1 (2002): 85-97, here 86-87; Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 72.

⁴⁶ Bessie Smith, “Need a Little Sugar in My Bowl,” track 19 on *The Best of Bessie Smith* (Sony Music Entertainment, 1931), *Spotify*.

⁴⁷ Lucille Bogan, “Shave ‘Em Dry,” track 18 on *Shave ‘Em Dry: The Best of Lucille Bogan* (Sony Music Entertainment, 1935), *Spotify*.

Neither musicians nor actresses could stop this mass appropriation of the black female body which was stamping the Jezebel into a subliminal character for life.

III. The Branding of Jezebel

After the 1930s, cultural brokers reintroduced the Jezebel through media that required marginal human interaction. Since whites botched the black image and blacks could easily distort the white message, a new side of consumerism got its chance. The respective success of the entertainment industry drove executives to salvage the stereotype through derisive animations. Cartoons created and cemented the illusion of the immoral African American woman in a way that continues to be recognized by contemporary America. While the Jezebel is not the only traditional typecast used to portray black women, she appears to be the most ignored and understudied version, suggesting that she is not a mere character but considered incarnate in every dark-skinned female. In the twenty-first century, this typecast does not appear to be one version of the black lady. She exists as a universal adaptation, a direct product of post-World War II chauvinistic America.

The critics had clearly condemned the portrayal of black characters via subpar white performances. Yet if executives stripped the stereotypical black characters from the big screen, they would shatter the white supremacist message that had taken years of fundamentalism and science to construct. Thus, executives decided to depict African Americans as caricatures. As the general audience rarely recognized cartoons as political propaganda, especially children's comedies, the illustrators could skew their sketches devoid of censure. Since the image itself was, once again, at the whim of white creators, the sound mixers only needed blacks for their distinct dialects. This genre gave white operators full agency at last.

There is a number of cartoons that contain the infamous—yet overlooked—Jezebel. While the first parody to be considered here is not listed as one of the Censored Eleven, it serves as proof that major enterprises besides *Looney Tunes* and *Merrie Melodies* used scornful imagery. These animated sketches developed into the primary medium for implanting racist thoughts into young inquisitive minds who would grow up to be walking advertisements of national culture.⁴⁸

In 1941, Universal Pictures released “Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat,” a rendition of a popular boogie-woogie song written by Don Raye. The setting, Lazy Town, is exclusively comprised of indolent black males and one female, depicted as a Mammy. The Mammy typically carries a sense of authoritative urgency, but as she grudgingly attends to the laundry, the men sit idly by. Then a mulatto Jezebel arrives on a riverboat, suddenly sparking the men's interest. She elegantly descends from the vessel, whistling as she maneuvers her way through the eye-gawking crowd. The nameless lady approaches the Mammy, scolds her for her lack of rhythm in attending to the laundry, and then takes over the laundry to

⁴⁸ To understand the evolution of blackface minstrelsy into cherished American cartoons, see Nicholas Sammond, *Birth of an Industry: Blackface Minstrelsy and the Rise of American Animation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

show the right technique, singing to the title song as she works. It cuts to a montage of the enlivened townsfolk who are dancing erotically as they return to their responsibilities. Before the Jezebel had landed at Lazy Town, the men had seemed overly content. Then her arrival gave them a renewed sense of energy, one that might impress the attractive young woman. The cartoon's greatest reversal is actually the removal of the Mammy from atop of the female hierarchy. Once the Jezebel used her sexuality as a motivator, the grumpy Mammy lost control, confirming that the sexually liberated lady did not just threaten the white race but the order of her own race, making her a mutual enemy across all communities.⁴⁹

In 1943, Warren Foster, a top Warner Brothers cartoonist, conspicuously converted the story of "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" into "Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs," set in the era of World War II. Foster transforms the Evil Queen into a food and goods hoarder—a reference to those living lavishly while the rest of the country is starving—and typecasts her as the Mammy, while "So White"—whose hair is "coal black" and who is usually known as Snow White—is juxtaposed as the Jezebel. Foster preserves essential elements, for example, the poisonous apple, but the story otherwise strays significantly from the original. While the entire cartoon contains considerable sexual innuendo, one scene shamelessly targets the promiscuity of the Jezebel stereotype. Once the Evil Queen has seen the Prince and So White swinging to the Jitterbug, she hires "Murder Inc." to "black out So White" (i.e., assassinate the young lady). They capture So White, pull her into their vehicle, drive off into the distance, but then, suddenly, stop the car. The combination of noises and the swaying of the car suggest that So White is offering a series of off-screen "favors"—left to the audience's imagination—in exchange for her safety. When she is voluntarily released, the "assassins" are covered in lipstick and request her company again soon. While the individuals who are in conflicts seem the same as in "Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat," this cartoon adds another character trait to the Jezebel: she uses sex as a means for survival. Foster depicts So White with a dopey demeanor and low intelligence; as a result, she employs her sexuality as a defensive shield. Typically, people perceive the Jezebel as an offensive player, but this illustration suggests that she understands the various ways she can wield her sexual power.⁵⁰

First aired on September 2, 1944, Tedd Pierce, a legendary cartoon writer, delivered America "Goldilocks and the Jivin' Bears" a black parody that blended "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" and "Little Red Riding Hood." Goldilocks, a mulatto fashioned in a crop-top and short shorts, assumes the role of the Jezebel. When the three bears leave the black lady alone at home, the Big Bad Wolf, who has been stalking her, rushes to greet her in bed upstairs. Before she lies down,

⁴⁹ "Scrub Me Mama with a Boogie Beat," directed by Walter Lantz, written by Ben Hardaway, aired March 28, 1941 (Universal Pictures).

⁵⁰ Merrie Melodies, "Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs," directed by Robert Clampett, written by Warren Foster, aired January 16, 1943 (Warner Brothers Entertainment Incorporation).

Goldilocks assesses each of the mattresses to find the best comfort. She selects the last one in line and almost falls asleep next to the Big Bad Wolf. When he startles her awake, she escapes the intruder's tight clutch and runs downstairs. The three bears return to find the Big Bad Wolf chasing Goldilocks around the living room, but they ignore her predicament, shout "Jitterbugs," and start playing jazz music. They just assume that Goldilocks has invited the Big Bad Wolf, so she is forced to fend for herself, implying that she has put herself into this situation or "asked for it" by climbing into bed with him. However, the next scene reinforces the impression that the Jezebel always remains in control. When the Big Bad Wolf coerces Goldilocks into swing-dancing, she swiftly assumes the male lead, throwing the assailant across the room and stopping him from escaping on multiple attempts. Eventually, the Big Bad Wolf breaks away from the crazy lady. If Goldilocks-Jezebel always stays in control, she is also the one who grants her consent. This suggests that the Jezebel cannot be raped, allowing everyone to turn a blind eye to violence against black women.⁵¹

While cartoonists dealt with the dilemma on screens, the entertainment industry outsourced material culture to distribute their racist agenda. In *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003), Lizabeth Cohen argues that consumerism has always influenced the perception of citizenship, but it evolved the most amidst the economic recovery from World War II. During the war, the federal government had advised Americans to ration their commodities, including entertainment. After U.S. General Douglas MacArthur accepted Japan's formal surrender aboard a battleship in Tokyo Bay, domestic spending surged. Postwar buyers embodied patriotic citizenship, performing a civic duty to their country. The wealth of the nation was channeled straight into mass consumption. While cartoons served as visual media to display stereotypes to a wide audience, consumers also needed tangible objects to bridge the connection between entertainment and reality.⁵²

The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia at Ferris State University in Big Rapids, Michigan, houses an exhibit on the Jezebel stereotype that contains relics of racialized consumerism, including the following four items. Firstly, on Indian Lake in Ohio, a little boat shop once sold a gag gift called "A Virgin Fishing Lucky Lure." The package includes a bare-chested black lady with large breasts and a hook dangling beneath her torso, suggesting that she is a sexual catch. Secondly, popularized in the 1950s, alcohol connoisseurs used to stir their mixed drinks with "Zulu Lulu" swizzle sticks, and the Jim Crow Museum possesses a six-pack. The product designers cut the black plastic pieces into outlines of naked females with their ages carved onto their buttocks. The older the woman, the more her figure

⁵¹ Merrie Melodies, "Goldilocks and the Jivin' Bears," directed by Isadore Freleng, written by Tedd Pierce, aired September 2, 1944 (Warner Brothers Entertainment Incorporation).

⁵² Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004; first published 2003), 9, 119, 199.

reflects the natural changes that result from decreases in estrogen levels, the reproductive hormone that handles the female fat distribution pattern. Once this stunts the breast, buttocks, and thigh tissue, a woman's mammary glands will shrink, and fat will fill the space, making the parts feel soft and appear less full. Nevertheless, all the swizzle sticks work the same way and mix individuals' drinks to their desired liking. Thirdly, on a 1950s ashtray, the producers positioned the Jezebel figurine in a seductive fashion that inappropriately glorifies her as a proponent of smoking. Finally, the "Martini Anyone?" banner breaks away from the typical presentation of the Americanized Jezebel. She is adorned with Afro jewelry and appears highly inebriated, holding two full martinis, yet she still retains a suggestive expression in her eyes, which suits the discernable nature of the Jezebel. This version eases the threatening attitude of the Jezebel because she appears too foolish for white men to pursue.⁵³

Thus, cartoonists and merchandisers repackaged the white supremacist message into popular culture through animation and knickknacks. They did not attack the Jezebel from just one angle. Instead, each instance of appropriation exploited a new aspect of her hyper-sexuality, breaking down the black female identity into smaller segments for the purpose of manipulation. This allowed the cultural brokers of the 1940s and 1950s to produce the perfect white image of the black female body without interference. Once 1970s blaxploitation strengthened this conceptualization, the stereotype became so embedded in American culture that the Jezebel is now nameless and largely invisible in contemporary mass media.

Conclusion

In the context of the Atlantic Slave Trade, white society implemented structures to sustain their position atop the racial hierarchy. To defend their position, white men launched an attack on black humanity. To raise their own position, white women joined the attack, because patriarchy otherwise might have guaranteed black men a higher ranking. Yet all three groups—white men, white women, and black men—debased black females, attacking intersectionality through biblical references as well as fraudulent race theories that linked sexuality with "beastly" behavior. These ideas then got swept up into the entertainment industry which misappropriated Black femininity as toxic sexuality with the Jezebel as their icon.

In modern popular culture, people dismiss the racially insensitive stereotypes for two reasons. Firstly, twentieth-century cultural brokers embedded the Jezebel impressively deep—to the point that she is no longer considered a character but, rather, a being; hence, Tarantino merely presents an ordinary form of the black

⁵³ "A Virgin Fishing Lucky Lure," ca. 1950s, souvenir from Indian Lake, Ohio, *The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Big Rapids, Michigan; "Zulu Lulu," ca. 1950s, swizzle stick, *The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Big Rapids, Michigan; Circa 1950s, ashtray with attached figurine, *The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Big Rapids, Michigan; "Martini Anyone?" ca. 1930s, banner, *The Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia*, Big Rapids, Michigan.

female in *Django Unchained*. The Jezebel subconsciously transformed from a single typecast into an overarching generalization about African American women, one that, I would argue, outlasted the Mammy. This conversion proves that popular culture possesses power, in a historical sense, to perpetuate racism and sexism. Secondly, the success of the black blues community means that the Jezebel *can* be incorporated as a counter-revolutionary symbol. This does not suggest an acceptance of the stereotype; rather, it points to a strategy to upset white supremacy from its roots. The century-old tactics that hindered the display of true black femininity cannot and will not beset feminist and antiracist movements any longer. Thus, I contend that, in the future, the Jezebel will be wielded for visibility and justice, and without any mischievous intent.

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Monique Garcia

*Impreuna Putem / Together, We Can:
The Movement to Save Berlin's Roma and Sinti Memorial*

ABSTRACT: *Germany's capital Berlin is filled with monuments honoring the victims of the Holocaust, constituting a memorial landscape that facilitates remembrance, sorrow, and growth. While the general public appreciates these monuments as places of information, transformation, and unity, the country's far-Right – including the political party "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) – is questioning the accuracy of Holocaust scholarship and the need for Holocaust memorials. On the basis of online news coverage, this essay highlights the public dispute over plans of the "Deutsche Bahn" (DB or "German Railway") to construct a rail line underneath the "Memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered under National Socialism," a monument opened in 2012 near Berlin's "Reichstag" (the Federal Parliament Building), as these plans are being fought by Sinti and Roma, as well as Germany's Left.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; Germany; Nazis; Holocaust; Sinti and Roma; Berlin; memorial landscape; Alternative für Deutschland (AfD); Deutsche Bahn (DB); news coverage*

Introduction

"Your train took me to my death. Now it will drill through my grave."¹ These words – used by the British writer Damian James Le Bas in his 2020 art piece "Ušte Romane Kokalalen!" – are being turned into signs to protest the plans of the "Deutsche Bahn" (DB or "German Railway") to construct a rail line underneath Berlin's "Memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered under National Socialism," a monument designed by the Israeli sculptor Daniel (Dani) Karavan (1930-2021) and unveiled in 2012 near the "Reichstag" (the Federal Parliament Building). The Sinti and Roma are subgroups of central Europe's Romani people; ethnically, they are Indo-Aryans and one of Europe's largest diaspora minorities.² They were persecuted and killed in large numbers by the Nazi regime between 1933 and 1945 as a "racially inferior" threat to Germany's Aryan race.³

In 2020, only eight years after its opening, the memorial became endangered due to construction plans for a municipal railway. These plans would necessitate a temporary closure of the memorial in order to build two railway tunnels underneath the monument, thereby depriving the general public—including Holocaust survivors and their relatives—of the opportunity to visit the site.

Germany's capital Berlin is filled with monuments honoring the victims of the Holocaust, constituting a memorial landscape that facilitates remembrance, sorrow, and growth. While the general public appreciates these monuments as

¹ Lisa Smith, "YTT Editor Reports from Germany: Protest to Protect Memorial for Sinti and Roma Murdered under National Socialism," *Travellers Times*, November 10, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022. See also "Das Denkmal bleibt!" *RomaTrial e.V.*, February 8, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

² Konstantina Mirtzani, "Romani: Europe's Largest Ethnic Minority, Their Marginalization, and the Way Forward," *The New Federalist*, May 16, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³ "Sinti and Roma," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

places of information, transformation, and unity, the country's far-Right—including the political party "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD or "Alternative for Germany")—is questioning the accuracy of Holocaust scholarship and the need for Holocaust memorials in general. On the basis of online news coverage, this essay highlights the public dispute over the plans to construct a railway underneath the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, particularly the motivations of those engaged in the protests, namely, the members of the Sinti and Roma population groups, as well as Left-wing Germans. Not only will the proposed railway mar the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma; it will negatively impact Berlin's memorial landscape and soundscape—a key aspect of the city's design. What is more, the protests are not just about the threat to a physical memorial and those intended to be honored by its existence; they serve as a means to denounce those who call the accuracy of Holocaust scholarship into question and dismiss the need for Holocaust memorials, namely, the AfD, Germany's far-Right political party.

I. Historiography

Berlin's Memorial to the Sinti and Roma was first approved by Germany's Federal Government in 1992. Due to prolonged discussions between politicians, the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, and the lead designer, construction did not begin until 2008 and took four years. In 2012, the monument was formally dedicated in the presence of (then) German Chancellor Angela Merkel and (then) German President Joachim Gauck.⁴ In 2020, it was announced that the Deutsche Bahn intended to construct a rail line—the S 21—directly underneath the memorial. Ever since Germany's (and Berlin's) reunification in 1990, there had been much discussion over the once physically divided capital's need to significantly overhaul and expand its public-transportation infrastructure. Thus, initial plans for the S 21 date back to the early 1990s; however, due to the many stakeholders and decision-makers involved in such projects on the federal, state, and municipal level, these plans have repeatedly changed and even stalled for years on end. Until 2020, the general public was unaware that the railway plans might compromise the memorial. The exact extent to which elected officials and members of Berlin's federal, state, and municipal governing bodies were aware of the plans of the Deutsche Bahn remains far from clear.

Much recent scholarship, especially by political scientists and historians, has been devoted to the rise of the far-Right in Germany. For example, Nicole Berbuir, Marcel Lewandowsky, and Jasmin Siri have analyzed the political positions of the AfD and its Right-wing sympathizers,⁵ showing, on the basis of quantitative and qualitative data that the AfD is an increasingly strong political party in a country that has a history of Right-wing radicalism. AfD's growing popularity is, however,

⁴ For additional details, see Michael Zimmermann, "The Berlin Memorial for the Murdered Sinti and Roma: Problems and Points for Discussion," *Romani Studies* 17, no. 1 (2007): 1-30.

⁵ Nicole Berbuir, Marcel Lewandowsky, and Jasmin Siri. "The AfD and Its Sympathizers: Finally a Right-Wing Populist Movement in Germany?" *German Politics* 24, no. 2 (2015): 154-178.

countered by the activism of Left-wing Germans and their political organizations who consider the AfD's positions detrimental to Germany's future. Just as the basic ideals and issues that rally the far-Right often align, regardless of their country of origin, so do those of the Left, which is why the findings of scholars like Evan Smith and Matthew Worley concerning Left-wing groups and activists in Britain are also applicable to their respective political equivalents in Germany.⁶

The history of memorial landscapes and soundscapes in Europe after World War II is a vibrant and growing field of research. Amy Davidson, for instance, has written on the "war memorial landscape heritage" in England.⁷ Davidson explains the significance of memorial landscapes; she demonstrates that World War I and World War II memorials created to honor the victims of these wars are now often lacking recognition and are underappreciated; and she warns that, in many cases, memorials either collapse due to "piecemeal changes over time" that "alter the original design intention and impact the sense of place" or because memorials become "prime sites for larger residential or commercial development."⁸ Turning to Germany, Henry W. Pickford's work on memorials in Berlin discusses the impact of such monuments on the general public and German identity.⁹ Meanwhile, scholars like Irit Dekel, Quentin Stevens, Phil Alexander, and Brigitte Schulte-Fortkamp offer additional perspectives. Irit Dekel examines how Holocaust memorials provide a space "for self-realization and transformation."¹⁰ Quentin Stevens considers how memorials in democratic capitals shape their respective city's culture.¹¹ Last but not least, Phil Alexander and Brigitte Schulte-Fortkamp examine the memorial soundscapes of Berlin and suggest that these monuments and their surrounding areas constitute soundscapes that feed off of each other; thus, the memorial soundscapes of Berlin are meaningful expressions of respect and opportunities to delve into the past.¹²

⁶ Evan Smith and Matthew Worley, *Waiting for the Revolution: The British Far Left from 1956* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

⁷ Amy Davidson, "War Memorial Landscape Heritage in England," *Garden History* 42, supplement 1 (2014): 58-72.

⁸ Davidson, "War Memorial Landscape Heritage," 70-71.

⁹ Henry W. Pickford, "Conflict and Commemoration: Two Berlin Memorials," *Modernism/modernity* 12, no. 1 (2005): 133-173.

¹⁰ Irit Dekel, "Ways of Looking: Observation and Transformation at the Holocaust Memorial, Berlin," *Memory Studies* 2, no. 1 (2009): 71-86.

¹¹ Quentin Stevens, "Shaping Moral Landscapes: Comparing the Regulation of Public Memorials in Democratic Capitals," *Proceedings of the 12th Australasian Urban History Planning History Conference 2014: Landscapes and Ecologies of Urban and Planning History* (December 30, 2018): 781-796, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

¹² Phil Alexander, "Sounding the Holocaust, Silencing the City: Memorial Soundscapes in Today's Berlin," *Cultural Studies* 33, no. 5 (2019): 778-801. See also Brigitte Schulte-Fortkamp, "Using the Soundscape Approach to Develop a Public Space in Berlin: Perception and Evaluation," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 123, no. 5 (2008): abstract.

In addition to studying the respective local contexts of memorials, scholars are interested in these monuments' impact on both survivors and the relatives of victims. A 2013 article by Myfanwy Maple, Helen Elizabeth Edwards, Victor Minichiello, and David Plummer examines the necessity of memorials for families and how they serve as places of grieving and opportunities to maintain relations. The authors present the voices of parents who have lost children to suicide and have created memorial spaces to remember their loved ones.¹³ According to these parents, the memorials are "a way of ensuring that their child's life [is] [...] not forgotten, and [that] their death becomes meaningful."¹⁴ Nadine Blumer's 2011 dissertation draws attention to the importance of memorials as acknowledgments of victimhood.¹⁵ Meanwhile – taking us back to the focus of this essay – Michael Zimmermann's 2007 article, "The Berlin Memorial for the Murdered Sinti and Roma: Problems and Points for Discussion," examines the conflicts and controversies surrounding the establishment and construction of this memorial. Zimmermann discusses the impact the memorial has had on the public, specifically the Sinti and Roma, and how the hurdles that the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma had to face throughout the construction process made the memorial even more significant and meaningful to this community.¹⁶

II. The Significance of the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma

Romani living in Germany viewed the 2012 opening of the "Memorial to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered under National Socialism" in Berlin as a form of recognition and remembrance of the horrors that their people had experienced during World War II. To many of them, the memorial's proximity to the Reichstag building was especially significant. On October 24, 2012, the day of the memorial's dedication, Romani Rose, the president of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, stated, "I'm thankful that the German government is opening this memorial to the public, and I see its location, so close to the German Parliament, as an attempt to make amends."¹⁷ Thus, the Sinti and Roma felt as though their voices had finally been heard, that their resolute advocacy against antigypsyism¹⁸ had

¹³ Myfanwy Maple, Helen Elizabeth Edwards, Victor Minichiello, and David Plummer, "Still Part of the Family: The Importance of Physical, Emotional, and Spiritual Memorial Places and Spaces for Parents Bereaved through the Suicide Death of Their Son or Daughter," *Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying* 18, no. 1 (2013): 54-71.

¹⁴ Maple, Edwards, Minichiello, and Plummer, "Still Part of the Family," 56.

¹⁵ Nadine Blumer, *From Victim Hierarchies to Memorial Networks: Berlin's Holocaust Memorial to Sinti and Roma Victims of National Socialism* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2011), iii.

¹⁶ Zimmermann, "Berlin Memorial," 1-30.

¹⁷ Chris Cottrell, "Memorial to Roma Holocaust Victims Opens in Berlin," *New York Times*, October 24, 2012.

¹⁸ Antigypsyism is "racism toward Roma, Sinti, Travellers and others who are stigmatized as 'gypsies' in the public imagination;" see "Reference Paper on Antigypsyism," *Antigypsyism.eu: Online Platform against Antigypsyism*, January 23, 2022, [online](https://antigypsyism.eu/), accessed June 18, 2022.

finally been successful, and that Germany's official, "verbal" acknowledgment of the Sinti and Roma Holocaust – also known as "Porajmos" ("Destruction") – was finally substantiated by a tangible, "physical" reminder.¹⁹



Figure 1: Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, Berlin, Entrance. Photo by Gregory Leighton (2022); used by permission.

The Memorial to the Sinti and Roma is designed to honor the victims of the Sinti and Roma Holocaust. It serves as a gravesite for those killed under the Third Reich (1933-1945), and Romani view the memorial as a burial place for their ancestors. According to a 2020 press release by Germany's national Romani organization, "[m]any of our people have no grave. They were gassed in death camps, shot in forests, buried in mass graves. Our memorial in Berlin is the place where we mourn the dead without graves."²⁰ Thus, a disruption or, worse, a removal of the memorial would leave the survivors and their communities severely distraught. To Roxanna-Lorraine Witt, a descendant of Romani Holocaust victims, "[t]he memorial is a gravesite for those whose ashes are still in Auschwitz. This is a holy place not only for Sinti and Roma, but for all people."²¹ The memorial

¹⁹ The Roma and Sinti Holocaust was recognized by Germany in 1982, almost 40 years after the end of World War II and the Holocaust; see: "What Is the Roma Genocide?" *Open Society Foundations*, May 2009, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁰ "Press Release: The Memorial Remains! By Any Means Necessary," *Bundes Roma Verband*, July 7, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²¹ Luisa von Richthofen and Grzegorz Szymanowski, "Sinti and Roma Fear for Their Holocaust Memorial in Berlin," *Deutsche Welle: DW.com*, July 31, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

is a central part of the community where the Sinti and Roma remember their loved ones, where the German public reflects on the past, and where both communities can unite and grow. As Germany's national Romani organization points out: "That is why the majority also has a responsibility to fight for the memorial."²²

Following the news that their memorial might be endangered due to railway plans, many German Sinti and Roma felt threatened and targeted by the country's elected officials, bureaucrats, and business interests. In a speech on August 2, 2020, Zilli Schmidt, a 96-year-old Sinti survivor of the extermination camp at Auschwitz, stated, "I am afraid that everything I experienced will repeat itself."²³ Many others viewed the disregard for the significance of their memorial as a form of attack. According to Mario Franz, the chairman of the Lower Saxony Association of German Sinti, "[t]he plan to damage or destroy the memorial will re-open the half-healed wounds left by the persecution and murder of hundreds of thousands of Sinti and Roma and feels like a slap in the face to all the survivors."²⁴

Left-wing Germans are standing with their fellow German Sinti and Roma neighbors in protest. In fact, many Germans see that it is their responsibility to protect the memorial and the individuals it represents. In her 2020 speech, Zilli Schmidt expressed that she was proud to see "that many young people are doing everything they can to promote democracy and human rights."²⁵ This drive by the public to stop the railway construction at the memorial has caught the attention of the government. Protesters have stated that "[i]t should be clear that this monument is sacrosanct. There is a political responsibility to protect it."²⁶ There have been protests and rallies at the memorial site with Sinti and Roma, as well as their German neighbors, holding signs, standing in unity, and demonstrating that the memorial is inviolable and deserves to be respected.²⁷ As a result, at least for the time being, railway construction at the memorial has been suspended.²⁸

²² "Press Release: The Memorial Remains! By Any Means Necessary," *Bundes Roma Verband*.

²³ Zilli Schmidt, "Commemoration Speech on the Occasion of 2 August 2020, Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti and Roma," *European Holocaust Memorial Day for Sinti und Roma*, August 2, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁴ Begoña Barrera, "A Crucial Public Space Is under Threat: Save the Berlin Memorial," *BestRom.org*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁵ Schmidt, "Commemoration Speech."

²⁶ Von Richthofen and Szymanowski, "Sinti and Roma."

²⁷ "Germany: Sinti and Roma Protesters Rally against Removal of Berlin Genocide Memorial," *RuptlyTV.com*, June 13, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

²⁸ William Bila, "Berlin's Memorial to the Sinti and Roma Victims of National Socialism Must Not Be Relocated, German Railroad Cannot Be Allowed to Disrupt It," *Romea.cz*, July 30, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.



Figure 2: Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, Berlin, Pond. Photo by Gregory Leighton (2022); used by permission.

III. Belin's Memorial Landscape and Soundscape

In addition to their remarkable lack of historical sensitivity, the plans of the Deutsche Bahn to construct a rail line underneath Berlin's Memorial to the Sinti and Roma are also an assault on Berlin's memorial landscape and soundscape. Berlin has become a center of remembrance—particularly for the victims of the Holocaust—that comprises a “collection of statues, plaques, and conceptual memorial projects.”²⁹ These memorials are seamlessly integrated into the surrounding urban terrain, and many Berliners feel “attached to the urban landscape”³⁰ and the history that these memorials represent.

Holocaust memorials are often silent spaces, but some also feature culturally significant music to commemorate the victims, to facilitate meditation, and to elicit an attitude of respect. The silence—or the music inside these memorial spaces—blends with Berlin's bustling urban soundscape. Although the city around these memorials, including the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, continues to move to a cacophony of noises and other audible stimulants, the memorials are like islands of reflection in a sea of mundane sounds. That is why each memorial in Berlin is meant to be integrated into the city's buzzing life. According to Phil Alexander, Berlin is “a city where hotly contested memorial is often structured into the daily ever-present.”³¹ The city's memorial landscape allows both soundscapes to live in harmony, and the city's liveliness blends effortlessly with the calmness of the various memorial settings.

The public appreciates and connects with these memorials, including the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, as they “are generally smaller and more humble structures, built to provide a space for expressions of collective memory.”³² The Memorial to the Sinti and Roma attracts the public and tourists “due to its prime location”³³ and impactful design. Dani Karavan made the memorial dynamic and thought-provoking: “The monument itself consists of a circular pool with a triangular stone in the middle, upon which a single fresh flower is placed every day.”³⁴ The circular pool is filled with a thin layer of water, creating a reflective layer. Karavan added this element so that it would make visitors realize that, just like the victims of Porajmos, we are all human beings. When people visit the memorial they “enter through a rusty steel portal” as they approach the stone slab,

²⁹ Jennifer A. Jordan, “Memorial Projects as Sites of Social Integration in post-1989 Berlin?” *German Politics and Society* 24, no. 4 (2006): 77-94, here 77.

³⁰ Jordan, “Memorial Projects,” 78.

³¹ Alexander, “Sounding the Holocaust,” 779.

³² Leila Peacock, “Futures Past: Monumental Memorials of Modern Berlin,” *The White Review*, January 2011, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³³ Yermi Brenner, “Roma and Sinti: Germans for Centuries, but Still Considered Outsiders,” *The Local Germany*, February 26, 2018, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³⁴ “Monuments,” *Roma and the Holocaust*, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

and they hear “dissonant music evoking the tragedy of the Gypsy genocide.”³⁵ Thus, the ambiance and atmosphere of the memorial and its surrounding landscape are priceless and valuable to the public.

The synergy between the public and Berlin’s memorials renders any endangerment of this way of life a serious concern, and the construction plans for the S 21 municipal railway are considered a real threat to the city’s memorial landscape and soundscape. According to one of the local and regional news stations, *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg*, “[t]he monument is of course massively affected by the construction site of the railway,”³⁶ and there is fear that, “[o]ver two thirds of this area [will be] [...] lost as a result of the construction site.”³⁷ Thus, the protests of the public against the plans of the Deutsche Bahn, in addition to the protests of the Sinti and Roma, should not come as a surprise.

IV. *Protesting against the Railway – and against “Alternative für Deutschland” (AfD)*

Many Left-wing Germans are joining these protests because they simultaneously serve as a way to denounce a far-Right political party known as the AfD (i.e., “Alternative für Deutschland” or “Alternative for Germany”). The crimes committed by Germany during the Third Reich and World War II continue to haunt the country. While there were some denazification programs in all four of the Allied occupation zones in the immediate aftermath of the war, these efforts were largely bureaucratic and did not really facilitate the public acknowledgment of guilt, the restitution of damages where possible, and the reconciliation with survivors and their relatives. It was not until the late 1960s that Germany began to engage systematically in “Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung” (i.e., “reappraisal of the past”). There was a belated realization that the wrongdoings committed by previous generations were not to be repeated and that movements and organizations reflecting Nazi ideology were not to be countenanced.

Still, the radical Right eventually found its way into Germany’s elected institutions. Germany is a federal parliamentary republic. The Bundestag (i.e., the federal parliament) wields the legislative power; its legislating majority is led by the party with the most elected officials (which normally also furnishes the chancellor); and if no party has an absolute majority, several parties form a legislating coalition (as well as the cabinet of ministers who, together with the chancellor, constitute the federal government). In recent years, the AfD, a radical Right-wing populist party, has slowly risen in strength during elections for the Bundestag. In the 2017 elections for the 19th Bundestag (2017-2021), the AfD

³⁵ Rick Steves, “Berlin: A City of Memories—and Memorials—from a Horrible War,” *Rick Steves’ Europe*, July 30, 2013, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

³⁶ “Sinti und Roma bangen um Berliner Gedenkort am Reichstag,” *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg*: [rbb24.de](#), June 2020, originally available under “[https://www.rbb24.de/politik/beitrag/2020/06/streit-sinti-roma-mahnmal-deutsche-bahn-ausbau-s-bahn.html](#),” no longer available online as of June 18, 2022.

³⁷ “Sinti und Roma bangen,” *Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg*: [rbb24.de](#).

“became the third strongest party in Germany.”³⁸ Of the 19th Bundestag’s 709 seats, the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) won 245 seats and formed a coalition with the second-strongest party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), which had come in second with 152 seats; meanwhile, the AfD won 87 seats,³⁹ leaving the remaining 225 seats to the Liberals (80), the Left (69), the Greens (67), and those with no party affiliation (9). As a result of the latest German elections (2021), the AfD has lost some of its seats.⁴⁰

While not represented in the federal government as of 2021, the AfD has a voice in the Bundestag and routinely makes it heard during debates. According to chapter 14 of the party’s “Manifesto for Germany: The Political Programme for the Alternative for Germany,” it is one of AfD’s core principles to maintain strong infrastructure, housing, and transportation.⁴¹ In Germany’s 19th Bundestag, the AfD’s support for railway construction and maintenance coincided with Chancellor Merkel’s and the CDU/CSU’s wishes to support the Deutsche Bahn.⁴² What neither of them seem to have considered in the process (and the AfD would not have considered it anyway) was the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma.

The controversy surrounding the AfD stems from the party’s viewpoints and ideology. Many AfD leaders have made harsh and dismissive statements pertaining to Germany’s past and the Holocaust. For example, Björn Höcke, the AfD’s state leader in Thuringia, has stated that “Germans are the only people in the world who plant a monument of shame in the heart of the capital.”⁴³ This blunt statement targets the Holocaust memorials in Berlin. Höcke does not appear to care about the victims of the Holocaust; rather, he cares about his ideas concerning the honor and the image of Germany. Höcke and other AfD leaders consider the Holocaust a small impurity in the great history of Germany. The AfD argues that Holocaust memorials and an emphasis on remembering its victims prevent Germany from becoming great again. One of the AfD’s founders, Alexander Gauland, has called the Holocaust “a speck of bird shit in more than 1,000 years of

³⁸ Lars Rensmann, “Radical Right-Wing Populists in Parliament: Examining the Alternative for Germany in European Context,” *German Politics and Society* 36, no. 3 (2018): 41-73, here 41.

³⁹ “Sitzverteilung im Deutschen Bundestag nach der Bundestagswahl 2017,” *Statista*, August 2021, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁰ “Sitzverteilung im Deutschen Bundestag nach der Bundestagswahl 2021,” *Statista*, September 2021, [online](#), accessed July 6, 2022.

⁴¹ “Manifesto for Germany: The Political Programme of the Alternative for Germany,” 2016, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴² “Germany to Sell up to 49 Percent of Deutsche Bahn,” *Deutsche Welle: DW.com*, July 24, 2007, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022. See also Yasmeen Serhan, “A Far-Right Warning from Germany,” *The Atlantic*, February 19, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴³ Lizzie Dearden, “German Politician Calls for Country to Be More ‘Positive’ about Nazi Past,” *The Independent*, January 19, 2017, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

successful German history.”⁴⁴ Most AfD supporters would probably not describe themselves as Holocaust deniers (which is illegal in Germany); however, they are certainly ignorers, minimizers, relativists, and defamers of the Holocaust, which may well be more subversive than outright Holocaust denial.

Gauland posits that there is a “German culture of guilt.”⁴⁵ This has prompted the AfD to question, for example, the accuracy of Holocaust scholarship and the need for Holocaust memorials in general. Thus, the AfD has publicly attacked the groups previously targeted by the Third Reich as a campaign method. According to the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, “[s]ince the beginning of 2013, Sinti and Roma have been subjected to smear campaigns [...] throughout Germany, members of our minority were threatened, excluded, and defamed by posters and flyers.”⁴⁶ As the AfD has chosen to ignore the crimes of Germany’s past, wounds are being reopened and exposed.

In response to the AfD’s posturing, Left-wing Germans have increasingly taken to stressing the importance of Holocaust memorials. For example, in November 2017, ten months after Björn Höcke’s “monument-of-shame” speech, a Berlin-based art collective, the Center for Political Beauty, placed “24 concrete slabs in the sleepy village of Bornhagen, Germany.”⁴⁷ The art piece is a replica of Berlin’s Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, and it was installed specifically in the Thuringian village of Bornhagen to draw the attention of Björn Höcke who was holding the lease to the neighboring plot.

In 2019, the Center for Political Beauty also emphasized the importance of memorials and protested against the AfD by installing a piece in front of Germany’s parliament building, which contained “a soil sample with the human remains of Holocaust victims.”⁴⁸ The group stated that they wished to send a warning to the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel: “Don’t work with the far-Right.”⁴⁹ The German public understands the danger that the AfD presents and asks those in charge to stop standing by. According to Bernard Rorke, an advocate for Roma issues, “[t]he message to mainstream political parties for 2020 is simple: eyes wide shut is no longer an option; failure to act against far-Right nativism, and

⁴⁴ Catherine Hickley, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Sites Fight against Surge in Far-Right Threats,” *The Art Newspaper*, July 13, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁵ Hickley, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Sites.”

⁴⁶ Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, *Antigypsyism in Public Discourses and Election Campaigns* (Heidelberg: Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2017), [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁷ Adam Taylor, “Activists Build a Mini-Holocaust Memorial Outside German Far-Right Politician’s House,” *The Washington Post*, November 22, 2017.

⁴⁸ Rebecca Staudenmaier, “Holocaust Memorial with ‘Victim Ashes’ Erected in Berlin,” *Deutsche Welle: DW.com*, December 2, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁴⁹ Staudenmaier, “Holocaust Memorial.”

the racism that comes with it, amounts to complicity.”⁵⁰ Thus, even a temporary removal or closure of the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma is being rejected, and the protest on behalf of memorials and victim communities is, at the same time, a condemnation of the principles, beliefs, and ideology of the AfD.

Conclusion

In the words of German author and activist Thomas Gatter, the potential removal of Berlin’s Memorial to the Sinti and Roma “concerns all those who care about the German culture of remembrance and the fight against forgetting as well as against the resurgent Right-wing radicalism.”⁵¹ While the construction of one railway may seem unimportant to some, it is paramount to remember that this railway would compromise Berlin’s Memorial to the Sinti and Roma – a monument put in place to honor oft-marginalized victims of the Holocaust. The memorial serves as a space of recollection and growth for the Sinti and Roma communities and the German public, and it is an integral part of Berlin’s memorial landscape and soundscape. A railway would destroy this thriving environment. In fact, removing or even temporarily closing the memorial would lend credence to the ideas of those who oppose remembering and reflecting upon the darker parts of Germany’s history, including the AfD and other far-Right groups. This is why the AfD’s public attacks on groups that were victims of the Holocaust, such as the Sinti and Roma, have resulted in protests and anger from Left-wing Germans, and the latter are being joined by many members of the general public who stand up for their city, for all its people, and for a holistic approach to their country’s past.

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⁵⁰ Bernard Rorke, “Eyes Wide Shut: Collective Punishment of Roma in 21st-Century Europe,” *openDemocracy*, January 24, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

⁵¹ Thomas Gatter, “Berlin Monument to the Sinti and Roma of Europe Murdered by the Nazis Is Endangered,” *Thomas Gatter: A Green Jewish Blog*, May 27, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 18, 2022.

Melissa Sanford

*American Autumn:
A History of U.S. Imperial Decline (1991-2021)*

ABSTRACT: *Once considered controversial, the acknowledgment that the United States maintains a global empire has become widely accepted among scholars. There is less consensus regarding the nature of the modern U.S. empire, its unique imperial dynamics, and the process and markers of its decline. This article elucidates the characteristics of U.S. imperialism during the period of terminal imperial decline (1991-2021) by examining foreign policy objectives, legislation, military doctrine, and political rhetoric pertaining to the country of Iraq.*

KEYWORDS: *modern history; U.S.; Iraq; First Gulf War; 9/11; empire; imperialism; exceptionalism; foreign policy; military doctrine*

Introduction

In my lifetime I have seen the collapse of the Nazi, the imperial Japanese, the British, French, Dutch, and Russian empires. They go down pretty easily. What I want Americans to understand today, the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and we have not been vigilant since Dwight Eisenhower issued his warning to us back in 1961 about the dangers of unauthorized power in the form of the military-industrial complex.¹ — *Chalmers A. Johnson (1931-2010)*

Seeking to shed light on the nature of American militarism and foreign wars, Eugene Jarecki's 2005 documentary film *Why We Fight* focuses on the then ongoing Iraq War (2003-2011). It features the above statement by Chalmers A. Johnson (1931-2010), an American political scientist, Korean War veteran, and former CIA analyst, whose ominous observation on the connection between imperialism and the military-industrial complex remains vitally relevant. *Why We Fight* reveals the astounding rise of the military-industrial complex and its role in the pursuit of military supremacy in order to maintain U.S. imperialism.²

The United States is an empire. This is not a new assertion insofar as scholars and political elites have attested to it throughout the nation's history.³ What is new, however, is a much broader acceptance of this reality as evidenced by the increasing number of scholarly works on the subject.⁴ However, there is less

¹ *Why We Fight*, directed by Eugene Jarecki (Arte, Canadian Broadcasting Company, 2005).

² Knowledge of the military-industrial complex is fundamental to our understanding of U.S. foreign policy. At \$718.3 billion, the 2020 Department of Defense budget represented a substantial increase from the previous year's approved budget of \$617 billion: "DOD Releases Fiscal Year 2020 Budget Proposal," *U.S. Department of Defense*, March 12, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022. See also James Ledbetter, *Unwarranted Influence: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Military-Industrial Complex* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

³ See Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2019).

⁴ See, for example, Antony Gerald Hopkins, *American Empire: A Global History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Making of an Imperial Republic* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2007; first published 2006); Chalmers A. Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New

consensus on the nature of the U.S. empire, its global impact, and the process and markers of its decline. The fact that there is a U.S. empire signals that it will eventually and inevitably decline, as all empires follow a similar trajectory of ascent, hegemony, and decline or fall. Thus, identifying the characteristics of imperial decline should be of considerable interest for the United States.

Scholars have determined that an empire engages in “direct” imperialism during its ascent, a period characterized by pronounced militarism, aggression, and expansion, often in the form of colonialism.⁵ Following its ascent, an empire employs “indirect” imperialism to continue its hegemony, often by maintaining colonies or, in the case of the United States, foreign bases and client states.⁶ The duration of hegemony varies greatly among empires but, without fail, a hegemon’s unipolar position eventually falters. As an empire loses its dominance, it re-engages in direct imperialism to reclaim its lost power; in addition, decline is characterized by hyper-militarism, a loss of economic and political hegemony, as well as core and peripheral instability. In the case of the U.S. empire, its ascent through continental colonialism lasted from 1776 until 1945. This was followed by a phase of hegemonic maturity in the post-World-War-II global reconfiguration from 1946 until 1991, at which point acute imperial decline began.⁷

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States lost the existential enemy that had been legitimizing its imperialist policies since World War II and arrived at its unipolar moment. What this unipolar moment concealed, however, was an empire already in the midst of economic decay. Thus, as the United States entered its imperial decline, it began to pursue policies of aggressive militarization and unilateral military action—in short, it re-engaged in direct imperialism. This article elucidates the characteristics of U.S. imperialism during this period of imperial decline (1991-2021) by examining statements made by political elites that reflect the American imperial mindset; the military intervention in Iraq, inflicted at great human cost and based on justifications of varying veracity and legality; policies that forego American visions of democracy; and doctrines that view U.S. military primacy as both a given and a goal.⁸

To illustrate the characteristics of imperial decline, this study periodizes thirty years of U.S. history and focuses primarily on U.S. actions pertaining to Iraq. Each

York: Metropolitan Books, 2004); and Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Domination* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2003).

⁵ Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 206-216.

⁶ The creation of client states was largely accomplished through covert methods, including supporting opposition groups, facilitating coups, and election meddling, for example in Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954), Syria (1956), Indonesia (1957), Iraq (1963), Ecuador (1960), Congo (1960), Dominican Republic (1963), Indonesia (1965), Chile (1964), and Greece (1967).

⁷ Go, *Patterns of Empire*, 166.

⁸ “Doctrine,” when applied to presidential administrations and political advisors, is an informal term describing policies, attitudes, and themes related to foreign policy.

subsequent decade demonstrates an increasingly aggressive and unilateral foreign policy with diminishing regard for international law, coupled with simultaneous economic crises and a debasement of democracy and civil liberties. Following a historiographical review of relevant works on the U.S. empire and imperialism, the article focuses on “1991-2001: The Imperial Turn;” it was during this period of peak hard and soft power that Iraq became a focal point of U.S. foreign policy and that the decision was made to acquire and maintain global hegemony. The following section, “2001-2011: Hyper-Imperialism, Hyper-Patriotism,” examines the policies that enabled the post-9/11 global “War on Terror,” including the invasion and occupation of Iraq. The final section, “2011-2021: Late-Stage Imperial Decline” investigates how imperial decline accelerated due to the continuing militarism of the Obama administration, the naked imperial rhetoric of the Trump administration, the rise of multipolarity,⁹ and the faltering stability of both the imperial core and periphery.

I. Historiography

Post-World-War-II scholarship on the U.S. empire features a wide range of perspectives that often reflect contemporary trajectories of U.S. foreign policy and military activities abroad. Born out of the frustration with the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1955-1975), the revisionist¹⁰ “Wisconsin School” of diplomatic history was established in the 1960s and headed by William Appleman Williams (1921-1990) at the University of Wisconsin. Williams penned *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959) and *The Roots of the Modern American Empire: A Study of the Growth and Shaping of Social Consciousness in a Marketplace Society* (1969), both essential texts. Williams was one of the first scholars to approach the study of the U.S. empire from the viewpoint of economic imperialism and hegemony.¹¹ Students of the Wisconsin School who became prominent scholars of the U.S. empire include Walter F. LaFeber (1933-2021) and Thomas J. McCormick (1922-2020). LaFeber’s *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion* (1963) develops the study of economic imperialism by considering the role of ideology in the creation, expansion, and maintenance of the U.S. empire.¹²

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, against the United States, the start of the war in Afghanistan in October of that year, and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the publication of monographs on the subject of the U.S. empire, imperialism, and even those considering the specter of imperial decline, increased

⁹ “Multipolarity” refers to the distribution of military and economic power among more than one nation-state. This is the opposite of a unipolar distribution of power, e.g., one focusing on the United States as the “lone superpower.”

¹⁰ “Revisionist” in the sense that it re-narrativized U.S. history along the lines of U.S. empire and imperialism.

¹¹ See James Morgan, *Into New Territory: American Historians and the Concept of U.S. Imperialism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

¹² See Morgan, *Into New Territory*, 23.

exponentially. Many of them feature rather differing conceptions of U.S. imperialism's international role. For instance, Niall Ferguson's *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (2004) positions the United States as the preeminent world power, both economically and militarily, and argues that the fall of such a regime would be to the detriment of democracy worldwide, which is why it should be maintained at all costs.¹³ In contrast to this, former U.S. Army colonel and historian Andrew Bacevich argues in *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (2002) that U.S. imperialism is a threat to safety and security both domestically and internationally.¹⁴ The opposing nature of these two arguments is an example of the range of interpretations that have been offered in the post-9/11 discourse on the U.S. empire.

While several works on the U.S. empire and imperialism have grappled with the prospect of U.S. decline, Julian Go's *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (2011) is the first study to clearly trace the rise, maintenance, and decline of empire via a comparative analysis of the respective U.S. and British experiences.¹⁵ Go identifies patterns exhibited by both empires as described above: the United States and the United Kingdom employed direct imperialism during their period of ascent and indirect imperialism during their period of hegemony; and in both empires, the period of decline has been characterized by decreasing economic hegemony, the use of direct imperialism, and heightened military aggression to regain the position as hegemon. This article uses this paradigm of imperial decline to examine the period from 1991 up until the present, especially the years between 2011 and 2021, the decade after the publication of Go's *Patterns of Empire*. It contributes to the study of the U.S. empire—especially imperial decline—by analyzing how U.S. foreign policy simultaneously propelled and exhibited this decline. In doing so, it focuses on the example of Iraq's transition from a U.S. client state and arms purchaser to a "rogue" nation facing a strict U.S. sanctions regime and, ultimately, invasion and occupation.

II. 1991-2001: The Imperial Turn

In 1988, with the collapse of the Soviet Union on the horizon, the U.S. empire was at a crossroads.¹⁶ Without this central ideological and economic foe, which had served to legitimize U.S. global imperial actions during the Cold War (1947-1991), the United States was facing the need to reconfigure its global position. Thus, U.S. President George H. W. Bush (a.k.a. Bush 41) attempted to recast the role of the United States on the world stage through his rhetoric. He began this effort in

¹³ Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2004).

¹⁴ Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

¹⁵ Go, *Patterns of Empire*.

¹⁶ The official end of the Soviet Union was December 26, 1991.

his 1989 inaugural address by stating that “America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.”¹⁷ After the fall of the Berlin Wall in October 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union throughout 1990 and 1991, Bush expressed optimism at the prospect of fostering a “new world order” based on international law—a phrase he used in the 1991 statement to the nation at the beginning of the First Gulf War.¹⁸ Bush also touted the potential economic benefits of a “peace dividend,” as military spending in such a “new world order” would certainly decrease. In hindsight, Bush’s vision for a “kinder, gentler nation” in a “new world order” can be set aside as mere rhetoric, especially considering the U.S. imperial trajectory, yet it should also serve as an indicator of the new default status of the United States as the world’s lone superpower. The choices made by the United States between 1990 and 1993 were pivotal in solidifying the nature of U.S. imperialism for the subsequent decades of decline. This observation is underscored by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, and the subsequent joint U.S. coalition response.

The events of the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) and the years preceding the First Gulf War (1991) saw both extensive U.S. support for Saddam Hussein’s Iraqi regime (thus arguably setting the stage for the First Gulf War) as well as examples of unapologetic U.S. imperialism. Thus, George H. W. Bush’s casting of the United States as a force for good stands in contrast to his American exceptionalist and imperialist worldviews that were revealed when, on July 3, 1988, the USS *Vincennes* shot down Iranian Air Flight 655, killing all 290 civilians aboard including 66 children. While the initial U.S. government narrative placed blame on the Iranian pilot, even suggesting that he had intended a suicide mission against the U.S. warship, later investigations revealed that the captain of the USS *Vincennes*—while illegally in Iranian territorial waters attacking Iranian vessels—was responsible for the downing of the aircraft.¹⁹ When asked about the incident, (then) presidential candidate Bush told reporters during a campaign stop on August 2, 1988, “I will never apologize for the United States—I don’t care what the facts are. [...] I’m not an apologize-for-America kind of guy.”²⁰ The dichotomy between this statement and Bush’s subsequent vision for the United States as a “kinder, gentler nation” indicates the possible range of the U.S. empire’s trajectory as the Cold War was rapidly thawing.

¹⁷ George H. W. Bush, “Inaugural Address,” *Congressional Record* 101st Congress (1989-1990), January 20, 1989, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹⁸ George H. W. Bush, “Address to the Nation on the Invasion of Iraq,” January 16, 1991, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹⁹ John Barry and Roger Charles, “Sea of Lies,” *Newsweek*, July 12, 1992, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022. See also ABC News Nightline, “The USS Vincennes: Public War/Secret War,” July 1, 1992, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

²⁰ Marty Steinberg, “‘Kinder, gentler’ and Other George H. W. Bush Quotes,” *CNBC*, December 1, 2018, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

Before the events and impact of the First Gulf War can be analyzed in the context of imperial decline, a brief overview of the historical circumstances that led to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is in order.²¹ During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), the United States had removed Iraq from its State-Sponsors-of-Terrorism list²² in order to be able to support the belligerent country with intelligence, arms, and materiel.²³ This included the supplies used during Iraq's chemical-weapons attacks against Iranian military forces as well as Kurdish civilians during Iraq's genocidal Anfal campaign.²⁴ U.S. support for Iraq even resulted in the death of 37 American crewmembers aboard the USS *Stark* when it was accidentally hit by two Iraqi Exocet missiles on May 17, 1987, while stationed in the Persian Gulf and tasked with sending Iranian target coordinates to the Iraqis.²⁵ Notably, U.S. officials did not hold Iraq responsible and openly blamed Iran for the incident.²⁶ In addition to providing Iraq with political and diplomatic cover, material support, and intelligence during the Iran-Iraq War, the United States also conveyed what might best be described as mixed messages regarding Iraq's military buildup along the Iraq-Kuwait border in 1990. In a meeting with Saddam Hussein on July 25, 1990, U.S. Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie said that the United States "has no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."²⁷ It is conceivable that Glaspie's statement sent a message of tacit U.S. support for the Iraqi military buildup on the border. After nearly a decade of direct U.S. support for Iraqi military action such an interpretation would not be far-flung.

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait began on August 2, 1990, and within six months the United States, backed by United Nations (U.N.) resolutions and supported by a sizable coalition, launched the combat phase of the First Gulf War. In just over a

²¹ Go, *Patterns of Empire*, 201.

²² For more information on the use of the U.S. State Department list of State Sponsors of Terror (SST) and Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO) lists, see Melissa Sanford, "'This is a Game': A History of the Foreign Terrorist Organization and State Sponsors of Terrorism Lists and Their Applications," *History in the Making* 13 (2020): 138-174, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

²³ Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam's War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997). See also "Shaking Hands with Saddam Hussein [1983]: The U.S. Tilts toward Iraq, 1980-1984," *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 82*, ed. Joyce Battle, February 25, 2003, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

²⁴ The Anfal Campaign (1986-1989) was an Iraqi counterinsurgency operation carried out by the government which targeted Iraqi Kurds. Chemical attacks, concentration camps, and a policy of either "Arabization" or extermination constituted a plan of systematic genocide of the Iraqi Kurdish population. See René Lemarchand, *Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial, and Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 106-122.

²⁵ Phythian, *Arming Iraq*, 40.

²⁶ "Reagan: Iran is 'Villain' in Persian Gulf Incident," *The Dispatch* (Lexington, N.C.), May 20, 1987, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

²⁷ Quoted in James Arnold and Roberta Wiener, *Understanding U.S. Military Conflicts Through Primary Sources* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2015), 140.

month, the war ended after having achieved its stated goals. It is because of this war's short time span and compliance with international law that it offers an essential basis to compare later U.S. imperial actions. Three aspects pertaining to the conduct of this war would have far-reaching implications for the U.S. empire and its decline: first, the methods to garner domestic support for the war; second, the use of the "Powell Doctrine" (named after General Colin Powell) and its benefits followed by its dismissal in favor of more aggressive military doctrines; and third, the aggression and violence enacted by the United States and coalition forces against the Iraqi population which did not end with the cessation of combat.

Still haunted by what some political elites referred to as "the ghost of Vietnam," the U.S. public was not eager for military action prior to the First Gulf War. To help garner popular support for the war, the Bush administration and generally compliant mass media began a two-pronged campaign. The first prong was the demonization of Saddam Hussein who, up until July 1990, had been considered an ally. The second prong was the exploitation of humanitarian sympathies. Since the United States had supported Saddam Hussein up until the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the respective narrative had to be radically adjusted to turn him into a new national nemesis. Bush referred to Saddam Hussein as "Hitler revisited," thereby initiating a radical shift in how the Hussein regime was depicted in mass media.²⁸ Most notorious in the manufacturing of support for the war was the "Nayirah" testimony. On October 10, 1990, a 15-year-old girl named Nayirah testified before a Congressional Human Rights Caucus on the heinous crimes of invading Iraqi forces, including the removal of vulnerable babies from their incubators.²⁹ It was not until 1992 that a *New York Times* investigation revealed that Nayirah was, in fact, the daughter of the Kuwaiti Ambassador Saud al-Sabah and had received coaching prior to her testimony from the American PR company Hill and Knowlton, paid for by its client, Citizens for a Free Kuwait. There is no evidence that the incidents related by Nayirah ever occurred.³⁰ The methods and tools by which consent for the First Gulf War was manufactured are relevant to the history of U.S. imperial decline as they would in many ways be replicated in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq War.

The Powell Doctrine and its use in the First Gulf War are essential to understanding the application of military force during this brief period of peak soft and hard power; the purpose, impact, and dismissal of the doctrine after the war signified a turn toward a new phase of U.S. imperialism. Originally developed by the Reagan administration's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the

²⁸ Ned Zeman, "Bush's Latest Demonology," *Newsweek*, November 11, 1990, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

²⁹ Despite the fact that this testimony was not based on actual events, Iraqi troops did engage in other crimes against Kuwaitis.

³⁰ Joseph Darda, "Kicking the Vietnam Syndrome Narrative: Human Rights, the Nayirah Testimony, and the Gulf War," *American Quarterly* 69, no. 1 (2017): 71-92, here 80.

Powell doctrine establishes prerequisites to foreign military action in order to prevent a repeat of the Vietnam War.³¹ The doctrine consists of a list of questions that require affirmative answers: Are vital security interests at stake? Is there a clear and attainable objective? Have all other non-violent means for resolution been exhausted? Is there a clear exit strategy in place? Is the action supported by the American public? And is there broad international support?³² Since the requirements of the Powell Doctrine were met in 1991, Iraqi forces were quickly expelled from Kuwait. The success concerning the war's stated objectives presented an opportunity for the United States to invade Baghdad. However, rather than seizing this opportunity, as some of his advisors were suggesting, Bush opted for adhering to the requirements of the Powell Doctrine and hoped the Iraqi people would depose Saddam Hussein to bring about regime change in the country.³³ The successful implementation of the Powell Doctrine helped to reify the image of the United States as a lone superpower that was acting responsibly within the "new world order."³⁴ Yet while the Powell Doctrine ensured a discrete end to the First Gulf War, it did not prevent the perpetration of war crimes; in this respect, the legacy of American wars continued.³⁵

In response to what seemed to be a missed opportunity to remove Saddam Hussein from power and more aggressively assert U.S. military presence in Iraq, U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and U.S. Secretary of State Dick Cheney worked to challenge the principles of U.S. military policy.³⁶ Their efforts, combined with those of the neoconservative think tank "Project for the New American Century" (PNAC), created a new military doctrine that would serve as the foundation for U.S. foreign policy after 9/11. Popularly known as the "Wolfowitz Doctrine," the "Defense Planning Guidance" (DPG) for fiscal years

³¹ Walter LaFeber, "The Rise and Fall of Colin Powell and the Powell Doctrine," *Political Science Quarterly* 124, no. 1 (2009): 71-93, here 73.

³² LaFeber, "Rise and Fall of Colin Powell," 73-74.

³³ LaFeber, "Rise and Fall of Colin Powell," 76.

³⁴ LaFeber, "Rise and Fall of Colin Powell," 76.

³⁵ Two war crimes committed by U.S. command and forces during the war were the Amiriyah air raid shelter bombing on February 3, 1991, and the strafing of the "Highway of Death," Highway 80 from Kuwait to Iraq, on February 27, 1991. The Amiriyah shelter was a civilian shelter based on intelligence gained during the Iran-Iraq War. On the morning of February 3, 1991, two laser-guided bombs were dropped on the shelter in the Baghdad suburb, killing over 300 civilians who had sought safety there. Just a few weeks later, Iraqi forces and Kuwaiti civilian refugees leaving Kuwait on Highway 80 were systematically bombed by coalition forces. The official death toll from this event is unknown but the most conservative number places it at 600 deaths. See Sofia Barbarani, "Amiriyah Bombing 30 Years On: 'No One Remembers' the Victims," *Al Jazeera*, February 13, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022; Carl Conetta, *The Wages of War: Iraqi Combatant and Noncombatant Fatalities in the 2003 Conflict*, Project on Defense Alternatives Research Monograph # 8, October 20, 2003, Appendix 2: "Iraqi Combatant and Noncombatant Fatalities in the 1991 Gulf War," [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

³⁶ LaFeber, "Rise and Fall of Colin Powell," 75.

1994-1999 was created by Paul Wolfowitz in 1992.³⁷ DPGs are usually kept top secret, but a leak to the *New York Times* brought the Wolfowitz Doctrine to the public's attention.³⁸ Simply put, the Wolfowitz Doctrine was the antithesis of the Powell Doctrine. Where the Powell Doctrine had called for action only when all other avenues would have been exhausted, the Wolfowitz Doctrine advocated for preemptive warfare to avoid the rise of other powerful states, capable of competing with the United States, in order to achieve "Full Spectrum Dominance." The DPG also called for the United States to act against any perceived threat to its national interests with or without support from the United Nations; this was in direct opposition to the Powell Doctrine which had specifically required support from the international community.³⁹ In addition, the Wolfowitz Doctrine drew attention to the issue of Iraqi "Weapons of Mass Destruction" (WMD), which would become the stated basis for the 2003 U.S. invasion. In the wake of the public scandal over the leaked documents, the DPG was slightly rewritten,⁴⁰ but in the post-9/11 era, the Wolfowitz Doctrine formed the basis of U.S. foreign policy and was backed by a bipartisan Washington consensus.

With the inauguration of William Jefferson "Bill" Clinton as the 42nd U.S. President on January 20, 1993, came economic policies that further encouraged neoliberalism both domestically and abroad, as well as an increasingly militaristic and unilateral foreign policy. In fact, these two phenomena are deeply intertwined since neoliberalism, a form of capitalism, requires the securing of markets abroad.⁴¹ The United States was continuing on a path of deindustrialization with industrial jobs becoming ever more outsourced. To solve the issue of shifting profits and continue with the rejection of the post-Great Depression Keynesian model, U.S. neoliberals and neoconservatives alike rapidly adopted the neoliberal economic model that had first emerged in the United Kingdom in the late 1970s.⁴² Neoliberal economics is characterized by its combination of classic liberalism and free-market capitalism, making for an economic and political system that prioritizes privatization and deregulation. Two examples of neoliberal economic policy are the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the 1995 establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Scholars generally agree that capitalism and militarism are inextricably linked, due to the economic need

³⁷ Bacevich, *American Empire*, 126.

³⁸ Patrick Tyler, "U.S. Strategy Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop," *New York Times*, March 8, 1992.

³⁹ U.S. Undersecretary of Defense, "Declassified: Defense Planning Guidance FY 1994-1999," [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁴⁰ Robert Gilpin, *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ Gwyn Kirk and Margo Okazawa-Rey, "Neoliberalism, Militarism, and Armed Conflict," *Social Justice* 27, no. 4 (2000): 1-17.

⁴² Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 74-76.

to secure markets abroad. Thus, these economic policies occurred in tandem with military action, and during the Clinton administration the United States initiated military deployments⁴³ at a greater rate than under his two predecessors.⁴⁴

In conjunction with heightened military action, the 1990s also saw the increasing imposition of sanctions regimes.⁴⁵ Sanctions on financial transactions and goods have long been framed as a more humane method of pressuring a country into compliance.⁴⁶ Yet studies show that sanctions do very little to move leadership in a desired direction.⁴⁷ When used as a method of regime change, sanctions often strengthen the grip of a targeted government.⁴⁸ Importantly, the claim that sanctions are a humane alternative is demonstrably false. By 1996, the sanctions regime applied against Iraq after the First Gulf War had resulted in the death of between 300,000 and 500,000 Iraqi children.⁴⁹ An example of the imperial mindset of U.S. elites during this period is U.S. Secretary of State Madeline Albright's response to Leslie Stahl of *60 Minutes*. When Stahl asked, "We have heard that half a million children have died. I mean, that is more children than died in Hiroshima. And, you know, is the price worth it?" Albright responded, "I think that is a very hard choice, but the price, we think, the price is worth it."⁵⁰ Whether or not there is a metric to validate this subjective conclusion, it is abundantly clear that sanctions are not a non-lethal form of punitive action, and by 1996 the United States was increasingly engaging in direct imperialism.

The U.S.-led and U.N.-backed sanctions regime against Iraq lasted from 1991 until 2003, causing one of the worst man-made humanitarian crises in modern history. In addition to the massive child deaths that resulted from these sanctions, nearly 25 percent of children in Iraq's central and southern provinces suffered from chronic malnutrition, a condition which negatively affects the victims' health for the rest of their life.⁵¹ In an effort to combat these statistics and the negative press surrounding the sanctions, the "Oil-for-Food" (OFF) program was launched

⁴³ LaFeber, "Rise and Fall of Colin Powell," 77.

⁴⁴ The rhetoric justifying military action shifted from the Cold-War narrative to one of humanitarian interventionism. See Brendan Simms, *Humanitarian Interventionism: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁴⁵ It should be noted that sanctions diplomacy continues to the present (2022).

⁴⁶ Sanctions were used to an ultimately positive effect against South Africa during Apartheid, but this is an irregularity in the history of sanctions. See Joy Gordon, *Invisible War: The United States and the Iraq Sanctions* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012; first published 2010), 5-6.

⁴⁷ Gordon, *Invisible War*.

⁴⁸ Gordon, *Invisible War*, 15.

⁴⁹ Gordon, *Invisible War*, 25.

⁵⁰ Madeline Albright, interview by Leslie Stahl, *CBS 60 Minutes*, May 12, 1996, *YouTube*, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁵¹ Joy Gordon, "The Enduring Lessons of the Iraqi Sanctions," *Middle East Report* 294 (2020), [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

in 1995, “allowing” the Iraqi government to sell oil to purchase civilian goods.⁵² In addition to the sanctions’ effect on the Iraqi food supply, the United States and the United Nations enforced a strict ban on dual-use goods.⁵³ Included among the latter were light-switches, window glass, brake fluid, telephones, pencils, pencil-sharpeners, water purification chemicals, medical gauze, surgical gloves, cobalt for x-ray machines, granite, shampoo, and medical syringes.⁵⁴ The lack of access to goods like these made repairing the broken Iraqi infrastructure impossible and the distribution of food and health services equally untenable. The Iraqi health care system—formerly one of the best in the Middle East—was severely compromised by both the sanctions and the attacks on the country’s infrastructure.⁵⁵ These were the conditions created by the U.S.-led sanctions against Iraq for which the United States did not gain its objective of ousting Saddam Hussein. Instead, the reality that the U.S. had the power to cause so much human suffering, coupled with the callous and clinical nature of Albright’s statement, illustrates the violence and disregard for human life in targeted periphery nations that typifies U.S. imperial decline.

In addition to the devastating economic and humanitarian effects of U.S. sanctions, Iraq was also subjected to U.S. bombings from the end of the 1991 Gulf War until 2003, even though the United States was not formally engaged in a declared war against the country. Bombing campaigns solidified the damage done by sanctions by further damaging Iraqi infrastructure. Hardest hit were the Iraqi electrical grid and water sanitation infrastructure.⁵⁶ From 1991 until 2003, the United States, in conjunction with the United Kingdom and France, but without the approval of the United Nations, imposed no-fly zones. In 1998, for four days, the United States and United Kingdom collaborated on “Operation Desert Fox,” launching more than 1,000 cruise missiles and bombs and destroying nearly 100 different sites across Iraq.⁵⁷ The operation had not been approved by the U.S. Congress through the passage of an Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) act; rather, its justification was tied to the Iraq Liberation Act passed in October 1998.⁵⁸ The targets were allegedly chosen due to their connection to the creation of WMD, although there was no credible intelligence that these sites were

⁵² “Office of the Iraq Programme: Oil-for-Food,” *United Nations*, November 19, 2003, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁵³ Dual-use goods are those that may be used for public consumption or military purposes.

⁵⁴ Gordon, *Invisible War*, 4.

⁵⁵ Gordon, *Invisible War*, 35-40.

⁵⁶ Gordon, “Enduring Lessons.”

⁵⁷ Gordon, “Enduring Lessons.”

⁵⁸ In addition to funding the bombing campaign, the act allocated funds for Iraqi opposition groups, particularly that of Ahmed Chalabi, a favorite of the United States. See Vernon Loeb, “Saddam’s Iraqi Foes Heartened by Clinton,” *Washington Post*, November 16, 1998.

capable of producing WMD. Instead, the goal of this bombing campaign was to further destroy Iraqi infrastructure and continue to pressure the Iraqi government.

The bombing campaigns and sanctions regime perpetrated by the world's lone superpower against Iraq throughout the 1990s did not achieve its stated goals; instead, it created a humanitarian crisis and fueled anti-American sentiment in the region. In 1998, John Miller of *ABC News* interviewed Osama bin Laden. At this time, bin Laden was not yet a household name, but he had been connected to the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center in 1993 and Saudi Arabia's Khobar Towers in 1996. When asked about his motivation to call on Muslims to take up arms against the United States and its regional proxies, bin Laden replied that, aside from the need to protect his vision of fundamentalist Sunni Islam, his reasons were three-fold; first, the American bases in "the land of the two Holy Mosques" (Saudi Arabia), established in 1990 in preparation for the 1991 Gulf War; second, the ongoing U.S. support for Israel despite its occupation of Palestinian territories; and third, the "siege of the Muslims of Iraq," a reference to the U.S. bombing campaigns and sanctions regime.⁵⁹ Bin Laden contended that his calls were based on the reality that the United States would never change its ways unless there was "retaliation in kind." The statements of a terrorist organizer who uses U.S. military action to justify his extremism are understandably subjective and ideologically driven. Yet the 2004 "Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication" for the U.S. Department of Defense clearly acknowledges the ramifications of U.S. intervention, stating that "American direct intervention in the Muslim World has paradoxically elevated the stature of and support for radical Islamists while diminishing support for the United States to single digits in some Arab states. Muslims do not 'hate our freedom' they hate our policies."⁶⁰ Thus, the phenomenon of blowback has long been known to government officials, yet the policies during this period that fostered the peripheral instability and the cycle of blowback represent a symptom of imperial decline.

III. 2001-2011: Hyper-Imperialism, Hyper-Patriotism

The events of September 11, 2001, were the manifestation of this blowback, though this was not clear to the majority of the American public.⁶¹ The attacks helped shape an era of what has been labeled "new imperialism" by some scholars who are working to make sense of the new dynamics that were rapidly emerging in the early 2000s. Rather than thinking of this period as a new or errant form of misdirected imperialism, we should consider it the next step in the history of the

⁵⁹ Osama bin Laden, interview by John Miller, ABC Frontline, May 1998, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁶⁰ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Undersecretary of Defense, "Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication," September 2004, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁶¹ Chalmers A. Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2004; first published 2000).

U.S. empire, a phase characterized by hyper-imperialism, hyper-patriotism, the dismantling of civil liberties, the use of torture, and deepening crises of American capitalism. U.S. President George W. Bush (a.k.a. Bush 43) filled his administrative and cabinet positions with neoconservatives, many of whom were members of PNAC and adherents to the doctrine of Full Spectrum Dominance. Together they unleashed the might of the U.S. military to make real the global hegemonic goals of the Wolfowitz Doctrine, beginning with the ouster of Saddam Hussein, the neoconservative's ultimate foe. This objective was accomplished in April 2003, but the United States only accelerated its decline by making the world less safe. While the War on Terror was framed as a defensive, democratizing "Crusade," in reality, it propelled U.S. unipolarity and American exceptionalism to a new zenith.⁶²

At the vanguard of American exceptionalism was PNAC, a think tank established in 1997 by Robert Kagan and William Kristol to create policy proposals based on neoconservative priorities of strong military interventionism through the use of hard power and the maintenance of U.S. unilateral hegemony. From the group's inception during the Clinton administration to their rise to prominence after 9/11, PNAC published a number of letters, proposals, and reports that sought to promote these goals. According to PNAC's statement of principles, the United States must "resolve to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests," therefore the United States must not only dramatically increase military spending but also "accept responsibility for America's unique role in preserving and extending an international order friendly to our security, our prosperity, and principles."⁶³ Saddam Hussein's persistence in Iraq remained a centerpiece of many of these publications.⁶⁴

Referred to by their self-styled nickname, the "Vulcans," the group of neoconservatives who made up the new Bush administration as cabinet members and advisors aggressively advanced an ideology that prioritized American power above all else.⁶⁵ Integral to this ideology were the foundational concepts of the Wolfowitz Doctrine and PNAC. A majority of the Bush administration foreign policy team had either been signatories of the original PNAC position paper or maintained direct ties to the neoconservative think tank. These individuals included Dick Cheney as Vice President, Paul Wolfowitz as Deputy Secretary of Defense, Douglas Feith as Undersecretary of Defense, Richard Perle as Chairman

⁶² Peter Waldman and Hugh Pope, "'Crusade' Reference Reinforces Fears War on Terrorism is against Muslims," *Wall Street Journal*, September 21, 2001.

⁶³ "Statement of Principles," *Project for the New American Century (PNAC)*, June 3, 1997, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁶⁴ In fact, Iraq was one of the few issues on which there was broad consensus within the group; meanwhile, how the United States should respond to other foreign policy matters — such as Bosnia and Kosovo, as well as Iran and Russia — was more controversial. See Maria Ryan, *Neoconservatism and the New American Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3-4.

⁶⁵ James Mann, *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, Richard Armitage as Deputy Secretary of State, John Bolton as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and David Wurmser as Advisor on Middle East Policy to Cheney.⁶⁶ Those without direct connections to PNAC, like Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, and George W. Bush, were nonetheless conservative nationalists who also professed the ideology that emphasized the primacy of American military power in the pursuit of unipolarity.

Bush 43 advanced a presidential doctrine based on binaries suffused with American exceptionalism. One example of this is the speech he made to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, in which he proclaimed that the nations of the world were "either with us, or with the terrorists."⁶⁷ After 9/11, terrorism became the new existential enemy of the United States. Referring to the destruction of terrorism as the central foreign policy objective demanded that allies be unequivocal in their support.⁶⁸ Bush went so far as to tell those nations who "don't hold the values we hold dear true to [their] [...] heart" that they would be on "our watch list" as well.⁶⁹ The Bush Doctrine demanded preemptive action and because of the United States' lingering position, though diminishing status, as the preeminent unipolar world power, the country was able to quickly put into effect the plans laid out by the Wolfowitz Doctrine and PNAC.

While it may seem that the foreign policy trajectory of the early 2000s was only attributable to neoconservatives and conservative nationalists, they were not solely responsible for this phase of American empire. Indeed, a bipartisan Washington foreign policy consensus for Full Spectrum Dominance rapidly formed after 9/11. It should be noted, however, that while the Iraq War had few objectors among politicians, opposition to the invasion brought millions of demonstrators to the streets across the United States and worldwide.⁷⁰ That said, the bipartisan foreign policy consensus resulted in the approval of the Iraqi invasion of 2003 as well as two pieces of legislation that define this period.

On September 14, 2001, Congress passed the Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF) act of 2001 by a wide margin.⁷¹ Based on the conclusion that the

⁶⁶ Max Blumenthal, *The Management of Savagery: How America's National Security State Fueled the Rise of Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Donald Trump* (London: Verso, 2019), 79-80.

⁶⁷ "Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2001.

⁶⁸ The hesitancy of the French government to support the invasion of Iraq led to french fries being renamed "freedom fries" in the congressional cafeteria in a tip of the jingoistic hat to World-War-I-era "liberty cabbage." See Sean Loughlin, "House Cafeterias Change Names for 'French' Fries and 'French' Toast," *Washington Post*, March 12, 2003.

⁶⁹ "Bush Warns Nations That Sponsor Terrorism," *CNN*, January 31, 2002, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁷⁰ Carmen Fishwick, "'We Were Ignored': Anti-War Protesters Remember the Iraq War Marches," *Guardian*, July 8, 2016, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁷¹ Representative Barbara Lee (D-California) was the only nay vote. See Glenn Greenwald, "Barbara Lee's Lone Vote on Sept. 14, 2001, Was as Prescient as it Was Brave and Heroic," *The Intercept*, September 11, 2016, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

9/11 attacks posed an “unusual and extraordinary threat” to the “national security and foreign policy of the United States,” the AUMF permits the President to take military action in response.⁷² The powers afforded to a sitting President by this legislation are unprecedented. The bill’s language gives the executive branch *carte blanche* for declaring war on countries without congressional approval. Most noteworthy are the phrases “national security and foreign policy of the United States” and the permission to use “all necessary and appropriate force.”⁷³ Without clear definitions of these phrases, the scope of what constitutes national security, foreign policy, and necessary and appropriate force is at the President’s discretion. Additionally, the AUMF affords great leeway in terms of its geographical scope: use of force is permitted against “nations, organizations, or persons he [i.e., the President] determines planned, authorized, committed or aided the terrorist attacks.”⁷⁴ The AUMF’s abrogation of the essential congressional check on executive power demonstrates how the shock of 9/11 nudged members of Congress to delegate their authority to the executive branch. In addition, the fact that this legislation has not been repealed but, rather, expanded, suggests a turning-away from the democratic process and the legal embrace of a permanent state of war. After its ratification, the 2001 AUMF was used to justify seventeen military actions by President Bush and an additional sixteen actions by President Obama.⁷⁵ This indicates that the creation of an “imperial presidency” through the extension of executive powers has, in fact, come to pass.⁷⁶

In the wake of 9/11, Congress passed another piece of legislation that sheds light on this era and, like the 2001 AUMF, has had far-reaching consequences that provide evidence for U.S. imperial decline. The USA PATRIOT ACT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) was signed into law on October 26, 2001.⁷⁷ This act permits the intelligence community to spy on both citizens and non-citizens by collecting phone calls and records, by sharing intelligence between foreign intelligence agencies and domestic law enforcement, and by expanding the use of FISA (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act) warrants.⁷⁸ It also allows for the

⁷² “S.J. Res. 23 107th Congress: Authorization for the Use of Military Force,” September 18, 2001, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁷³ “S.J. Res. 23 107th Congress: Authorization for the Use of Military Force.”

⁷⁴ “S.J. Res. 23 107th Congress: Authorization for the Use of Military Force.”

⁷⁵ Matthew Weed, “Presidential References to the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force in Publicly Available Executive Actions and Reports to Congress,” *Congressional Research Service*, February 16, 2018, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁷⁶ Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973).

⁷⁷ “The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty,” *U.S. Department of Justice*, no date, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁷⁸ “Public Law 107-56 107th Congress: Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001,” October 26, 2001, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

detainment of individuals without filing charges against them, essentially violating the writ of *habeas corpus*, and is in many ways legitimated by the 2001 AUMF.⁷⁹

For all large-scale military interventions, public support is essential.⁸⁰ Not unlike the need to manufacture consent for the First Gulf War, public opinion once again had to be shaped in favor of military action. This was not as difficult because of the immediacy and severity of the 9/11 attacks. And, indeed, the October 27, 2001, invasion of Afghanistan received very little public pushback.⁸¹ To legitimize PNAC's goal of toppling Saddam Hussein, it was necessary to show that Iraq had direct ties to the 9/11 terrorists. Thus, on January 29, 2002, in his State of the Union address, Bush revealed the "Axis of Evil" as consisting of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea which, he contended, posed an imminent threat to the United States and its allies. Importantly, none of the 9/11 hijackers came from any of these countries, nor were they linked to them ideologically or militarily. Instead, they predominantly came from the U.S. client states of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt.⁸² The Bush administration made the case for targeting Iraq based on the tangential connection between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction (WMD).⁸³ Using this justification and building on the previous ten years of the narrative espoused by political elites and reified by mass media outlets regarding the dangers posed by Iraq, the push for war with Iraq was on.

Undergirding the 2003 Iraqi invasion was the Rumsfeld Doctrine. While the Powell Doctrine had sought to prevent the failures of the Vietnam War based on experiential knowledge, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, a PNAC signatory and not a veteran of the Vietnam War, endeavored to find an alternative. Where the Powell doctrine had stressed the need for overwhelming force and a clearly defined exit strategy, Rumsfeld prioritized preemptive military action, as called for by the Bush Doctrine, coupled with an emphasis on precision.⁸⁴ Even before 9/11, Rumsfeld had argued for preemptive military action, writing in a memo that the United States should be "willing and prepared to act decisively to use the force necessary to prevail" and that it must "act forcefully, early."⁸⁵ Rumsfeld also argued against definite exit timetables, a clear opposite to the

⁷⁹ "Public Law 107-56 107th Congress."

⁸⁰ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, Reprint Edition, 2002; first published 1988).

⁸¹ Alfred McCoy, *In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of U.S. Global Power* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2017), 35-37.

⁸² Soo Kim, "Who Were the 9/11 Hijackers? The 19 Al-Qaeda Members Who Carried Out the Attack," *Newsweek*, September 11, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁸³ Johnson, *Blowback*.

⁸⁴ David Ryan, *Frustrated Empire: U.S. Foreign Policy, 9/11 to Iraq* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), 102-103, 114.

⁸⁵ Cited in Ryan, *Frustrated Empire*, 103.

principles of the Powell Doctrine.⁸⁶ To fulfill the desire for precision, Rumsfeld supported the implementation of the costly light and fast Stryker Brigades and emphasized the role of the Air Force to supplant the number of ground troops (another necessity of the Powell Doctrine).⁸⁷ The use of the Rumsfeld Doctrine during the 2003 Iraqi invasion demonstrates the aspirations of the Wolfowitz Doctrine and the dismissal of the Powell Doctrine, which, it can be argued, constitutes the basis for the epic Iraq War failure.

The revelation that the war had been based on lies regarding Iraqi WMD were crippling to the war effort and to the United States' global soft power and image. On April 25, 2005, after an eighteen-month investigation by the Iraq Survey Group, top CIA weapons expert Charles Duelfer released his report, declaring that no WMD could be found in Iraq. Beyond establishing that there had been no need to invade Iraq, the investigation also determined that no Iraqi WMD program had been created after 1991, which had been the rationale for the application of crushing sanctions against the country throughout the 1990s.⁸⁸ The United Kingdom, a supporter and combatant in the Iraqi invasion, subsequently launched its own investigation into the motivations for the war. The 2016 U.K. Iraq Inquiry, better known as the Chilcot Inquiry, revealed that there had indeed been no imminent threat from Saddam Hussein and that British intelligence agencies had supplied "flawed" information.⁸⁹

In addition to the revelation that the rationale for the invasion of Iraq had been false, rendering military action there unnecessary, the Bush administration soon had to face a scandal regarding the U.S. military prison at Abu Ghraib. Investigative reporter Seymour Hersh first exposed that torture had been inflicted by U.S. military personnel on Iraqi detainees in the May 2004 *New Yorker*.⁹⁰ Although the United States has a long history of using psychological, physical, and sexual torture for intelligence gathering,⁹¹ the evidence of torture revealed in the photos published by Hersh offered a window into the horror of detention in

⁸⁶ Ryan, *Frustrated Empire*, 103-104.

⁸⁷ While Rumsfeld supported the use of the Stryker brigades, he was critical of their cost. John Hendren, "Army Holds Ground in Battle with Rumsfeld," *Los Angeles Times*, November 29, 2002.

⁸⁸ Charles Duelfer, *Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD with Addendums*, 4 vols. (Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, 2005).

⁸⁹ "Sir John Chilcot's Public Statement, 6 July 2016," *The National Archives (U.K.)*, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁹⁰ Seymour M. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib: American Soldiers Brutalized Iraqis: How far up Does the Responsibility Go?," *New Yorker*, May 10, 2004.

⁹¹ The methods employed included shackling, "walling," waterboarding, sensory deprivation, sleep deprivation, sexual assault and humiliation, and extended interrogations (20-plus hours). See Alfred W. McCoy, *A Question of Torture: CIA Interrogation, from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2006).

U.S. military prisons and CIA sites.⁹² In addition to being a gross violation of international humanitarian law, the use of torture serves as a marker of imperial decline for three reasons: it results in a diminished international standing; it discredits the use of military action and presence among the public; and it strengthens resistance among subjected peoples.⁹³ Impunity for those who conducted torture, as well as those in power who sanctioned it, is another hallmark of imperial decline, and the bipartisan refusal to conduct investigations and bring those responsible to justice, as required by the U.N. Convention against Torture, is evidence that torture was enabled by broad political consensus.⁹⁴ The dismissal of profound cruelty and illegality, like Albright's "worth the price" assessment, is also reflected by President Obama's casual 2014 White House Press Conference remarks, reflecting on how "we tortured some folks" in reference to U.S. torture at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay.⁹⁵

By 2007, as a result of these revelations and the dramatic spike in violence against U.S. troops in Iraq, a majority of the American public was favoring comprehensive troop withdrawal.⁹⁶ The supposed societal cohesion generated by the events of 9/11—that had created a broadly pro-war sentiment—had fizzled. The conditions on the ground and the increasing U.S. casualty rate called the capability of the United States into question. Yet instead of a troop withdrawal, the Bush administration proceeded with a troop "surge," adding 21,500 more U.S. troops to Baghdad and the Anbar province.⁹⁷

IV. 2011-2021: Late-Stage Imperial Decline

To those who viewed the Bush administration and its neoconservative policies as disastrous, the 2009 inauguration of U.S. President Barack Obama seemed to promise change. Yet Obama's presidency in many ways continued the previous administration's neoconservatism. Obama oversaw the expansion of powers provided by the AUMF and an increase of active military conflicts from two (Iraq and Afghanistan) to eight (adding Syria, Libya, Somalia, Cameroon, Yemen, and Pakistan). While he had campaigned on promises of change, hope, and a new vision of American power, and, at times, made decisions that reflected this—for example, by refusing to follow up on his Syria "red line" threat in 2013 and by

⁹² The use of torture was not limited to Abu Ghraib but also occurred on U.S. military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan and at CIA black sites.

⁹³ McCoy, *In the Shadows*, 156. For the interrelatedness between the use of torture and imperial decline in France, Great Britain, and the United States, see Marnia Lazreg, *Torture and the Twilight of Empire: From Algiers to Baghdad* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁹⁴ McCoy, *In the Shadows*, 154.

⁹⁵ Barack Obama, "Press Conference by the President," *The White House: Office of the Press Secretary*, August 1, 2014, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁹⁶ Pew Research Center, "Public Attitudes toward the War in Iraq: 2003-2008," March 19, 2008, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

⁹⁷ Danny Sjursen, "I Was Part of the Iraq War Surge: It Was a Disaster," *Nation*, March 9, 2017.

supporting the 2015 “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action” to normalize relations between the United States and Iran,⁹⁸ either the burden of the office or the internalization of U.S. exceptionalism and primacy prevented his campaign promises and ambitions from being carried out.⁹⁹

On December 8, 2011, after eight years, the Iraq War was declared over, and most of the remaining U.S. troops left the country. On June 15, 2014, the United States began a new phase of intervention in Iraq – although this was at the behest of the Iraqi government – to aid the country’s effort against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS; also known as IS, ISIL, and Daesh). It should be noted that the origins of ISIS, similar to those of al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan, lay in blowback against U.S. imperialism.¹⁰⁰ ISIS was born out the fanatical fundamentalist *takfiri* Wahhabi Sunni ideology of al-Qaeda and into the power vacuum and chaos created by years of U.S. military intervention. Indeed, the origins of ISIS can be traced back directly to the U.S. military prisons in Iraq where seventeen of its top twenty-five high-ranking leaders had spent time.¹⁰¹ The goal of ISIS was to create a new Islamic caliphate that would eventually extend worldwide.¹⁰² In conjunction with Iraqi, Syrian, Russian, Iranian, and other coalition forces, the United States has been taking part in the international military intervention against ISIS since 2014, for – despite the 2019 proclamation of ISIS’s defeat – the U.S. Operation Inherent Resolve remains ongoing.¹⁰³ U.S. military and foreign-policy interests in regime change in Syria led to the “accidental” arming of ISIS with weapons through the CIA-created weapons procurement and training program Timber Sycamore.¹⁰⁴

Obama’s two-term presidency saw the continued application of imperial policies, albeit rhetorically packaged to emphasize human rights. In addition to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Obama approved military force or deployment in Syria, Libya, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, and Cameroon. The rationale for this increase included some of the Bush era’s charges of terrorism, but the majority fell

⁹⁸ Robert Singh, *Barack Obama’s Post-American Foreign Policy: The Limits of Engagement* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 2-8.

⁹⁹ Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy Commencement Ceremony,” *U.S. Military Academy-West Point*, West Point, New York, May 28, 2014, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹⁰⁰ Blumenthal, *Management of Savagery*.

¹⁰¹ McCoy, *In the Shadows*, 144.

¹⁰² To accomplish this, ISIS forces began “cleansing” from the territories they seized in Iraq and later Syria all they considered apostates; this included Christians, Shiites, Druze, and Sunnis who did not adhere to their fundamentalist doctrine. See Jane Arraf, “Years after a Massacre, Yazidis Finally Bury Their Loved Ones,” *New York Times*, March 12, 2021.

¹⁰³ CENTCOM (U.S. Central Command), “Combined Joint Task Force: Operation Inherent Resolve (CJTF-OIR),” [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹⁰⁴ Ben Norton, “CIA and Saudi Weapons for Syrian Rebels Fueled Black Market Arms Trafficking, Report Says,” *Salon*, June 28, 2016, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

under nebulous and often spurious claims of humanitarian interventionism.¹⁰⁵ The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), a commitment endorsed during the 2005 U.N. World Summit, calls for action to protect communities in danger of mass atrocities.¹⁰⁶ While this is a noble and critical provision, its use—particularly in Syria, Libya, and Sudan—has been called into question. In these countries, rather than helping and protecting people in danger of crimes against humanity, there is evidence that R2P was used as a justification for the United States to act on behalf of its own imperial interests.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the use of drones—a twenty-first-century addition to warfare and a central component of the Obama Doctrine—has proven to come at a high civilian cost despite the claim that it would facilitate a more precise and, thus, more humane method of warfare.¹⁰⁸

The inauguration of U.S. President Donald J. Trump on January 20, 2017, brought an unprecedented level of belligerent, unilateral rhetoric that featured an overtly aggressive American triumphalism in its foreign policy approach. Trump emphasized an “America First” position that prized U.S. national and imperial interests over international law and agreements. It should be emphasized, though, that this was not a new orientation in U.S. foreign policy. Indeed, as indicated throughout this article, the United States has increasingly acted with little to no regard for international law throughout its period of imperial decline. Unique to Trump’s approach is merely its overt and aggressive articulation of U.S. policies. Practically speaking, Trump’s foreign policy strategy resulted in the withdrawal from numerous treaties and international agreements;¹⁰⁹ in the expansion of sanctions against Yemen, Venezuela, Iran, and several other countries;¹¹⁰ and in the simultaneous nurturing of relationships with allied countries, especially Israel and Saudi Arabia, while alienating large swaths of the international community.

During his four years in office, Trump appointed some of the most avowed imperialist advocates and ideologues, some of whom had served in Bush 43’s neocon cabinet, such as Elliot Abrams, John Bolton and Michael Pompeo. In 1991, Elliot Abrams had been convicted as complicit in the Iran-Contra scandal of the

¹⁰⁵ Edward Delman, “Obama Promised to End America’s Wars—Has He?” *Atlantic*, March 30, 2016.

¹⁰⁶ United Nations, Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect, “Responsibility to Protect,” [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹⁰⁷ Marwan Hameed, “Responsibility to Protect: The Use and The Abuse” (Master’s thesis, The City College of New York, May 2014).

¹⁰⁸ Jameel Jaffer, ed., *The Drone Memos: Targeting Killing, Secrecy, and the Law* (New York: The New Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁹ These include “Open Skies Arms Control” with Russia and the “Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action” (JCPOA) with Iran. See Zachary Wolf, “Here Are All the Treaties and Agreements Trump Has Abandoned,” *CNN*, February 1, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹⁰ “U.S. Sanctions under Trump: A Legacy That Could Box in Biden?” *Al Jazeera*, January 21, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

1980s, although he was quickly pardoned by Bush 41.¹¹¹ He went on to be a signatory on many publications released by PNAC, served as Bush 43's Deputy National Security Advisor from 2005 to 2009, and was tasked by Trump with the role of U.S. Special Representative to both Iran and Venezuela. John Bolton, Trump's National Security Advisor, had a similar career trajectory. He, too, was a PNAC signatory, and he had served as Bush 43's U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Bolton is considered one of the more openly unilateralist and interventionist beltway ideologues who called for the addition of Cuba, Syria, and Libya to the "Axis of Evil" and regularly expressed disdain for the United Nations and international cooperation.¹¹² Trump's Secretary of State Michael "Mike" Pompeo had served as the Director of the CIA between 1989 and 1991, and, when asked about his tenure, happily replied: "We lied, we cheated, we stole—it reminds you of the glory of the American experiment."¹¹³

While it was during Trump's presidency that victory over ISIS was declared after the killing of the group's leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Trump refused to withdraw U.S. forces from Iraq.¹¹⁴ In February 2019, he stated that U.S. troops would remain in Iraq to "watch Iran" because "Iran is a real problem."¹¹⁵ Thus, Trump's rationale had nothing to do with terrorism, liberation, or the promotion of democracy; it was simply a way to monitor the activities of a U.S. foe. Moreover, in a statement that exhibited a perverse sense of the sunk cost fallacy, Trump cited the expenses for the Al Asad Air Base as a reason not to withdraw troops, since the base had cost the United States a "fortune" and was "perfectly situated for looking all over different parts of the troubled Middle East."¹¹⁶

On January 3, 2020, Trump ordered the assassination of Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) Quds Force General Qasem Soleimani by drone strike in Iraq. Also killed in this attack were Iraqi commander Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis and four other military officers. Trump's justification for this drone strike was based on his claim that Iran had been behind the 2019 attack on the U.S. Embassy inside the Baghdad green-zone.¹¹⁷ Soleimani's assassination and the action's violation of the Iraqi airspace profoundly worsened the relations between the United States and, respectively, Iraq and Iran, and flew in the face of the U.N.

¹¹¹ Brown University, "The 1992 Pardons," Understanding the Iran-Contra Affair: The Legal Aftermath, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹² Nahal Toosi, "Bolton Returns to a U.N. He Made a Career of Blasting," *Politico*, September 23, 2018, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹³ Michael Pompeo, interview, *YouTUBE*, April 26, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹⁴ Dana Farrington, "READ: Trump Announcement on Baghdadi's Death," *NPR*, October 27, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹⁵ Amanda Macis, "Trump Wants U.S. Military to Stay in Iraq to 'Watch Iran'," *CNBC*, February 3, 2019, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹⁶ Cited in Macis, "Trump Wants U.S. Military to Stay."

¹¹⁷ Alex Ward, "Trump Has Apparently Wanted to Kill Soleimani for Quite a While," *Vox*, January 13, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

Charter, international law, and domestic law. In an unclassified memorandum to Congress, the Trump administration cited the 2001 AUMF and Article 51 of the U.N. Charter as the legal basis for the assassination.¹¹⁸

However, these citations do not hold up under scrutiny. Article 2 of the 2002 AUMF allows the sitting President to order military action regarding Iraq in response to terrorism linked to the 9/11 attacks,¹¹⁹ but there has never been any intelligence verifiably connecting Iran to al-Qaeda or its affiliates.¹²⁰ Indeed, Iranian support in the fight against ISIS had been essential to the success of the coalition efforts, and Soleimani had played a central role in this. The citation of Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, which allows for military action in matters of self-defense, is similarly invalid as the United States has never produced any intelligence verifiably substantiating the claim that Soleimani was either complicit in or currently planning attacks on U.S. installations or personnel.¹²¹

On January 4, one day after the assassination, Trump promised in a tweet that—should Iran retaliate—“52 Iranian sites (representing the 52 American hostages taken by Iran many years ago), some at very high level & important to Iran & the Iranian culture...WILL BE HIT VERY FAST AND VERY HARD.”¹²² Targeting cultural sites is illegal under international law, and Trump received both domestic and international backlash for his threat. Trump’s bellicose and illegal threat, followed by inaction, demonstrated imperial decline.¹²³ And Iran decided to retaliate anyway: on January 8, Iran fired more than a dozen missiles at two different U.S. military housing structures.¹²⁴ There were no casualties, but it has

¹¹⁸ House Foreign Affairs Committee, “Notice on the Legal and Policy Frameworks Guiding the United States’ Use of Military Force and Related National Security Operations,” [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹¹⁹ “Public Law 167-243 107th Congress: Authorization for the Use of Military Force,” October 16, 2002, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁰ It should be noted here that the sect of fundamentalist Sunni Islam which is central to al-Qaeda and ISIS is incompatible with the Shi’ism of Iran.

¹²¹ Max Blumenthal, “Iraqi PM Reveals Soleimani Was on Peace Mission When Assassinated, Exploding Trump’s Lies of ‘Imminent Attacks’,” *MRonline*, January 9, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²² Cited in Dennis Romero, “Trump Threatens Attacks on 52 Sites if Iran Retaliates for Soleimani Killing,” *NBC News*, January 4, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²³ It is also hypothesized that Iran might have been responsible for the January 2020 downing of the military aircraft of Michael D’Andrea, also known as “Ayatollah Mike,” the CIA Chief of Operations in Iran for the CIA, in the Ghazni province of eastern Afghanistan just sixteen days after the assassination of General Soleimani. See Dave Makichuk, “CIA Mystery: Did Iran Kill ‘Ayatollah Mike?’,” *Asia Times*, February 7, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁴ Courtney Kube and Doha Madani, “Iran Retaliates for Gen. Soleimani’s Killing by Firing Missiles at U.S. Forces in Iraq,” *NBC News*, January 8, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

been reported that a hundred or more U.S. servicemembers, who were in close range of the missiles, sustained traumatic brain injuries.¹²⁵

On January 6, three days after the assassination of Soleimani, al-Muhandis, and their colleagues, the Iraqi parliament voted to eject all remaining U.S. troops from the country. In response, Trump threatened Iraq with “sanctions like they’ve never seen before, ever. It’ll make Iranian sanctions look somewhat tame.”¹²⁶ Considering the history of U.S. sanctions against Iraq, as well as the crippling effect of the ongoing illegal sanctions against Iran, this was a particularly cruel threat. Moreover, it ignored the right of Iraq’s democratic institutions and government to make their own decisions.¹²⁷ Indeed, Trump warned that the decision to remove U.S. troops from the country would come with a great price tag, stating, “We’re not leaving unless they pay us back.”¹²⁸ Indeed, the combination of the assassination, Trump’s bellicose rhetoric, and Iraqi outrage epitomizes the profoundly aggressive, unilateral, and illegal characteristics of U.S. military action during this period of imperial decline.

Further illustrating imperial decline are the growing fears articulated by the American press and U.S. political leadership, despite the fact that the United States is spending more on its military each successive year. Indeed, when compared to China, the next highest military spender in the world, the 2021 U.S. military budget of \$801 billion is nearly three times of China’s \$293 billion.¹²⁹ Yet the “threat” that China poses to the security of the United States is continually amplified. Another example: the United States maintains nearly 800 military bases in 70 countries; China maintains 4 bases abroad; and Russia, the other perceived source of fear for the United States, maintains 21 bases abroad, though many of these are defunct Soviet era bases.¹³⁰ The assertion – and fear – that these countries pose a threat to the United States is not, or not primarily, grounded in military data; rather, it is a symptom of the United States’ faltering position as world hegemon. Underscoring this faltering position is the constant mainstream media

¹²⁵ Idrees Ali, “More Than 100 U.S. Troops Diagnosed with Brain Injuries from Iran Attack,” *Reuters*, February 10, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁶ Cited in Jane Arraf, “Iraqi Parliament Votes to Expel U.S. Troops, Trump Threatens Sanctions,” *NPR*, January 6, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁷ “U.S. Slaps More Sanctions on Iran in Finals days of Trump Presidency,” *Al Jazeera*, January 16, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁸ Cited in Sean Collins, “Trump Wants U.S. Troops out of Iraq, but Says Iraq Would Face Sanctions for Expelling Them,” *Vox*, January 6, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹²⁹ Magdalena Szmigiera, “Countries with the Highest Military Spending 2021,” *Statista*, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹³⁰ David Vine, “Where in the World is the U.S. Military?” *Politico Magazine*, July/August 2015, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

coverage of all these “fears,” while simultaneously proclaiming that the United States has, of course, the most powerful military on the planet.¹³¹

Thirty years of unipolarity and global impunity are coming to end as U.S. foreign policy has lost much of its credibility, both domestically and internationally, in the wake of wars based on lies, clear double standards, disregard for international law, and domestic instability. In 2020, when U.S. military spending increased to \$718 billion, the amount spent on social programs decreased by two percentage points.¹³² Meanwhile, wealth inequality is greater than ever before,¹³³ and in 2020, over two million people were reported as incarcerated in the United States.¹³⁴ Perhaps the most obvious sign of domestic instability was the insurrection against the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021.

Amidst this climate of domestic instability, many of the Trump-era foreign policies remain intact under the administration of U.S. President Joseph R. Biden. As of the publication of this article (2022), the United States has not honored the Iraqi parliamentary decision to remove all U.S. troops from Iraq.¹³⁵ Importantly, Biden did state that the United States would be pulling its remaining troops out of Afghanistan by September 11, 2021, not due to a “mission accomplished” but because the twenty-year war had been lost. Already prior to the actual withdrawal, which was completed by August 30, 2021, the Taliban—themselves the result of blowback against CIA operations in the 1980s—seized power in Kabul before the final withdrawal of U.S. troops.¹³⁶

Conclusion

The past thirty years of U.S. history have witnessed progressive imperial decline. Characterized by direct imperialism in the form of militarization, unilateralism, and the violation and disregard of international laws, concurrent with diminishing economic and political hegemony, the United States has transitioned from peak hard and soft power in 1991 to late-stage imperial decline in 2021. Foreign policy choices in Iraq, imperial political rhetoric employed by political elites,

¹³¹ The 2018 National Defense Strategy names Russia and China as “revisionist states” for challenging U.S. hegemony through multilateralism. See U.S. Department of Defense, “2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America,” [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹³² “Trump’s \$4.8 Trillion Budget Would Cut Safety Net Programs and Boost Defense,” *New York Times*, February 10, 2020.

¹³³ Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Ruth Igielnik, and Rakesh Kochar, “Trends in Income and Wealth Inequality,” *Pew Research Center*, January 9, 2020, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹³⁴ “The Facts: Criminal Justice,” *The Sentencing Project*, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹³⁵ The United States has not reentered the JCPOA with Iran; it continues to support and supply Saudi Arabia in its war on Yemen; and it remains a stalwart supporter of Israeli “apartheid.” See “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution,” *Human Rights Watch*, April 27, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

¹³⁶ Thomas Gibbons-Neff, “What Will Happen in Afghanistan Once U.S. Troops Leave,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2021.

militarization, and military doctrines grounded in American exceptionalism and unilateral action have largely brought about and illustrate this decline.

The dynamics of the 1991 Gulf War demonstrated the apex of U.S. global power after the fall of the Soviet Union, but this moment was brief. Without the Soviet nemesis to counter a hubristic drive for global political and economic hegemony, the United States repeatedly engaged in unilateral military action and illegal extraterritorial sanctions to maintain Full Spectrum Dominance. Hallmarks of imperial decline, these policies accelerated as domestic and international confidence waned, the country's global standing diminished, and peripheral instability and blowback increased. In Iraq in particular, U.S. imperial policies have been carried out at great human cost: sanctions, illegal bombing campaigns, and active warfare have caused the death of an indeterminate number of Iraqis over the last thirty years. Yet Iraq is but one country in which the United States has applied such policies. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to identify a non-allied nation that has not faced U.S. imperial meddling.¹³⁷ At home, the manifestations of U.S. empire might be found in the increasingly militarized nature of domestic police forces, the advent of a prison-industrial complex, and the concurrent trend of societal polarization and contested domestic elections.

With the rise of Chinese and Russian soft and hard power as well as political legitimacy outside of the United States, the U.S. empire finds itself decreasingly relevant in the newly emerging multipolar global configuration. As such, we are currently witnessing a desperate attempt by political elites to demonstrate that "America is back" as the "indispensable nation" that Obama, Albright, and others had proclaimed it was.¹³⁸ Should the United States shift its foreign policy posture to adhere to international law and seek detente, while working at home to counter domestic instability, there is a possibility that the United States may share in multilateral global-power cooperation and thereby slow the inevitable process of imperial decline. As quoted at the beginning of this article, Chalmers A. Johnson observed the fall of six empires during his own lifetime, and he reminded us that "They go down pretty easily." Thus, should the United States continue its aggressive and expensive quest for global hegemony, rather than embrace the opportunity for multilateral realignment and adhere to international law, the process of imperial decline will only accelerate over the coming decades.

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¹³⁷ Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*.

¹³⁸ Aamer Madhani, "Biden Declares 'America is Back' in Welcome Words to Allies," *AP News*, February 19, 2021, [online](#), accessed June 19, 2022.

Bobby Lapointe, Jacob Romero, and Aramis Sandoval (editors)

*From the Battlefields of the Civil War to the Homesteads of Nebraska:
The Turbulent Lives of the Durkee Family (1862-1895)*

Shelfmark

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War Memorabilia Collection.

Durkee/Blackden Correspondence.

February 9, 1862, to August 26, 1895.

Eleven items (numbered 1 to 11 below).

Introduction

The eleven items edited here, dating from the early 1860s to the mid-1890s, belong to the “Durkee Correspondence” of the “War Memorabilia Collection.” In 1973, they were donated by Ms. Florence Durkee of Brea, California, to the University Archives, and Special Collections at California State University, Fullerton. Despite their age of well over 100 years, the items are in fairly good condition, and most of the writing is legible. Ink color, penmanship, and the linguistic level of the contents vary based on the items’ respective authors.

The items include Civil-War-era correspondence, namely two letters from Joseph Durkee of Leeds, Wisconsin, who had enlisted in the Union Army, to his wife Edna (Items 1 and 2, dating to 1862); three letters from Joseph’s brother James to their mother, Mrs. M. R. Durkee (Items 3, 4, and 7, dating to 1862, 1863, and 1865, and written from Virginia and Mississippi); a letter from their mother to James (Item 5, dating to 1864); and a letter from a Union Army official to their mother (Item 6, dating to 1865). Then there is James Durkee’s 1868/1869 bill of debt and credit for building materials in Iowa (Item 8); an 1873 letter from James Durkee (Nebraska) to his brother Harvey (Item 9); an 1895 letter from a Mrs. A. S. Faville to Mrs. J. E. Durkee (Iowa), presumably a family member of the subsequent generation; and an undated envelope addressed to Mrs. M. R. Durkee (Item 11).

The items in this collection start with Joseph Durkee writing to his wife Edna, hoping for a quick end to the Civil War and wondering whether she has been able to receive financial help (Items 1 and 2). Shortly thereafter, Joseph’s brother James has to inform their mother that Joseph has been killed (Item 3). In another letter to his mother, James speaks of the harsh Southern summer, the horrible road conditions, and the death of hundreds of soldiers due to these circumstances (Item 4). When James becomes a prisoner-of-war, his mother writes to him, hoping he is being treated well (Item 5). At this point, we temporarily switch from the perspective of the Durkee family to that of a Union Army official, Ely Samuel Parker, who is informing Mother Durkee about the delay in the prisoner exchange

for her son James (Item 6). Shortly thereafter, we hear from James about his release and upcoming discharge from the Union Army (Item 7). By 1868, James is in Iowa, as evidenced by a bill of debt and credit for building materials addressed to him (Item 8). In 1873, James writes to his brother Harvey, seeking monetary aid for his financial struggles, caused largely by the brutal Nebraska winter (Item 9). An 1895 letter from a Mrs. A. S. Faville reveals that a Mrs. J. E. Durkee has lost her baby son (Item 10). The final piece of this collection is the undated envelope addressed to Mrs. M. R. Durkee (Item 11).

The items edited here should be of interest to those studying nineteenth-century American history with a focus on the Civil War and the Western expansion of the subsequent decades. From the vantage point of one Midwestern family, they provide insight into the war-torn nation of the 1860s, referencing high-ranking officers of the Union Army, notable battles, and a prisoner-of-war camp that anyone studying Civil War history will recognize. The items reflect the realities of the Homestead Act and the evolving social, political, and economic landscape in the years following the war. The personal touches in the correspondence between family members, friends, and military high command provide a unique perspective on the events of nineteenth-century America.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets. Loss and illegible deletions are indicated by three dots enclosed by square brackets.

*Edition: Item 1, Letter, Joseph Durkee to his wife (Edna Durkee),
February 9, 1862, "Brigate" Hospital, Washington, D.C.*

Front, right side:

Brigate Hospitle

Washington, Febuary 9^{th1} 1862

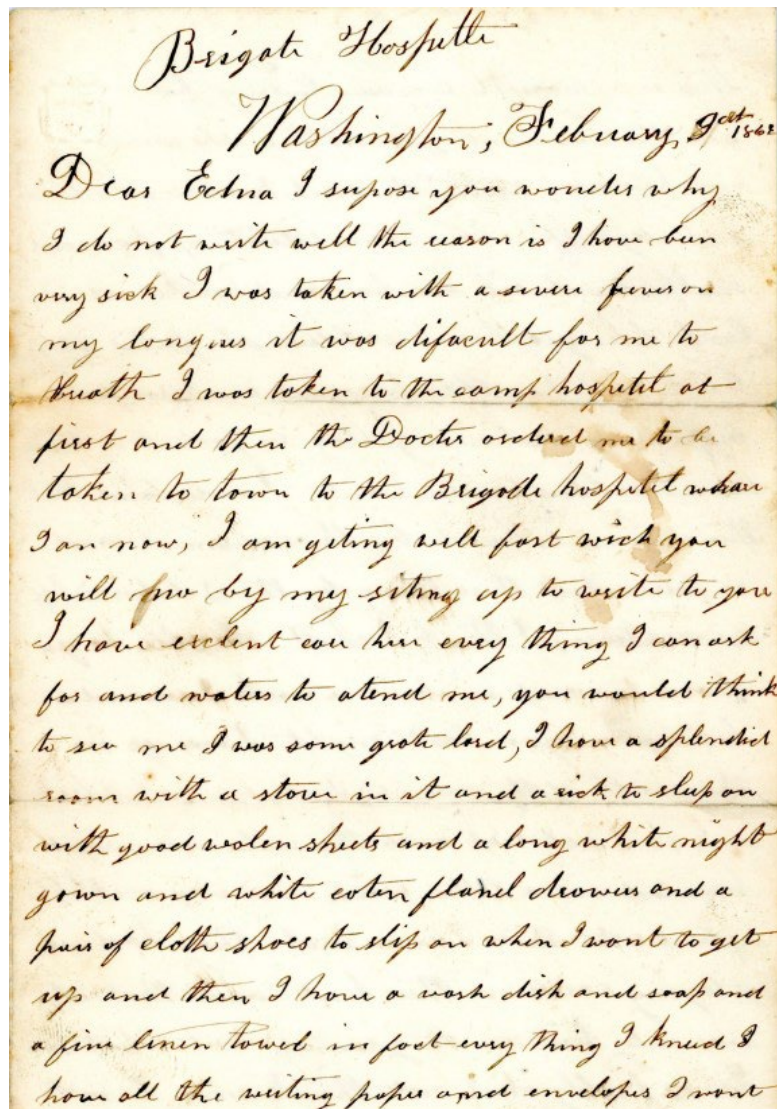
Dear Edna² I supose you wonder why
I do not write well the reason is I have been
very sick I was taken with a severe fever on
my longues³ it was difacult for me to
breath I was taken to the camp hospitel at
first and then the Docter ordered me to be
taken to town to the Brigade hospitel whare
I an [sic] now, I am geting well fast wich you
will no by my siting up to write to you
I have exclent care here every thing I can ask
for and wa[i]ters to atend me, you would think
to see me I was some grate lord, I have a splendid

¹ Corrected from "8th."

² Joseph Durkee's wife.

³ Lungs.

room with a stove in it and a rick⁴ to sleep on
 with good wolen sheets and a long white night
 gown and white coten flanel drowers and a
 pair of cloth shoes to slip on when I want to get
 up and then I have a wash dish and soap and
 a fine linen towel in fact every thing I kneed I
 have all the writing paper and envelopes I want
 and clean cloth to put on evry sunday I could
 not fare better if I was to home



Brigate Hospital
 Washington, February 9th 1862
 Dear Edna I suppose you wonder why
 I do not write well the reason is I have been
 very sick I was taken with a severe fever on
 my tongue it was difficult for me to
 breathe I was taken to the camp hospital at
 first and then the Doctor ordered me to be
 taken to town to the Brigade hospital where
 I am now, I am getting well fast with you
 will see by my sitting up to write to you
 I have excellent care here every thing I can ask
 for and water to attend me, you would think
 to see me I was some great lord, I have a splendid
 room with a stove in it and a rick to sleep on
 with good wolen sheets and a long white night
 gown and white coten flanel drowers and a
 pair of cloth shoes to slip on when I want to get
 up and then I have a wash dish and soap and
 a fine linen towel in fact every thing I kneed I
 have all the writing paper and envelopes I want

Figure 1: Letter, Joseph Durkee to his wife (Edna Durkee), February 9, 1862, "Brigate" Hospital, Washington, D.C. [Item 1, front, right side, top, excerpt].

⁴ A constructed stack of straw.

Back, left side:

thar is a married woman liveing here
 sees that we want for nothing she combs
 our hair and cuts it and trims our whiskers
 and digs the dander and dust up from our
 scalps and oils our hair and makes us
 look like gentleman soldiers she feches us
 books and pamphlets to read and see feches
 us preservs and nice jelley in fact every thing
 a sick soldier could want I understand that
 this woman is hired by the covement⁵ and
 is furnished these thing by the soldier relief
 association, I think I shall be able to go
 back to camp in about a week I received a
 letter from you last night I was up in
 the midle of the night I could not sleep
 and so I set up and the wa[i]ter came and
 handed me a letter wich was very aceptable
 you wrot that James⁶ wrote thay had no
 playing cards in their tent and that it
 was only tent on the ground but what did
 James prob[ab]ly did not think when he wrote
 of our tent and and [sic] an other tent below
 us thay do not play cards

Back, right side:

that has never been but one game of
 cards plyed in our tent, and the way it
 hapened was this one of the vermont boys came
 in and brought in a pack of cards and
 wanted to play a gaim cald the high jack
 he played [...] abou tenn minuts and
 and some of them said the vote was
 that thare should be no playing of
 cards in the tent and he put them
 up this was the first and prob[ab]ly will
 be the last you kneed not borrow any
 trouble about me paying [sic] cards for
 I wont have a pack in the tent if I
 know it will keep my word and I hope

⁵ Government.

⁶ Joesph Durkee's brother.

you will not borrow any more trouble about
 it Edna we prob[ab]ly will have our arms soon
 the second Regiment has got theirs and
 we are to have ours the twent[i]eth of this month
 so we shall not be disbanded Edna I wrot
 to you in my last [letter] if you had seed wheat
 enough to go in the spring you did not
 tell me any thing about it in your last [letter]
 I want you should be sure and let me know

Front, left side:

in your next letter I want to know how
 much wheat is worth a bushel you
 write in your next [letter]. Edna it will
 soon be pay day again and
 perhaps I may go home them [sic] our
 pay is due us the first of march
 if I do not go home then I prob[ab]ly
 shall wait untill the first of may
 wich is our next pay day but I
 am a going to aply for a ferlow⁷ this
 next pay day and if I cant get it
 I will wait untill the next
 Edna. I am geting tirrd so I must end
 by wishing you all the hapiness you
 can take hoping that you will remember
 me in your devotions to the creator of of [sic]
 all things trust me Edna that
 I will prove faithful untill the
 end
 from your affectionate Husban
 Joseph Durkee

*Edition: Item 2, Letter, Joseph Durkee to his wife (Edna Durkee),
 March 16, 1862, "Ny" Hospital, Washington, D.C.*

Front, right side:

Ny Hospotle
 Washington March 16th 1862
 Dear Edna I received your letter
 in due time it found me well I
 am gaining in flesh, and feel first

⁷ Furlough: leave of absence.

rate Edna, I have had a good tim
 visating Charles⁸ I have first rate
 times I can do all I have to do in
 two hours and then I go whare I
 am a mind to Charles wants I [s]hould
 go in his reg[i]ment but Conol Berdon⁹
 wont let me go Charles would give
 me a good position, but I cant go
 I found lots of boys I [k]new, I found
 amoung the rest, Butler Ives,¹⁰ and
 several from Malone¹¹ I have good times
 amog the boys talking over old times
 but Charles reg[i]ment is ordered away
 to morrow thay are going down the
 river to reinforse Burnside¹² and the
 second reg[i]ment of sharp shooters is going
 to[o] thay start in the morning
 turn over

Back, left side:

Edna we have not got our arms
 yet so we will have to stay as a
 reserve, the grate army is moveing
 and we shall soon here [sic] of the rebelleon
 being crushed out and then we can
 return to our homes in peace Edna
 I wish you could have been here and see
 the army cross the river, thay were crossing
 all day and all night and nearly all
 the next day such sights of soldiers
 it seemed as so thay could whip
 the world, as far as you could look
 you could see a moveing mass a
 wilderness of bay[o]netts and a string
 of cannon that would have reechd

⁸ Unknown individual; perhaps identical with Charlie Powel mentioned below in this letter.

⁹ Colonel Hiram Berdan (1824-1893), Union Army.

¹⁰ Unknown individual; perhaps identical with the Massachusetts-born engineer/surveyor of the same name (1830-1872).

¹¹ Location in Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin.

¹² Major General Ambrose Burnside (1824-1881), Union Army.

from our house to Lowville,¹³ you
 may calculate that the rebels will
 ketch [?] it when our forses overtake
 them but thay found it out
 and left but our army is after
 them with hot sticks and if thay
 dont look sharp thay will get
 caught in a trap

Back, right side:

Edna I suppose you are out of
 money by what mother wrote to
 Jim,¹⁴ we have not got our pay
 yet and we here [*sic*] that we wont get
 it untill the first of april I hope
 you will get your states pay if you
 cant you can get some gros[er]lies of mr
 Williams¹⁵ at Sun Prairie¹⁶ you must
 manage some way James and I are
 a going to send home fourty dollars
 as quick as we get our pay this will
 make you all right you must pony
 up them Madison fellows¹⁷ and make them
 pay you Edna you must keep up good
 spirits and it wont be long befor I will
 be back and then we will be glad to see
 one each other, you tell Hiram¹⁸ not to sow
 the wheat but to ha[u]ll it to sun prairie
 and sell it and buy some that is clear
 of oats and I will pay him for his trouble
 you get harvey¹⁹ to atend to it and have
 him see that Hiram furnishes good wheat
 I will write Harvey a line and you give
 it to him

¹³ Location in Columbia County, Wisconsin.

¹⁴ Joseph Durkee's brother James.

¹⁵ Unknown individual.

¹⁶ Location in Dane County, Wisconsin.

¹⁷ Probably a reference to the Wisconsin General Assembly.

¹⁸ Unknown individual.

¹⁹ Joseph Durkee's and James Durkee's brother.

Front, left side:

Edna you tell mother that
 I saw Peat Lampron²⁰
 Isa Lamprons boy the on[e]
 thay youst²¹ to call Bull Nevy
 the boys have lots of fun with
 him Mother will remember him
 I also saw Charlie Powel²² and
 albert andrews²³ and andrew miller²⁴
 and lots of others Charles says he saw
 Hatter²⁵ a little while befor he come
 away he said she was as smart as
 a whip Edna you must write
 often and do not borrow any
 trouble about me haveing the
 small pox, thare has only been
 a few cases and thay are prope[b]ly
 taken care of by them selves
 thare is no more simtoms of it
 in camp so I think thar is no
 danger so good by[e] for this time
 from your affectionate Husban
 Joseph, Durkee

*Edition: Item 3, Letter, James Durkee to his mother (Mrs. M. R. Durkee),
 May 2, 1862, Camp, near Yorktown, Virginia*

Front, right side:

Camp near, Yorktown V[irgini]a
 May the 2nd 1862
 Friday
 Dear Mother
 it is with regret that I seat myself
 this morning to write you the sad
 and mournfully news of the Death
 of Joseph he was shot last night while on

²⁰ Unknown individual.

²¹ Used.

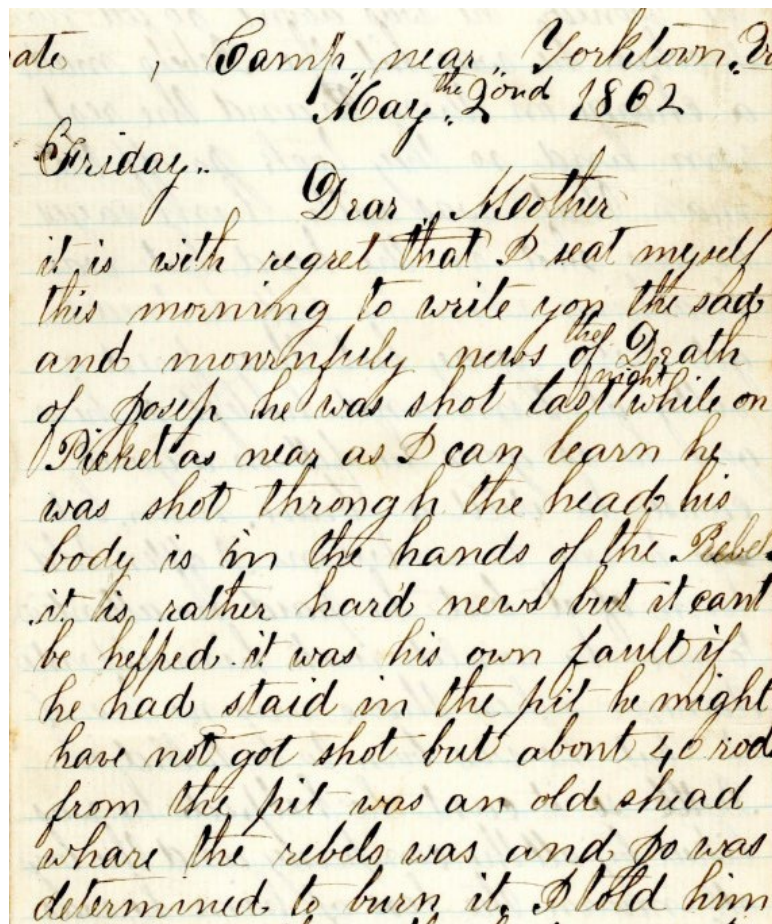
²² Unknown individual.

²³ Unknown individual.

²⁴ Unknown individual.

²⁵ Unknown individual.

Picket²⁶ as near as I can learn he
 was shot through the head his
 body is in the hands of the Rebels
 it is rather hard news but it cant
 be helped it was his own fault if
 he had staid in the pit he might
 have not got shot but about 40 rods²⁷
 from the pit was an old shead
 whare the rebels was and Jo was
 determined to burn it. I told him
 not to go thare the last words I
 said to him was to caution him
 not to do it nor under take it



ate , Camp, near Yorktown, Va
 May 2nd 1862
 Friday.. Dear Mother
 it is with regret that I sat myself
 this morning to write you the sad
 and mournfully news of the death
 of poor he was shot last night on
 Picket as near as I can learn he
 was shot through the head his
 body is in the hands of the Rebels
 it is rather hard news but it cant
 be helped. it was his own fault if
 he had staid in the pit he might
 have not got shot but about 40 rods
 from the pit was an old shead
 whare the rebels was and Jo was
 determined to burn it, I told him

Figure 2: Letter, James Durkee to his mother (Mrs. M. R. Durkee), May 2, 1862, Camp, near Yorktown, Virginia [Item 3, front, right side, top, except].

²⁶ Guard post.

²⁷ 1 rod = 16.5 feet; i.e., approximately 660 feet or 0.125 miles.

Back, left side:

but he was bent on going go
 he would he was about 30 feet from
 it when he was hit the Rebels made
 a charge on them ~~th~~ and the rest
 run and so they took Jo off the
 man that was with him sayes
 he was shot in the head but was
 breathing when he left he tried to
 get him away but they fired a
 volly at him and he left so he is
 gone he is gone he fell in a good
 cause he died a brave . man . but
 [...] he was to venturous I offten told
 him of it but he paid no attention
 to me he would rush himself into
 danger when thare was no use of
 it but he was born to be killed in
 Battle so it cant be helped he was
 liked by all the company and the boys
 all moarn the loss of him he was
 the first to fall out of our Company
 and we hope the time will soon
 come when we shal avenge his

Back, right side:

blood I shal have my revenge if
 [...] ever I get a chance. oh Mother
 this will be solemn news to you
 and Edna it will cause many
 a tear to be shed but our only hope
 is to God who is able to ra[i]se him
 up at the last day then we shal know
 who is wright and who is wrong. I shal
 try and get a pass and go as see
 Charles²⁸ he is a bout 4 miles from
 here. Jo had in his pocket about two
 dollars and some postag stamps and
 a recipt of 35 dollars the²⁹ he and I
 sent by express I supos you have

²⁸ Perhaps Charles Powel, mentioned in Letter 2.

²⁹ That.

got it by this time well mother I
 cant think of much more to
 write my head aches so I cant
 hardly see I will haf to close
 so good by[e] all write soon
 Joseph D was shot Thuresday night
 about 9 o clock on the 1st of May

Front, left side:

To Mother Durkee
 from James Durkee your affectionate
 Son

*Edition: Item 4, Letter, James Durkee to his mother (Mrs. M. R. Durkee),
 June 16, 1863, Camp, near Bull Run, Virginia*

Front, right side:

V[irgini]a
 Camp near Bull Run³⁰
 June 16th 1863
 Dear Mother
 I having a chance
 to send a letter I thought
 I would improve the time
 I am well but feal pretty
 near tired out we have had
 some of the hardest Marches
 that ever was and in the
 hottest weather we left our
 old camp near Falmouth³¹
 on the 11th have been on the
 march ever since, when
 night comes our Co[mpany] has
 no more than 5 or 6 to
 noak [?] a slack [?] of guns
 the weather is so warm that
 the men farley melt right
 down yesterday some 300
 of our men died on acount

³⁰ Location and battle site (1861 and 1862) in Prince William County, Virginia

³¹ Location in Stafford County, Virginia

Back, left side:

of the march I have not
 time to write you all the
 particulars as the Chapl[a]in
 will be here in a few minuts
 to take the mail and I have
 slood³² the tramp brodley [?]
 come up every time but
 some times I could see
 every thing a whirlling
 to day we are in the
 vicinity of Bulls Run
 in the old Br[ea]st. Works³³
 that the Rebels built
 we prob[ab]ly will start on
 to Washington to morrow
 I sent George 6.45 cents
 did he get it yet I will
 send you some soon
 give my respects to
 all write soon I have
 not recived any mail
 in some time I expect
 some as soon as we get

Back, right side:

to Washin[gton]
 well I cant
 think of any more
 so good By[e] for this
 will write more as soon
 as get time
 James Durkee
 to Mother
 Durkee³⁴ Durkee & [...]
 Leeds³⁵ James Durkee
 is hereby respect[-]
 ed to call at the

³² Slowed.

³³ Fortifications.

³⁴ The remaining lines of this letter are in different hands and ink, presumably added later.

³⁵ Location in Columbia County, Wisconsin

in the morning for
 examination Durkee
 you might come home
 Harvey Durkee
 you to[o]
 come home by the morrow
 now will you come home

Front, left side:

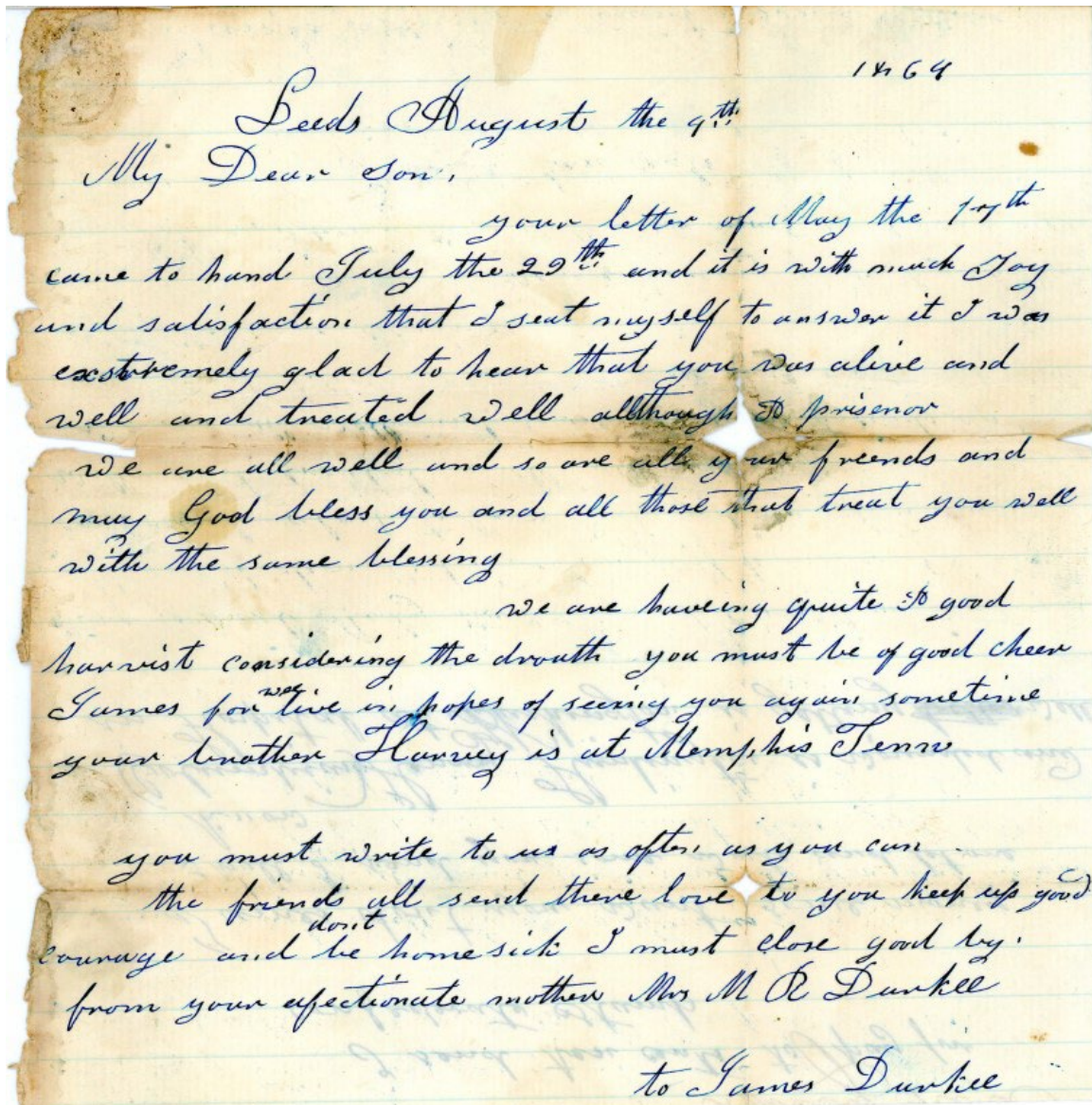
James Durkee
 Leeds
 James
 Durkee Durkee
 James Durkee
 Leeds
 George
 [...]
 Mrs. M. R. Durkee
 Leeds
 [...]

*Edition: Item 5, Letter, Mrs. M. R. Durkee to her son (James Durkee),
 August 9, 1864, Leeds, Wisconsin*

Front:

1864
 Leeds August the 9th
 My Dear Son,
 your letter of May the 17th
 came to hand July the 29th and it is with much Joy
 and satisfaction that I seat myself to answer it I was
 exstremely glad to hear that you was alive and
 well and treated well allthough A prisenor
 we are all well and so are all your friends and
 may God bless you and all those that treat you well
 with the same blessing
 we are haveing quite A good
 harvist considering the drouth you must be of good cheer
 James for we live in hopes of seeing you again sometime
 your brother Harvey is at Memphis Tenn[essee]
 you must write to us as often as you can

the friends all send there [sic] love to you keep up good
 courage and dont be homesick I must close good by[e]
 from your affectionate mother Mrs M R Durkee
 to James Durkee



1864

Leeds August the 9th

My Dear Son,

your letter of May the 1st came to hand July the 29th and it is with much joy and satisfaction that I sent myself to answer it I was extremely glad to hear that you was alive and well and treated well although a prisoner we are all well and so are all your friends and may God bless you and all those that treat you well with the same blessing

we are having quite a good harvest considering the drouth you must be of good cheer James for live in hopes of seeing you again sometime your brother Harvey is at Memphis Tenn

you must write to us as often as you can the friends all send there love to you keep up good courage and ^{don't} be homesick I must close good by from your affectionate mother Mrs M R Durkee

to James Durkee

Figure 3: Letter, Mrs. M. R. Durkee to her son (James Durkee), August 9, 1864, Leeds, Wisconsin [Item 5, front].

Back:

I send ten cents to pay for
 confederate stamp
 James don't you want some money
 shall I send you some write and let me
 know

(Columbia) Henry Huntington³⁶ is wounded and
in Hospital at Washington is getting better well

Head Quarters Armies of the United States,
City Point, Va., Feb. 6 1865.

Mrs. M. R. Durkee, City Point
Madam! Va

I am directed by the Lieutenant General
Commanding, to acknowledge the receipt of
yours of the 28th January 1865; and to say that
every exertion is being made to effect a general
exchange of all prisoners now held North and South.
Owing, however, to the difficulty of moving large
bodies of men in the South, by reason of the bad
condition of the rail roads and other highways,
much delay will be experienced before our prisoners
can reach any place where we can receive them.
Your letter has been referred to Col. J. E. Hurlford,
Assistant Agent of Exchange.
Supplies or money packages for prisoners
in the South can be sent directed care of

Figure 4: Letter, E[ly]. S[amuel]. Parker to Mrs. M. R. Durkee, via John J. Johnson, February 6, 1865, Headquarters (U.S. Armies), City Point, Virginia [Item 6, front].

³⁶ Unknown individual.

*Edition: Item 6, Letter, E[ly]. S[amuel]. Parker to Mrs. M. R. Durkee,
via John J. Johnson,
February 6, 1865, Headquarters (U.S. Armies), City Point, Virginia*

Front: [letterhead] Head Quarters Armies of United States,

City Point,³⁷ V[irgini]a., Feb. 6 1865.³⁸

Mrs M. R. Durkee

City Point

Co[mmonwealth of] V[irgini]a

Madam!

I am directed by the Lieutenant General
Commanding,³⁹ to acknowledge the receipt of
yours of the 28th January 1865; and to say that
every exertion is being made to effect a general
exchange of all prisoners now held North and South.
Owing, however, to the difficulty of moving large
bodies of men in the South, by reason of the bad
conditions of the rail roads and other highways,
much delay will be experienced before our prisoners
can reach any place where we can receive them.

Your letter has been referred to Col[onel]. J. E. Mulford,⁴⁰
Assistant Agent of Exchange.

Supplies or money packages for prisoners
in the South can be sent directed care of

over

Back, left side:

Lieutenant Colonel J. E. Mulford Assistant
Agent of Exchange, Fort Monroe, V[irgini]a.

I am, very respectfully

Your ob[e]d[ien]t servant

E. S. Parker⁴¹

L[ieutenan]t. Co[one]l. & Priv[ate]. Sec[retar]y.

J E Mulford⁴²

Fort Monroe

V[irgini]a

³⁷ Location in Prince George County, Virginia.

³⁸ Corrected from "1864" by the writer.

³⁹ Probably General Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885), Union Army, 18th U.S. President (1869-1877).

⁴⁰ John Elmer Mulford.

⁴¹ Colonel Ely Samuel Parker (1828-1895), born as Hasanoanda (Seneca), Union Army.

⁴² Named here as he was copied on Mrs. M. R. Durkee's inquiry.

Back, right side:

John T. Johnson⁴³

Chicago

Box 7496 Illinois

*Edition: Item 7, Letter, James Durkee to his mother (Mrs. M. R. Durkee),
April 1, 1865, Camp Fisk, near Vicksburg, Mississippi*

Front, right side:

1865

Camp Fisk,⁴⁴ Vicksburg⁴⁵ April 1st

Dear Mother

I wonce more find

myself seated in our own

lines a writing you a few lines

to let you know that, I am

yet a live and well and in

the land of the living

We left Andersonvill[e]⁴⁶ G[eorgi]a on

the 24th of March Arived in our

lines on the last day of the

Month we had a very teagous⁴⁷

journy had to march from

Jackson⁴⁸ to the Big Black

river⁴⁹ which was 3 days

marching Mother the last

day of March was the happiest

day of my life and one

that I shall never forget

We are here now in Camp

Back, left side:

Parolle⁵⁰ how long we shall

stope I cannot say But as

soon as I get my discharge I

⁴³ Presumably this letter was sent to Mrs. M. R. Durkee via Mr. Johnson.

⁴⁴ Union Army camp in Warren County, Mississippi

⁴⁵ Location in Warren County, Mississippi.

⁴⁶ Confederate Army prisoner-of-war camp in Sumter County, Georgia.

⁴⁷ Phonetic spelling of "tedious."

⁴⁸ Location in Hinds County, Mississippi

⁴⁹ A tributary to the Mississippi River.

⁵⁰ Early prisoner release.

will soon be with you all
 again which I hope will be
 soon I have Suffired a great
 deal since I was captured
 some times I thought I never
 would see home again But
 the good Lord saw fit to
 keep up untill I have been
 Exchanged for which I am
 very thankfall [*sic*]
 I received you[r] very welcome letter
 of the 9th of August which
 gave me great pleasure to hear
 from you all
 Write as soon as you
 get this and let me know
 how you have got along
 since my long absence let
 me know if Harvey is
 in Memphis T[e]n[n]essee] yet and

Back, right side:

where I will find him if we
 Stope on our way up the
 River I have not drawed any
 new clothes yet – but – expect to
 soon am in nead of them
 very much my helth is
 pretty good considering but
 not as it use to be in '63⁵¹
 We are treated very kindley here
 are getting pleanty to eat
 which is something we have not
 had in 11 Monthes
 Well Mother I cannot tell
 you how our poor soldiers
 have Suffered so I will not
 attempt to try in this [letter]
 Onley upwards of 14,000 have
 Died for want of proper diet
 thousands have Starved to death

⁵¹ 1863.

I cannot think of much to
write now so I will bring
this to a close give my
love to all and write

Front, left side:

me all the News
tell [...]I will b[e]
home before long and
Some thing good to eat
will haf to come or I will
make War
no more att Present
I am as ever
your affectionate son
James Durkee
PS did you receive the
last money I sent you
last Spring \$20
A draft to Camp Fisk
Co G 4th Battallion
Vicksburg Miss[issippi]

*Edition: Item 8, List of Building Materials Sold/Bill of Debt and Credit,
James Durkee to C. W. Rogers, per E. Higbey,
September 24, 1868, Charles City, Iowa, to July 9, 1869, Chetopa, Kansas*

Front: [Ditto marks [""] have been replaced by content in square brackets.]

Charles City⁵² Sept[ember] 24th 1868

J[ames]. Durkee In a/c ⁵³ with C. W. Rogers & Co.		D ⁵⁴
To 130 ft Dressed Pine Boards @ \$60 in	7.80	
[To] 76 [ft] 1¼ inch [Pine] Plank \$70	5.32	
[To] 76 [ft] 2x8 [Pine] Scantling \$35	2.66	15.78
Oct 27 [To] 1 in/11 2x8 [Pine] Shingles \$6 ½		6.50
Nov 14 [To] 400 ft [Pine] Flooring \$55 in	22.00	
[Nov 14] [To] 46 [ft] 1¼ [Pine] Plank 70	3.22	
[Nov 14] [To] 14 [ft] [Pine] Common B[oar]ds 30	.42	25.64
[Nov] 26 [To] 32 [ft] ½ [Pine] Boards 40		1.28
[Nov] 26 [To] 9 P [Pine] Bottens 15		1.35
Dec 2 [To] 47 ft [Pine] clear B[oar]ds 60	2.82	

⁵² Location in Floyd County, Iowa.

⁵³ Account current.

⁵⁴ Presumably "Debt."

[Dec 2]	[To]	52 ft [Pine] 2 nd clear B[oar]ds 40	2.08	
[Dec 2]	[To]	4/10 in [Pine] Soth [?] 5	<u>2.00</u>	6.90
[Dec] 7	[To]	1 6/10 in [Pine] Soth [?] 5	8.00	
[Dec 7]	[To]	66 ft [Pine] 2/4 Scantling 32	<u>2.11</u>	10.11
[Dec] 11	[To]	89 P 712 ft [Pine] 2/4 [Scantling] = 12		
	[To]	15 [P] 140 [ft] [Pine] 2/4 [Scantling] =14		
	[To]	4 [P] 64 [ft] [Pine] 4/4 [Scantling] =12		
	[To]	16 [P] 256 [ft] [Pine] 2/8 [Scantling] =12		
	[To]	18 [P] <u>288 [ft]</u> [Pine] 2/6 [Scantling] =16		
	[To]	1460 fta 32	46.72	
	[To]	550 [ft] [Pine] Sheeting 30	16.50	
	[To]	3½ in [Pine] Shingles 6	21.00	
	[To]	180 [ft] [Pine] Stock B[oar]ds 36	6.48	
	[To]	60 [ft] [Pine] Clear B[oar]ds 60	3.60	
	[To]	779 [ft] [Pine] Siding 35	27.26	
	[To]	50 [ft] [Pine] Com[mon] B[oar]ds 30	<u>1.50</u>	123.06
[Dec?] 17	[To]	472 [ft] [Pine] Flooring 45		21.24
		for[war]d		<u><u> </u></u>

Back, left side: [Additional, apparently unrelated numbers, written in pencil, are omitted here.]

Amt of dept for[war]d \$211.86

Contra Credit

1868

Oct 10	By cash	4.00
[Oct] 19	[By cash]	18.00
[Oct] 24	[By cash]	15.00
Nov 5	[By cash]	15.00
[Nov] 9	[By cash]	20.00
[Nov] 26	[By cash]	20.00
Dec 14	[By cash]	15.00

1869

Feb 11 Cash by a neighbor

as per Rec[eip]t Del[i]v[ered] 35.00

142.00

Balance due

\$69.86

C.W. Rogers & Co

Per E. Higbey

This bill of Debt & credit is

correct as the entries stand on the books

and I believe them to be true showing a

a full and impartial a/c of all

the account of C. W. Rogers & Co with

J Durkee

E. H.⁵⁵

Dated Chetopa⁵⁶ Kansas July 9th, 1869

Back, right side:

J. Durkee Bill

Bal[ance] \$69.86

*Edition: Item 9, Letter, James Durkee to his brother (Harvey Durkee),
December 6, 1873, Hastings, Nebraska*

Front, right side:

Hastings Neb[raska]⁵⁷

December 6th / 73⁵⁸

Brother Harvey

Your Letter

I received some time since
But have delayed in answering
I have not done very much
for the past two weeks hardly
made enough to pay my board
and not enough to pay postage
We are having considerable
winter weather at present
snowing all the time since
yesterday.

I received a letter
from Mother with 2 doll[ars]
in G. B⁵⁹ — and one from
Henry Church⁶⁰ with \$5.00 it
comes just in the nick of

Back, left side:

time to make out my
Homestead papers⁶¹ I wish
you could send me some
untill I can get to work
again. I have the promise

⁵⁵ E. Higbey.

⁵⁶ Location in Labette County, Kansas.

⁵⁷ Location in Adams County, Nebraska.

⁵⁸ 1873.

⁵⁹ Possibly "Green Backs," a slang term for paper dollar bills.

⁶⁰ Unknown individual.

⁶¹ Documents certifying the ownership of land.

of some good Jobs before
 long then can pay you
 back. You want to be
 sure and be here in side
 of six months with your
 \$20.00 or you will loose your
 claim and also your right
 yours is a very good claim
 and is situated about
 six miles North of Hastings
 and there is a Railroad
 surviyed from here to Grand
 I[s]land⁶² which passes one
 corner of yours and just
 about where the Station
 will be be built The People
 of Hall Co and Grand
 I[s]land voted on the 4th

Back, right side:

wether they would raise
 the \$90,000 bonds to build
 the road or not. And I have
 not learned ~~with~~er how it
 has gone. I think you can
 make a good start out of
 your site if you attend to it
 It is just a nice drive from
 town and better roads
 you never saw
 I received all the papers you
 sent very glad to get them
 If you can spare me any
 money you better send it
 imedightly⁶³ as I only have
 till the 24th to take my
 papers tell mother I will
 answer her letter soon
 also Henry

⁶² Location in Hall County, Nebraska.

⁶³ Immediately.

remember me to all my
caring friends
Yours b[roth]er James Durkee

Front, left side: blank

*Edition: Item 10, Letter, Mrs. A. S. Faville to Mrs. J. E. Durkee,
August 26, 1895, Chicago, Illinois*

Envelope [partially torn], front: [outline of a circular postmark:] WEST DULUTH [...];
[green oval-shaped 2-cents United States postage, printed/embossed on the envelope,
featuring the left-facing profile-outline of George Washington:] UNITED STATES
POS[TAGE]] * TWO 2 CE[NTS *]

Mrs J. E. Durkee⁶⁴
Sioux Rapids,⁶⁵
Iowa

Envelope, back: [illegible post mark]

Front:

624 North Campbell Ave⁶⁶

Chicago Aug 26, 95.⁶⁷

Dear Mrs Durkee:

I suppose you will be sur[-]
prised at hearing from one so
nearly a stranger to you as I am,
but I have thought so much about
you since learning of your recent
bereavement that I felt I must
let you know that you have
the most sincere sympathy of both
Mr Faville⁶⁸ and myself. We know
how sore a trial it is to lose a
baby. I left one, a year old, once
as well as usual, and went to
Milwaukee for treatment and he
died while I was so sick they
dared not tell me. I know how
vain it is and yet how much we seem
to need human sympathy. I beg

⁶⁴ Presumably a Durkee family member from the generation after Joseph, James, and Harvey.

⁶⁵ Location in Buena Vista County, Iowa.

⁶⁶ At the time of this edition (2022), this is no longer a residential address.

⁶⁷ 1895.

⁶⁸ Unknown individual; spouse of this letter's author.

you to believe that your lovely boy
 has only been taken into the school
 "Where he no longer needs your poor
 protection but Christ himself doth
 rule."⁶⁹ It has always been a comfort
 to me to feel that however much
 my other boys might do to grieve
 me, that one was safe, absolutely
 safe. I know God will speak com
 fort to your sorrowing hearts as

Back:

only He can, if you will let Him
 He knows what is best as we
 cannot. And after all, this life
 is so short, and so full of trouble
 that it is a great thing to be able
 to say, and feel sure, "It is well
 with the child."⁷⁰ I do hope you
 will not give way to despair nor
 question the goodness of our Heaven[-]
 ly Father, and I am sure you feel
 thankful that he lent you your
 angel boy if only for a few months.
 That you and your husband may
 be better Christians for this trial
 of your faith is what I am sure
 you will desire more than anything
 else. That all the consolations of
 the Bible and religion, may be yours
 and that you may be sure that
 many hearts that you may not even
 think of, sympathize with you in
 your great sorrow, and commend
 you to Him who wounds only to
 heal, is the earnest prayer of
 Yours sincerely
 (Mrs) A. S. Faville.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Quote from the 1850 poem "Resignation" by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) on the death of his daughter Fanny.

⁷⁰ Holy Bible, Old Testament, 2 Kings 4:26.

⁷¹ Unknown individual.

*Edition: Item 11, Envelope, addressed to Mrs. M. R. Durkee,
no date, no place of origin*

Back [handwritten, in pencil]:

[...] Hoag
uncles wife
Mrs. Louisa Hoag
-93

Front [illegible postmark] [handwritten, in ink]:

Mrs M. R. Durkee
Leeds, Columbia
County Wiscon[sin]
Wisconsin

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Rachel Jensen, Corinne Pysker, and Quan H. Tran (editors)

*"Camp life was fun at first, but the novelty has already worn out."
Hiroko Nonoshita's Reflections on Japanese American Internment
in Manzanar, California (1942-1944)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).
University Archives and Special Collections.
SC-2019-19.

Hiroko Nonoshita Letters.

Manzanar (Camp) Correspondence to Helen Tracy.

March 24, 1942, to November 7, 1944.

Letters, cards, and one photograph (numbered 1 to 15 below).

Introduction

The collection edited below was donated in 2019 to CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections by Jim Satterbury, son of one of the correspondents. All but one of the correspondences are from Hiroko Nonoshita, a Japanese American woman who was born in Los Angeles, California, and grew up on Terminal Island with her parents and siblings. In April 1942, Hiroko Nonoshita and her husband Ryoji (along with their respective siblings and Ryoji's mother) were incarcerated at Manzanar Internment Camp in the Owens Valley of California. While at the camp, she wrote numerous letters to her friend Helen Tracy of Los Angeles, California. Overall, the fourteen letters, cards, and one photograph (which will henceforth all be referenced as "letters") are in good condition, and the paper and cardstock are largely free of damage. Only one letter is slightly damaged: on page 2 of letter 3, a small water stain at the top of the paper (no larger than a quarter) diminishes the readability of a few words, but the remainder of the letter is undamaged. Most of the letters are legibly written in cursive in blue or black ink on blank paper (beige in color). However, there are several correspondences that are uniquely different: letter 1, a typed marriage announcement on a slightly heavier quality paper; letter 7, the only correspondence written on lined paper; letter 12, written on a small postcard; letter 13, a Christmas card; letter 14, a black-and-white photograph of Gordon Nonoshita; and finally, letter 15, a "Want to Know About Me" birth announcement card with a newspaper clipping featuring recent births at the Palo Alto Hospital. Letters 1, 7, 8, 13, and 15 include the original beige envelopes addressed to Helen Tracy. In order to fit the letters into the envelopes, most of them were folded which does not interfere with their readability. It should be noted that two of the letters are dated incorrectly. Letters 8 and 9 are dated as having been written in January of 1942; however, based upon the postmark on the envelope for letter 8 and the information in letter 9, it is clear that the year was incorrectly recorded and should, in fact, be 1943.

All but three of the correspondences were written to Helen Tracy by Hiroko Nonoshita during her incarceration at Manzanar Internment Camp. Letter 1 is a marriage announcement postmarked March 24, 1942, prior to the internment, celebrating the union of Hiroko Nonoshita (née Takahashi) to Ryoji Nonoshita. Letter 2 is also written just prior to the internment (dated March 27, 1942), and expresses gratitude to Helen for everything she has recently done for Hiroko. According to letter 3, Hiroko departed for Manzanar on April 4, 1942. The most incongruous correspondence is letter 15 which does not hail from Hiroko Nonoshita at all; instead, it is a birth announcement for James Donald, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Satterbury. The remaining ephemera focus on Hiroko Nonoshita's time at Manzanar, detailing the preparation for and arrival at Manzanar (letter 3); the early days in the camp, when it was not yet fully operational, and its gradual evolution (letters 3 and 4); descriptions of Hiroko's living situation, especially after her husband had left to attend the University of Utah (letters 6 and 7); explanations of work-life at the camp, particularly her own work as a lab technician for the hospital (letters 4 and 6); and the specifics of camp life, especially the violent wind and sand storms (letters 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, and 12). A common element across many of the letters are requests for small favors from Helen Tracy, specifically purchasing items for Hiroko that could not be obtained or purchased at the camp (letters 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13). During the course of her time at Manzanar, Hiroko became pregnant, and a number of her letters subsequently include details regarding the pregnancy: how she discovered she was pregnant after feeling poorly for quite some time (letter 6); the progression of her pregnancy and recurrent wish to have twins (letter 7, 8, 9, and 11); and the eventual picture of her son as a one-year-old (letter 14).

Hiroko Nonoshita's correspondence with Helen Tracy will be of particular interest to those studying twentieth-century United States history, particularly the home front during World War II, as well as those specializing in Asian American or California history. Hiroko Nonoshita's letters are a detailed personal account of life in Manzanar, a valuable primary source that illuminates the hardships and difficulties facing Japanese Americans. Her letters provide insight into the human toll of the Japanese incarceration in America, how it truly affected the lives of individuals and their families. It can be all too easy to think of those affected as a single entity; yet, artifacts like the correspondences edited here uncover the human dimension and suffering in the internment camps, offering names and identities to the victims of America's unjust practices.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

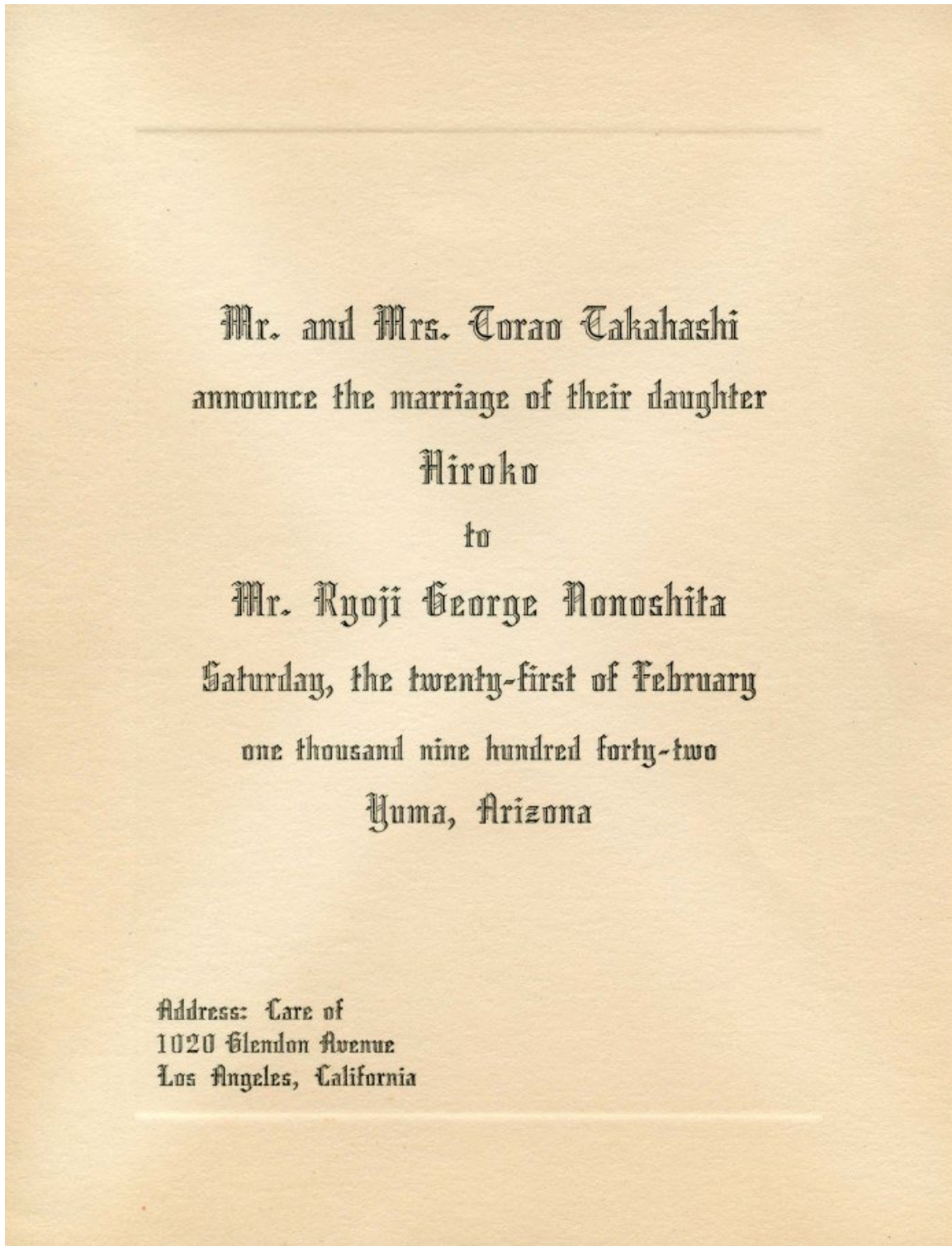


Figure 1: Letter 1, Marriage Announcement, addressed to Helen Tracy, March 14, 1942, Los Angeles, California.

*Edition: Letter 1, Marriage Announcement, addressed to Helen Tracy,
March 14, 1942, Los Angeles, California*

Cream-colored paper envelope: [round postmark:] 10 LOS ANGELES/MAR 24/12
PM/1942/CALIF. [canceled stamp; text:] BUY/DEFENSE SAVINGS/BONDS AND
STAMPS [red stamp featuring President John Adams; text:] UNITED STATES
POSTAGE/John Adams/1791-1801/2 CENTS 2 [addressee:] Miss Helen Tracy¹/1020
Glendon Ave²/Los Angeles/ Calif.

Cream-colored paper: [text (printed):]

Mr. and Mrs. Torao Takahashi³
announce the marriage of their daughter

Hiroko⁴

to

Mr. Ryoji George Nonoshita⁵

Saturday, the twenty-first of February
one thousand nine hundred forty-two

Yuma, Arizona

Address: Care of

1020 Glendon Avenue

Los Angeles, California

*Edition: Letter 2, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
March 27, 1942, no place of origin*

Front:

Mar 27, 1942

Dear Helen,

Thanks ever so much for

what you have done for me!

Gee, and those nightie,⁶ pantie,

slip and all the other things!

¹ A friend of Hiroko Nonoshita and the recipient of the letters edited here.

² The building that would have stood at this address in 1942 has since been replaced by new construction. The address is in Westwood, just south of the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

³ Torao Takahashi came to the United States from Japan and became a resident of Terminal Island in Los Angeles County, California, in 1907. Following internment, he was the plaintiff in the 1948 Supreme Court case *Takahashi v. Fish & Game Commission*, which found that a California prohibition on the issuance of commercial fishing licenses to individuals who were not eligible for citizenship was unconstitutional.

⁴ Hiroko Takahashi was born in Los Angeles, California, in 1919 to Torao Takahashi (father) and Natsu Takahashi (mother).

⁵ Husband of Hiroko Nonoshita (née Takahashi).

⁶ Alternative term for a nightgown.

They were really lovely and
 I really appreciate all your
 kindness!
 And it certainly was swell
 to be in your unit, even if
 I wasn't fed right — your
 grabbing [?] is terrific!
 Well, after your big send
 off, I had to stop by at
 Hershey Hall;⁷ and then came
 here at 9 o'clock. Boy, was
 I tired. After taking a bath
 I put on that lovely night-
 gown & thought of all you
 kids — getting a bit senti-
 mental.
 Take good care of Al,⁸ Helen.
 Don't get mad at him. You

Back:

know that men are extinct
 species. Uhn, lot of advises
 I'm giving, now that I'm
 married!
 Well, thanks again, Helen.
 I'll write, again.
 Always
 Hirok⁹
 P/S. Write to my sister's place:
 204 N Saratoga St.
 Los Angeles.¹⁰
 Thanks, again.

⁷ A residence hall for female students at UCLA from 1931 until 1959, when an addition was built to house male students. At the time of this edition (2022), the building still exists; however, it no longer serves as a dormitory.

⁸ Unknown individual.

⁹ The shortening of Hiroko's name is intentional as she signs her name in each letter without the "o" at the end.

¹⁰ At the time of this edition, the building still exists. It currently serves as a Japanese language school.

April 8, 1942

Hi chums!

Well, here I am in Owen's Valley!
 But first of all I want to thank ~~you~~
 all of you for the swell things
 you gave me and for treating me
 so nicely. I certainly hope I can
 be with you all soon.

April 9, 1942

Back again. To begin from the start,
 we were notified on April the 2nd
 (morning) that we were leaving for
 Owen's Valley April 3rd (Friday) at
 7 o'clock. ^{7:11} So on April 2nd we went
 to get our names registered & physical
 examinations. Also, we were told that
 we were not able to take our cars
 and that the Federal Reserve Bank
 was going to store it for us. So
 we took the car to the designated

Figure 2: Letter 3, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy (?), April 8, 1942, Owens Valley, California [excerpt].

Edition: Letter 3, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy (?),
 April 8, 1942, Owens Valley, California

Page 1, front:

April 8, 1942

Hi chums!

Well, here I am in Owen's Valley!¹¹

But first of all I want to thank ~~you~~

¹¹ Valley of the Owens River in eastern California bordered by the Sierra Nevada mountains.

all of you for the swell things
 you gave me and for treating me
 so nicely. I certainly hope I can
 be with you all soon.

April 9, 1942

Back again. To begin from the start,
 we were notified on April the 2nd
 (morning) that we were leaving for
 Owen's Valley April 3rd (Friday) at
 7 o'clock (AM). So on April 2nd we went
 to get our names registered & physical
 examinations [.]. Also, we were told that
 we were not able to take our cars
 and that the Federal Reserve Bank¹²
 was going to store it for us. So
 we took the car to the designated
 place and can you imagine,
 the cars are just lined up in
~~the~~ a vacant lot with out any cover
 or anything – that's for the
 duration. The gas ~~at~~ is drained &
 being used by them. I don't know
 if there's going to be anyone
 guarding the place or not, but

Page 1, back:

when we went there, there was just
 one man, there. Gosh, when we
~~eh~~ [?] saw that, we realized that
 we'll never see our car, again.
 The whole day was a hectic
 one. Ryoji & I had to pack our
 belongings – books, clothing, &
 etc. Then his mother with
 some friends she was staying
 had to bring their belongings
 to our apartment since they
 lived in Canoga Park.¹³ On
 top of that with the curfew in

¹² The Los Angeles branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.

¹³ A neighborhood in the San Fernando Valley region of the City of Los Angeles, California.

effect we couldn't get out after
8 o'clock (PM).

Then that evening we heard
that the date of leaving was
postponed to Saturday (April 4th)
and that we are allowed to take
only very few luggages—just
enough to be able to carry by
ourselves. So on Friday we
unpacked every thing and repacked
just enough clothings.

Page 2, front: [in the upper right-hand corner is the number 2 in a circle]

On Saturday morning, we got up
at 5 o'clock and rode [?] it [?] down to
the old Santa Fe station.¹⁴ There
we loaded our luggage on a
baggage car and got on the train [.]
Some people left by bus—I think
about 4 ~~of them~~ buses & rest of ~~them~~ us
by train [.] I don't know how
many of us were taking the
trip but ~~on top of~~ in addition to the 4 buses,
the train had ~~18~~ about 18 passenger
cars—(all filled) and 4 baggage
cars.

We left the station ~~ab~~ at 8:30
but made many stops so we
actually got out of L.A.¹⁵ about 9:00.
We passed Glendale,¹⁶ Lancaster¹⁷ and
others that I don't remember [.]

At noon, the Army fellows gave
us ~~of~~ lunch boxes of 1 jam sandwich,
1 mince ham sandwich, 1 apple &
a slice of cake. And milk.

For dinner we had the same.
When we arrived at the Owen's

¹⁴ The Santa Fe Freight Depot.

¹⁵ Abbreviation for Los Angeles, California.

¹⁶ A city in Los Angeles County, California.

¹⁷ Lancaster: a city in northern Los Angeles County, located in the Antelope Valley of the western Mojave Desert.

Valley station it was about 6:00 PM.
Boy, was the wind cold!

Page 2, back:

From the station, the buses which came up took turns unloading the people on the train & taking them to the camp. So when we arrived, here it was about 7:00 [.] Then, we were assigned to different barracks. They gave us Army blankets—since our beddings hadn't arrived—and pillows (dirty!) for women & children. Seven of us were assigned to one room—about $\frac{1}{2}$ as big times bigger than double rooms in Westwood Hall.¹⁸ The cots are the kind used in CCC¹⁹ camps. And the mattresses are just a large bags & stuffed with straws—hay. The floor was covered with about $\frac{1}{2}$ inches of dirt—~~no~~ this is no exaggeration. The wood used for the building are full of knots so the floor & walls are full of holes. The door is so made that the cracks between the boards are about 1 inch wide. We wouldn't mind the holes

Page 3, front: [in the upper right-hand corner is the number 3 in a circle]

if the wind didn't blow so much but the storms are terrific! The second night after we came about 1 o'clock, we had a terrible wind. ~~The~~ Our camp is so sandy that when the wind blows one can't even see 10 ft in front. So

¹⁸ A residence hall at UCLA.

¹⁹ Civilian Conservation Corps, a voluntary public work relief program instituted through the New Deal (1933-1942).

we had to get up during the
 night & nail a blanket on the
 door & stuff papers in the
 holes & window cracks.
 Little later, there was
 a downpour of rain – but
 not as bad as what we
 sometimes have in L.A.
 But by the morning it cleared
 up [.] Gee, goodness it was
 cold, though. During the
 rain, the mountain on the East
 was covered with snow. And
 the mountain West of us still
 had snow.
 The water we use here
 comes from these mountains
 so it's really cold [.]
 The first day, the lavatory
 here wasn't completed so

Page 3, back:

they had those temporary “Johns”²⁰
 which was awful. Now, they
 have the regular lavatories
 to about 1 for each 4 blocks
 (16 buildings to a block & 4 rooms
 to one buildings & about 8-10
 people to each room) [.] But do
 we have privacy! Goodness,
 the “Johns” don't have any parti-
 tion at all. Also the showers are
 in ~~just~~ one room with no walls
 between each showers –
 of course men & women are
 separate. At the present time
 we don't have any warm
 water, so we ~~get~~ take cold
 – really icy cold – showers.
 Boy, is it cold! However
 during the daytime, it's so

²⁰ English vernacular for a toilet.

hot here — 86°-90°²¹ —
 so it isn't so bad, once one
 gets use to it.
 The laundries are not completed
 so it's very inconvenient. We

Page 4, front: [in the upper right-hand corner is the number 4 in a circle]

heat our water with electric
 heater — luckily we bought
 that and go down to the "John"
 & wash our clothes — it's
 awful!
 By the way, ~~the w~~ [?] we are more
 handicapped because we don't
 have enough things — I mean
 we don't have any tables,
 ironing board, closets, chairs,
 buckets, washing board, shelves,
 bureaus or anything. Some people
 bought hammers & saws so they
 started to make chairs, tables,
 etc. We made ironing boards,
 closets & shelves but the thing
 is we don't have the tools so
 we have to borrow them.
 One thing we don't have to do
 is cook. We just form a line
 at the mess hall and hold
 out our plates & cup. The meals
 aren't so bad if you like beans
 & potatoes. Beans & Beans & more
 beans. For instance for lunch
 we had red beans, can[ned] spinach,
 carrots & cup of tea — some bread

Page 4, back:

and bread pudding. All in all
 the meals aren't too bad. But
 the plates & cups are so greasy
 so we take our own.
 The other day something wasn't
 good because everyone came down

²¹ Temperature is measured in Fahrenheit.

with a stomach ache & were
 running to the lavatory every
 few minutes. Some had
 fevers & head aches. But I guess
 it wasn't too serious.
 Oh yes, when we first
 arrived we – Ryoji & I, his
 mother & brother – were
 living with 3 other people whom
 we didn't know very much
 in one room. And my sisters &
 brothers were living with about
 30 other people in a barrack
 with no partition. And so we
 asked to be moved & put together.
 With a great deal of commotion, we
 finally got a room so my 2 brothers
 & 2 sisters & we are staying together.
 Of course we don't have any
 privacy but it's better than
 living with people we don't know [.]

Page 5, front: [in the upper-right hand corner is the number 5 in a circle]

Today was the first time since we
 left L.A. that I saw a newspaper.
 There's a store down on block 1 –
 we on block 9 – where they
 sell candies, cookies, soda, etc.
 Oh yes, ~~they~~ we don't have
 any schools yet so the children
 are just playing around. We haven't
 been assigned to any work but
 I went to apply for a job in the
 lab. or in the hospital.
 Right now, the sand storm is
 really going.
 Well, I have to get a Typhoid
 & Scarlet Fever shots so I'll
 close – Tada Boy, they
 certainly give us a big dose
 because today at lunch a
 man fainted because of the
 shots he got this morning.

Always,
 Hirok.
 P/S. Thanks for the telegram, Helen.
 Please, pass this letter to the girls

Page 5, back:

in the Unit & to Mary²² & Betty²³ &
 whoever wants to read it. ~~HH~~
~~write~~ Please, write.
 Owen's Valley Reception Center²⁴
 Manzanar, Calif.
 We go to the post office, everyday
 for mail.
 Regards to Mrs. C Gammon.²⁵
 Return to Ball²⁶

*Edition: Letter 4, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 May 1, 1942, (Manzanar, California)*

Page 1, right side:

May 1, 1942
 Dear Helen,
 Well, back, again and to ask you
 for more favors. A friend of mine's
 little girl is going to have a
 birthday very soon and I wonder
 if you can't order a cake costing
 about \$4.00 and have it sent here.
 The cake needn't be too fancy –
 perhaps have "Toyoko" written
 on it. If this isn't possible
 you could send up ~~at~~ cookies
 or something like that to feed
 20 people. And also, would you
 please, buy a case of White

²² Unknown individual.

²³ Unknown individual.

²⁴ The Owens Valley Reception Center was the first of the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) administered, short-term detention camps to open (March 21, 1942). The name was later changed to Manzanar War Relocation Center ("Manzanar" for short) when the War Relocation Authority (WRA) took control on June 1, 1942.

²⁵ Unknown individual.

²⁶ This last line is written very faintly (in pencil) across the bottom of the letter and was presumably added later. "Ball" may be referring to Dr. Meridian Ball (see letter 4).

King Bar Soaps²⁷ (100 in a case)
and send it up here. Don't
forget to include postage when
you subtract the cost from

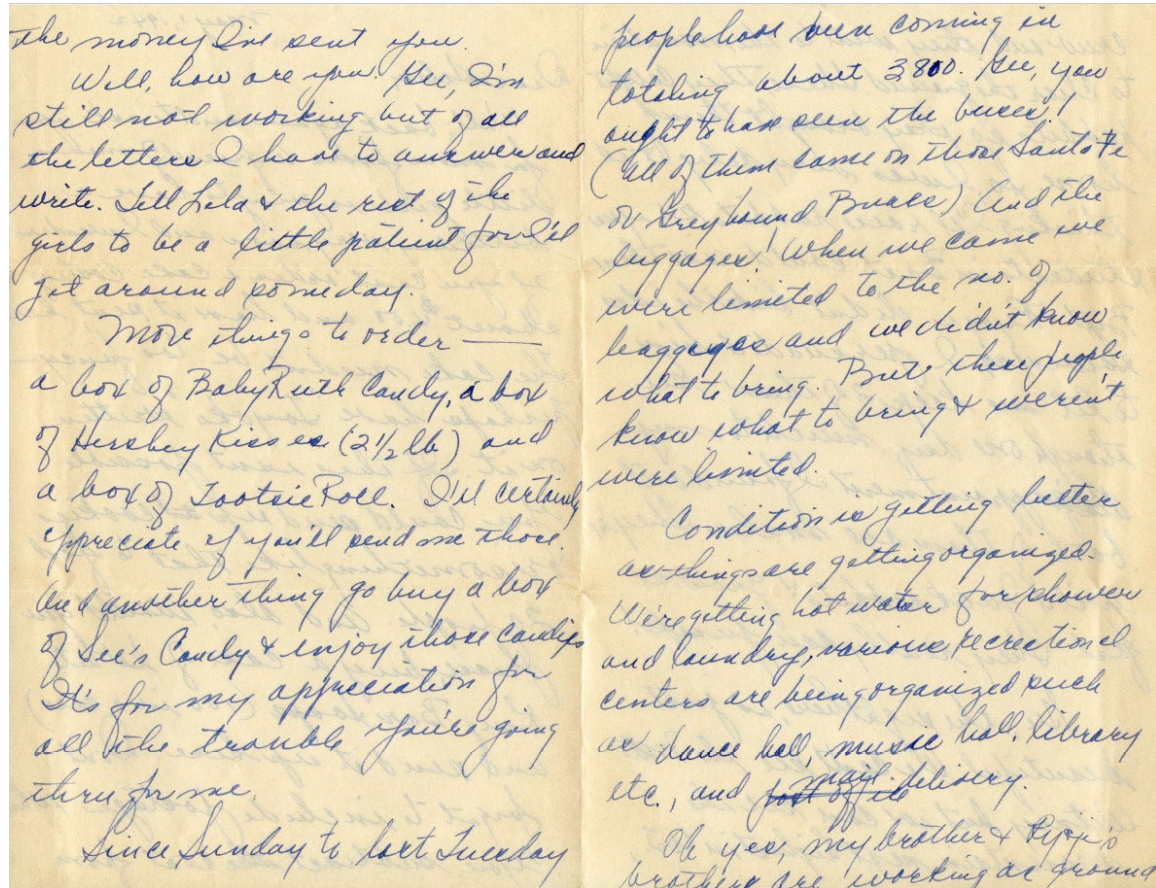


Figure 3: Letter 4, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy, May 1, 1942, (Manzanar, California) [excerpt].

Page 2, left side:

the money I've sent you.
Well, how are you. Gee, I'm
still not working but of all
the letters I have to answer and
write. Tell Lela²⁸ & the rest of the
girls to be a little patient for I'll
get around someday.

²⁷ A brand of soap manufactured by the Los Angeles Soap Company, which went out of business in 1987.

²⁸ Unknown individual.

More things to order —
 a box of Baby Ruth Candy,²⁹ a box
 of Hershey Kisses³⁰ (2½ lb) and
 a box of Tootsie Roll.³¹ I'll certainly
 appreciate if you'll send me those.
 And another thing go buy a box
 of See's Candy³² & enjoy those candies [.]
 It's for my appreciation for
 all the trouble you're going
 thru [*sic*] for me.
 Since Sunday to last Tuesday

Page 2, right side:

people have been coming in
 totaling about 3800. Gee, you
 ought to have seen the buses!
 (All of them came on those Santa Fe
 or Greyhound Buses.)³³ And the
 luggages! When we came we
 were limited to the no. of
 baggages and we didn't know
 what to bring. But these people
 know what to bring & weren't
 were [*sic*] limited.
 Condition is getting better
 as things are getting organized.
 We're getting hot water for showers
 and laundry, various recreational
 centers are being organized such
 as dance hall, music hall, library
 etc., and ~~post office~~ mail delivery.
 Oh yes, my brother & Ryoji's
 brother are working as ground

²⁹ American peanut-caramel-nougat-chocolate candy; manufactured since 1921.

³⁰ American chocolate candy; manufactured since 1907.

³¹ American chocolate taffy; manufactured since 1907.

³² An American manufacturer and distributor of candy, particularly chocolates, founded in 1921 in Los Angeles, California, by Charles See, his wife Florence, and his mother Mary.

³³ The Santa Fe Transportation company operated buses from the 1930s until 1947. Greyhound Lines started operating buses since 1914.

Page 1, left side:

crew and they went to the mountain
to clear the ground. There, they caught
rabbits so they brought them *[sic]*
home. So, I was very delighted
thinking I'll raise rabbits so you
students in Bact.³⁴ could use them.
But Ryoji didn't like the idea [.]
However, I persuaded him
to let me keep 2 of them. Gee,
though one day, much to my
~~dia~~ disappointment I found out
both of them are males. They're
wild Jackrabbits & grow so
fast. They really can jump!
Gee, the sight here, is just
beautiful. We can't see the Mt
Whitney³⁵ but we can see the
mountain next highest in U.S.,

Page 3, right side:

Mt. Williamson.³⁶
Oh yes, did I tell you about
the first wedding here? It was
very simple with the bride
wearing a blue suit. The maids
carried Lilacs and she carried
a little bouquet of White Sues.
We got a ~~little~~ letter few
days ago from my mother —
the first letter. She was
transferred to Immigration
Station on Terminal Island³⁷ on
April 16. There's about 33 women
in there. She seem to be rather
lonely but I guess it's better

³⁴ Bacteriology, a course of study at UCLA.

³⁵ Mt. Whitney is the highest peak in the Sierra Nevada mountain range and the contiguous United States.

³⁶ Mt. Williamson is the second highest peak in the Sierra Nevada and the state of California.

³⁷ An artificial island located at the mouth of the Los Angeles Harbor in Los Angeles County.

for her to stay there than to
 come to a place like here.
 The sandstorms are terrible!
 Ryoji is trying awfully
 hard to contact a school

Page 4, left side:

in other state — Mid. West —
 but they all don't seem to want
~~to~~ ~~U-I~~ us to come but they all
 give us discouraging letter.
 I guess, once we're in this
 camp we'll never get out —
 maybe even after the war.
 Well, regards to everyone and
 I'll write to them sometime
 later.
 Tell Dr [.] Beckwith³⁸ & Dr [.]
 Ball³⁹ that I haven't forgotten
 them and will write to them [.]
 Thanks a lot.
 Always,
 Hirok

*Edition: Letter 5, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 May 4, 1942, (Manzanar, California)*

Page 1, right side:

May 4, 1942
 Dear Helen,
 Gee, I hope I'm not asking
 you, too much ~~but~~ because
 I'm going to ask more
 favors. As you know May
 10th is Mother's Day and
 I'd like to give Ryoji's
 mother a pair of nylon
 hose. So will you kindly
 send me a pair, size
 9 and the color — not too

³⁸ Dr. Theodore Beckwith, Professor of Bacteriology at UCLA (Chairman of the Department).

³⁹ Dr. Meridian Ball, Instructor in Bacteriology at UCLA.

dark & not too light –
medium length.

Also, May 10th is my
husband's birthday, and
I wonder if you can get
me a book titled Living
Biographies of Great Philosophers

Page 2, left side:

edited by H[enry]. Thomas & D[ana]. L[ee].
Thomas.⁴⁰ I think you could
get it at Campbells.⁴¹ If that
book isn't there get
me Living Biog[raphies]. of Great
Painters⁴² or L[iving]. Biog[raphies]. of Famous
Rulers⁴³ or L[iving]. Biog[raphies] of
Great Composers.⁴⁴
If you can't get any of those
books get either The
Complete Works of Shakespeare
or Cantebury Tales [*sic*].
(Ill[ustrated]. by Rockwell Kent⁴⁵).
Oh yes, don't forget
a little card for each
of the gifts.
I certainly appreciate

Page 2, right side:

all you've done for
me, Helen. I hope
some day I can repay
you and the rest
of the gang.
Well, I'm in a
hurry so I'll close
& write, again [.]

⁴⁰ First published in New York in 1940.

⁴¹ A bookstore in Westwood, across from the UCLA campus. It has since closed.

⁴² By Henry and Dana Lee Thomas; first published in New York in 1940.

⁴³ By Henry and Dana Lee Thomas; first published in New York in 1940.

⁴⁴ By Henry and Dana Lee Thomas; first published in New York in 1940.

⁴⁵ American painter, printmaker, illustrator, and writer (1882-1971).

Love
Hirok.

Page 1, left side: blank

*Edition: Letter 6, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
October 2, 1942, (Manzanar, California)*

Page 1, right side:

Oct 2, 1942

Dear Helen,

Well, here I am finally! Gee

it was just a month ago
when I received your letter.

And here I am answering it
now. Gee, I ought to be ashamed
of myself! But in a way I

have good reasons for not
writing—First, Tracy,

I want to thank you for all you've
done in sending the candies, the
book and shower cape.

Well, to go back to where I
left off. As you know I was
working in the local—

Manzanar Hospital—hospital
as Assistant lab. technician.

Since the medical staff of the hospital
is so small, everyone just
works ~~her~~ her head off.

In the first place we have
only 6 doctors for 11,000
people and about 5 registered
nurse for the whole hospital

Page 2, left side:

whose capacity is 250 patients.

There are 2 ~~full~~ certified lab.
technician and I. We really

had lots of work to do—

doing blood counts for all

the new in-patients (which

includes the contagious disease

patients), urin[e] anylysis [*sic*] for

all new in-patients, blood

counts & urin[e] anylysis [*sic*] for
 clinic patients designated
 by the doctors, stool exam,
 and throat swabs and
 then Wassermann⁴⁶ test for
 all kitchen workers (50
 people in each kitchen – about
 30 kitchen open) as well
 as Wassermann for pre-
 marital & prenatal and
 clinic patient suspected of
 Syphillis. We also had
 to do Typhoid injections,
 Small pox vaccination,
 and Whooping Cough &
 Diphtheria injections

Page 2, right side:

to the children in camp.
 So you can see how busy
 we were – we really
 worked over 8 hrs a
 day and our wages are
 \$19 a month for professional
 (doctors), \$16 for skilled
 laborers (this is where
 I come in), and \$12 a month
 for the unskilled. When
 you think of the money
 angle, the work doesn't
 seem to [be] worth anything.
 But I liked it so it wasn't
 bad. Pity the poor
 nurse's aid. They really
 worked about 9-10 hrs
 each day since there
 aren't enough R⁴⁷ nurses
 and they get only \$12!

⁴⁶ An antibody test for Syphilis, the first of its kind to use blood to identify infection.

⁴⁷ Presumably denoting “registered” nurses.

And those girls really
do a good size job –
almost like a regular

Page 1, left side:

nurse and they have to go
on night shift as their
turn comes.
So I am sorry I didn't
write to you all but
really haven't had time to
write a single letter! I
bet many of my friends are mad
at me. Then, about 2 months
ago I suddenly became
sick, I kept on vomiting
everything I ate and be-
came weaker & weaker –
oh, the heat just got me
too. The temperature goes
up easily over 110°F inside
the houses here in Manzanar
during the summer months.
Well, I went in the hospital
and came out in a few days. They
gave me over a quart of
water with nutritional
elements thru my arm
vein. Well, I found out
what was wrong with me.
I am to have a baby

Page 3, right side:

next year, end of April or
beginning of May. Boy, but
I was sick the last 2
month[s] that I just wonder
if it's worth having baby
after having to go thru
all this – and what's
to come. I'm rather
skeptical about what's
coming because there
has been a great deal

of premature birth in this
camp. And quite a few of
the babies died. I guess
it's due to the strain the
mothers had to go thru
when evacuating and also
the fact that this camp
lacks many of the conveniences
we had ~~at~~ back home —
such as running water
faucet in the house —
we have to carry buckets
of water each time we
want to mop or when
we need water. Camp
life was fun at first

Page 4, left side:

but the novelty has already
worn out.
Gee, it's swell to hear that
you girls got out of Gammon's
sight. I bet it's life to have
an apartment all by yourselves.
Gee, I wish I was with
you kids. I don't mind
the perpetual studying.
In fact, we were making
arrangement to get ~~out~~ out
of this camp to attend either
University of Nebraska or
[University of]⁴⁸ Utah. We
had to write to Washington
for ~~out~~ our travel permit. Well,
of course, I can't go now,
but Ryoji is still planning
to go but the darn officials
are taking their good old
time about that permit.

⁴⁸ Hiroko Nonoshita uses ditto marks ["] for "University of" here.

My congratulations to Joyce⁴⁹
& Kashy.⁵⁰ Gee, that reminds

Page 4, right side:

me Joyce wrote about 2 or
3 month[s] ago and I haven't
said a word to her. Please,
tell her I haven't forgotten
and I'll try to get around
to her.
Oh yes, Helen, if you see
Dr [.] Ball, tell her how
sorry I am about not
writing to her but I try as
soon as possible!
Yes, we're very happy —
especially with both my
mother and father released —
at least they're on parole (
sounds like criminals). I'm
living with Ryoji and my mother
in law & brother-in-law in
a 20'x20' room. Perhaps, it
may be different for you girls
but I'd advise you not to
live with your in-laws
if you can help it. I'm having
trouble — well, one thing the
Japanese ideas of a daughter
& mother in law relation

Page 3, left side:

is terrible. Especially if you're
married to the first son,
you have to do everything
for the mother in-law and
get bossed all around. But
one thing I'm determined is
that noone is going to tell
me how to raise my children!

⁴⁹ Unknown individual.

⁵⁰ Unknown individual.

Oh yes, do you hear from
 Lela? I certainly like to
 write to her but is she
 teaching in Bakersfield?⁵¹
 Tell her to write.
 So Cook⁵² is back with
 you! That's swell!
 Helen, how are you getting
 along in Bact?⁵³ I bet you're
 getting those A's.
 Well, I'll close and
 wait to hear from you.
 Are you starting your
 fall semester, now?
 Regards to the gang. What's
 Una⁵⁴ doing. If you dare
 to approach Gammon
 give her my regards.
 Love Hirok.
 P/S. Wrote this in bed so excuse the messiness [.]

*Edition: Letter 7, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 November 30, 1942, Manzanar, California*

Envelope: [printed: "After Five Days Return To"] Hiroko Nonoshita/9-10-
 3/Manzanar, Calif [round postmark:] MANZANAR/DEC 1/5:30 PM/1942/CALIF.
 [canceled red stamp featuring an artillery cannon; text: UNITED STATES OF
 AMERICA/ARMY AND NAVY/FOR DEFENSE/POSTAL 2 CENTS] [addressee:]
 Miss Helen Tracy/10810½ Lindbrook⁵⁵/Los Angeles/California

Page 1:

Nov 30, 1942.
 Dear Helen,
 Thanks a lot for your last letter (when
 was it that I received it?) Any way thanks and
 I'm sorry to be so late in answering it. I've
 been feeling much better, lately and try-
 ing to keep my self busy so I won't miss
 Ryoji.

⁵¹ City in Kern County, California.

⁵² Unknown individual.

⁵³ Bacteriology, a course of study at UCLA.

⁵⁴ Unknown individual.

⁵⁵ At the time of this edition, this residence still exists.

You know Ryoji is in Salt Lake City, Utah attending Uni. of Utah. Of course I could have gone excepting there would be no one to look after me, and it'll just be an added expense. So I'm staying with my in-laws. You can just about imagine how I'm getting along. Sometimes I get so lonesome that I want to do something drastic. Maybe, that's how people get insane, but I wish I could do something to see Ryoji or even be with you girls.

Of course, I go to my folks place quite often but with most of the family working & my older sister left this camp to get married to a fellow in a camp in Wyoming, it isn't like it use to be.

Page 2:

Gee, Helen, I'm glad you like your major I mean Dietetics.⁵⁶ Did Al leave yet? I hope not. I bet you'll be plenty lonesome!

By the way, what became of the triangle Lela, Sam⁵⁷ and Lee?⁵⁸ Tell me about it.

Well, Helen, I'm sort of in a hurry and yet I want to ask you some more favors, if you don't mind. You know I'm getting big just at one spot. And I just can't do anything with my clothes so I wonder if you can go to downtown Bullock's⁵⁹ and get me the dress that is ~~showing~~ illustrated in the enclosed clipping.

⁵⁶ An academic course of study that focuses on the diet and its effects on health, using knowledge about food and nutrition to promote and maintain health as well as prevent disease.

⁵⁷ Unknown individual.

⁵⁸ Unknown individual.

⁵⁹ A chain of department stores that closed in 1995.

It's the middle one "B" costing \$5.95
 whew! I know it's plenty but I got to [have]
 some sort of camouflage! My choice
 of color would be 1. brown 2. Rose 3 [...] blue
 4 [...] red. I just want one dress in
 any of those colors & in size 12.
 And also Helen 13 ozs⁶⁰ of Zephyr —
 down no. 27511⁶¹ in the color indicated

Page 3:

by the enclosed sample. It cost 50¢
 an ounce. I know they should have
 them since one of my friends [got] the
 sample from Bullocks.

Some more yet, Helen, 42 or 45
 inch bleached white sheeting for quilt
 lining (Quilt is 40x60 inches). And
 white & pink sewing cotton No. 50
 for quilting. And also cotton sheet
 wadding.

I hope I'm not asking too much
 but please, get them for me.
 I'd like to write more ~~but~~ since
 I have more to say but I'll leave it till
~~not~~ next time I hope soon. Tell all
 the girls Hello!

Love
 Hirok.

*Edition: Letter 8, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy and Kashy,
 January 8, 1943, Manzanar, California*

Envelope: [printed: "After Five Days Return To"] 9-10-3/Manzanar, Calif. [round
 postmark:] MANZANAR/JAN 9/5:30 PM/1943/CALIF. [canceled red stamp
 featuring an artillery cannon; text: UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/ARMY AND
 NAVY/FOR DEFENSE/POSTAL 2 CENTS] [addressee:] Miss Helen Tracy/10810½
 Lindbrook/Los Angeles/Calif.

Page 1, right side:

Jan. 8, 1942⁶²
 Dear Helen & Kashy,

⁶⁰ Abbreviation for "ounces."

⁶¹ A fabric dye used in the mid-twentieth century.

⁶² The year should read 1943.

Gee, thanks a lot for your presents.
 Honestly, I don't know how to express
 my appreciation and joy of receiving
 your gifts. I know Juniors⁶³ [*sic*] going to
 make a great use ~~for~~ with those
 undies. And the candies are just
 the thing since our only canteen⁶⁴
 is always out of candies —
 even cookies — And the nightie!
 Size 8! Goodness even if I had
 quadruplets, I don't think
 I can quite fill in that
 nightgown! But any way,
 I really didn't know what
 to say when I opened the
 package! You certainly made
 me happy.
 And the dress just fitted
 me & my folks were pretty
 happy about getting their
 presents! Thanks a million.
 Gee, I bet you were busy
 and I made you buy those

Page 2, left side:

things! Really, I certainly
 appreciate everything you do
 for me. And I hate to ask
 you to do things since I know
 you're pretty busy.
 Ryoji wrote and he
 said they've just started
 a new quarter this week.
 He had 2 weeks vacation
 for Christmas at which
 time he worked as a
 janitor at the University.⁶⁵
 Lately, the weather's
 been rather cold ~~ab~~ around

⁶³ Gordon Nonoshita, Hiroko's and Ryoji's son, referred to as Junior prior to his birth.

⁶⁴ A store found in a camp or factory where food, drinks, and small supplies are sold.

⁶⁵ University of Utah.

30°F. And with the wind
blowing continuously, the
coldness really penetrates!
So I certainly can make
use of the flannel nightgown!
How was your Christmas?
Did you get to go home, Helen?

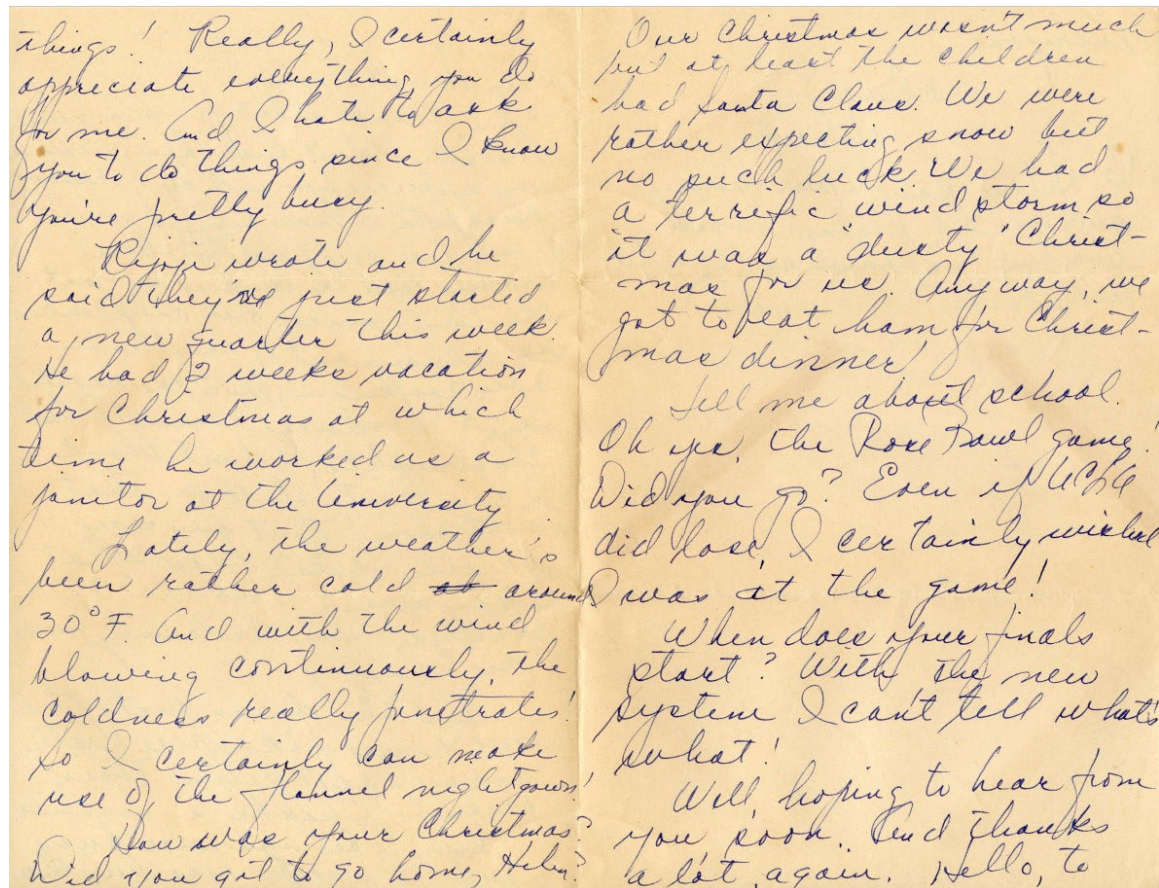


Figure 4: Letter 8, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy and Kashy, January 8, 1943, Manzanar, California [excerpt].

Page 2, right side:

Our Christmas wasn't much
but at least the children
had Santa Claus. We were
rather expecting snow but
no such luck. We had
a terrific windstorm so
it was a "dusty" Christ-
mas for us. Any way, we

got to eat ham for Christ-
 mas dinner!
 Tell me about school.
 Oh yes, the Rose Bowl game!⁶⁶
 Did you go? Even if UCLA
 did lose, I certainly wished
 I was at the game!
 When does your finals
 start? With the new
 system I can't tell what's
 what!
 Well, hoping to hear from
 you soon. And thanks
 a lot, again. Hello, to

Page 1, left side:

everyone!
 Always,
 Hirok
 P/S. Helen, save your penny
 and use 2¢ stamps when
 writing to Manzanar from L.A.
 (includes W.L.A.⁶⁷ or Westwood⁶⁸)

*Edition: Letter 9, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 January 19, 1943, (Manzanar, California)*

Page 1, right side:

Jan 19, 1942⁶⁹
 Dear Helen,
 Gee, I'm glad to hear from you!
 And thanks again for the Christmas
 presents. The nightgown certainly
 keeps "us" warm! You see the
 mercury drops to about 17°F
 during the night & morning so
 we really need to keep ourselves
 warm.

⁶⁶ The Rose Bowl game is played in Pasadena, California, traditionally on January 1. On January 1, 1943, the Georgia Bulldogs defeated the UCLA Bruins with a score of 9-0.

⁶⁷ Abbreviation for West Los Angeles.

⁶⁸ A neighborhood that encompasses the UCLA campus and the Westwood Village.

⁶⁹ Based on the letters' information and the timeline of the pregnancy, the year should be 1943.

Helen, never mind about the
 yarn and the batting. The canteen
 here is selling the batting and
 I have ordered to a yarn company
 for the yarns — they seem to have
 the color I want. If you already
 bought them you can send them —
 it's all right because I can
 always use them. But will
 you still get me the quilting
 threads (No. 50 I believe) pink and white.
 And the quilt lining. Also, in
 addition, please, get me a case
 (I mean a whole box) of Ivory⁷⁰ cake
 soap for laundry. I hope the store
 will sell you that much. Any

Page 2, left side:

way, I'll need them to wash diapers
 and rest of Junior's wardrobe [.] The
 soaps sold in camp are too
 strong and we're limited to one
 cake at a time. Imagine!
 By the way, am I using more money
 than I gave you? Please, let me
 know if I "overdraw."
 Gee, Helen, you don't know how
 much you've helped me! It's certainly
 is [*sic*] swell of you kids to do every-
 thing for me.
 By the way, how about sending
 me a snap shot of each of you.
 Gosh, you don't know what
 it means to have a picture
 out here! Noone is allowed
 to take pictures — in fact
 one shouldn't have a camera
 or a kodax. So I don't know
 what I'm going to do when
 Junior comes and Ryoji is
 out there in Utah. He won't

⁷⁰ American soap; sold since 1879.

know how his own child looks like.

Page 2, right side:

Oh yes, Helen, I certainly would like to have a twin! Even a tripelet (spelling?) will do! You see the 1st 3 month[s], I really suffered and if I have a twin or more I don't have to suffer that much or more. Get?
Gosh, I know how you feel with Al so far away. But buck up, it won't be long when we'll get to be with the ones we love!
Golly, good for Una. I hope that 1st date wasn't the last one. She sent me a beautiful Christmas card and I wanted to thank her but haven't gotten around so tell her I haven't forgotten. Also, tell Joyce that ~~th~~ I'm still hoping

Page 1, left side:

to answer her letter.
Well, be good—I mean everyone. Study hard!
Love,
Hirok.
P/S. Gee, too bad about Louise⁷¹ not being able to join the Waves.⁷²
Can't she try out for RO.TC⁷³ (women's)
Or are they strict about the perfect need of one's eyes? There's a girl (P.E. Major) who graduated U.C.L.A. and she's a Waves. Maybe

⁷¹ Unknown individual.

⁷² Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service; the women's branch of the U.S. Naval Reserve during World War II.

⁷³ Reserve Officers' Training Corps; a college and university-based officers' training program.

Cookie⁷⁴ can write to her. Her name is Ruth Nelson.⁷⁵ I'll get her address if you want me to. Any way, I don't know much about the Waves requirements but it seems as though a great deal has to do with "pull."

Edition: Letter 10, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy, March 2, 1943, (Manzanar, California)

Page 1, right side:

Mar 2, 1943
Dear Helen,
Thanks a lot for the valentine cards! It really was a surprise but I guessed who.
Well, how was your finals?
And what are you taking this semester? I've been rather busy doing nothing but I haven't forgotten you girls.
Things are really hard to get so I bet you people are really have[ing] a time. We didn't have to worry about ration cards till recently but now with shoes rationed we'll be getting those tickets. We haven't as yet gotten them, though.
By the way, Helen, never mind about the quilting threads. But, please, get me

Page 2, left side:

the white cotton sheeting for quilt lining (quilt size 40"x60") about 3 yds⁷⁶ of 42" wide material. Also, the soaps

⁷⁴ Unknown individual.

⁷⁵ Unknown individual.

⁷⁶ Abbreviation for "yards."

(Ivory), you can send them
 few at a time if you can't
 get all at once. You see
 it's not very far off before
 Junior is to come and the
 quilt is for the crib and I
 need the soaps for the diapers
 & bathing Junior. The thing
 is that we can't get any
 kind of laundry soap at our
 local canteen. So I'd appreciate if you will send them
 as soon as possible.
 Oh yes, would you be
 able to buy me knitted
 sheetings for baby crib—
 about 3 of them. They're sheets

Page 2, right side:

or crib covers which are knitted
 like undies. I think if you
 go to the Babie's [*sic*] department
 of any large department
 store, such as Bullock, they'll
 have them. I want them instead
 of the regular cotton sheets
 because they don't need to be
 ironed.

Well, I better close if I want
 to get this out before the
 mail goes out. Will write
 again.

Love,

Hirok

P/S. Regards to the girls.

Page 1, left side: blank

*Edition: Letter 11, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 March 23, 1943, (Manzanar, California)*

Page 1, right side:

Mar 23, 1943

Dear Helen,

Thanks a lot for sending me
 the sheets, sheeting material
 and the soaps. I received them
 yesterday. I'm sorry I had to
 rush you when you're so
 busy. Thanks, again.
 Gee, it's good to hear from you!
 Gosh, a lot of things certainly
 happened. Extend my congratulation
 & best wishes to Kashy & Paul.⁷⁷
 I'll try to write to her sooner or later,
 but you [know] how it is, now — I
 bearly [*sic*] write ~~to pee~~ to Ryoji
 (and others because of necessity).
 Gee, it's too bad that Paul has
 to leave right away. I know how
 she feels. But I guess I'm
 better off than most of you
 since I have Junior to look
 forward to. This darn war
 has to mess up every body's
 life & happiness.
 But it's good to hear
 that Al is a staff sergeant

Page 2, left side:

already! As they say, how
 much does he get?
 Nope, Ryoji won't graduate
 until next March (1944) [.]. He's
 suppose to this June but
 changing school just puts
 him off that much. You
 see Uni of Utah is on quarter
 basis (3 quarter equal a year)
 while S.C.⁷⁸ was on semester
 basis (2 semester = a yr.⁷⁹).
 So he just finished his finals
 & is starting Spring quarter

⁷⁷ Unknown individual.

⁷⁸ The University of Southern California.

⁷⁹ Abbreviation for "year."

this week, lasting until
June.

I don't think Junior's
going to be a twin since
the doctor hasn't said any-
thing to the sort. But I
certainly like to have one.
I guess it just doesn't
run in our families!
Gee, Helen, I'll try to send

Page 2, right side:

a picture or more of Junior
if I can. But you see we're
not allowed to have cameras
or kodaks in this camp.
Only the Caucasian can take
pictures so we have to be
pretty lucky to have our picture
taken – sounds like the
uncivilized world. Any way,
Helen, to tell you the truth I've
been trying to "smuggle" in a
cheap (\$3.00 or so) box camera
so I can take pictures of
Junior – that's about all
that's interesting to take
around here – however,
I haven't succeeded. If you
think you could take the
chance and if it's not asking
too much, will you buy
me one (about \$3 or \$4) and
some films and send it by
mail. They don't inspect parcels [.]

Page 1, left side:

Tell me before hand when
you're sending it. Don't do
this, if you feel you shouldn't.
I promise "on my honor"
that I won't use it for "spying
or anything of that sort" [.] Just
for Junior, Helen. Any way, if

you should get it, do you
 have enough money. Do you
 want me to send you some?
 Let me know. Gee, it'll be
 swell if I can take pictures,
 then I can send them to Ryoji.
 Otherwise, Ryoji will never
 know how Junior looks like.
 My goodness, I didn't know
 Eve Harris⁸⁰ was expecting!
 I'll have to write her.
 Yup, I remember Old
 Dr Gordon.⁸¹ It didn't take
 her very long to get married!
 —65 yrs⁸² old, did you say?
 Well, end of the page, and this is
 the last sheet of paper I have so
 I'll close. I'll let you know when
 Junior comes. Love to all, Hirok.

*Edition: Letter 12, Postcard, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
 June 2, 1943, Manzanar, California*

Beige postcard: [text:] 9-10-3/Manzanar, Calif. [round postmark:]
 MANZANAR/JUN 4/5:30 PM/1943/CALIF. [canceled green stamp featuring
 Thomas Jefferson; text: U.S. POSTAL CARD/ONE CENT/1 JEFFERSON 1]
 [envelope; green text:] THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS [addressee:] Miss
 Helen Tracy/10810½ Lindbrook/Los Angeles/ California

Back:

May
 June 2, 1943⁸³
 Dear Helen,
 Gee, Helen, thanks for your
 pretty blanket [.]. And the soaps!
 You shouldn't do those thing,
 Helen! After all the things
 you did for me! Really,

⁸⁰ Unknown individual

⁸¹ Unknown individual

⁸² Abbreviation for "years."

⁸³ The date reads June 2, 1943, but the 2 denoting the 2nd of June is written over a 1 while the 3 in 1943 has been written over a 2.

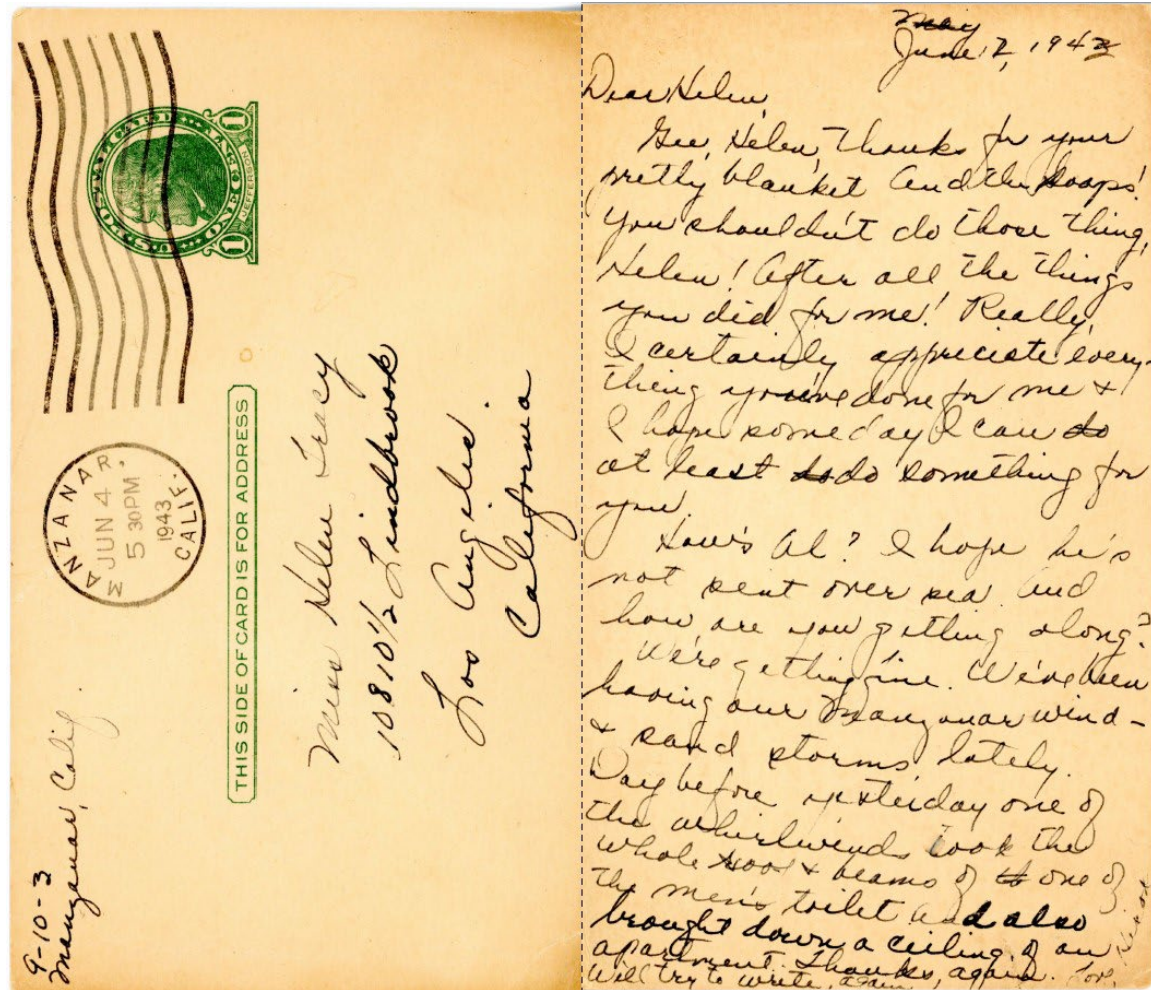


Figure 5: Letter 12, Postcard, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy, June 2, 1943, Manzanar, California.

I certainly appreciate every-
thing you've done for me &
I hope some day I can ~~do~~
at least ~~do~~ do something for
you.

How's Al? I hope he's
not sent over sea. And
how are you getting along?
We're getting fine. We've been
having our Manzanar wind —
& sand storms, lately.
Day before yesterday one of
the whirlwinds took the
whole roof & beams of ~~th~~ one of
the men's toilet and also

brought down a ceiling of an
apartment. Thanks again.
Will try to write, again.
Love, Hirok

*Edition: Letter 13, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy,
December 21, 1943, Manzanar, California*

Beige paper envelope: [text:] 9-14-5/Manzanar, Calif. [round postmark:]
MANZANAR/DEC 21/5:30 PM/1943/CALIF. [canceled purple stamp featuring an
eagle encircled by stars; text: WIN THE WAR/3¢ 3¢/UNITED STATES POSTAGE]
[addressee:] Miss Helen Tracy/~~1468 Drake~~ 10810½ Lindbrook/~~Burlingame~~ Los
Angeles/California

Beige paper envelope (back): [round postmark:] BURLINGAME/JAN 10/5:30
PM/1944/CALIF.

Christmas card (front): [front of red and white Christmas card featuring the front
door, window, and stoop of a red brick home covered in snow, a green wreath hangs
on the door; printed: Season's Wishes]

Christmas card (inside): [inside of Christmas card featuring two red houses nestled
within a snowy landscape; printed: With Christmas cheer at every door/To welcome
you anew/May every wish for/HAPPINESS/Bring joy the/whole year/through]

Dear Helen,
Gee, I owe you a letter since
last summer. But I haven't
forgotten you. I've been pretty
busy with Gordon.⁸⁴
How are you? And Al? Where
is he?
Are you still attending UCLA?

Christmas card (back): [bottom of card; printed: NO. 40R11/MADE IN U.S.A.]

Gordon has become a husky⁸⁵
of 21 ½ lbs now — 8 mo.⁸⁶ old. He's
a regular toughie and wears
me out.
By the way, I was certainly
surprised about Una. How
did it all happen. Let me know.
Oh yes, how much do I have
in the "kitty."⁸⁷ I wonder if you

⁸⁴ Hiroko's and Ryoji's son, referred to as Junior prior to his birth.

⁸⁵ Meaning strong or hefty.

⁸⁶ Abbreviation for "months."

⁸⁷ Meaning a fund of money.

can get me something for Una,
Joyce, Cashy⁸⁸ and who else
was married since I left? Anything
you think is nice costing about
\$1.25 each. If you don't have enough
let me know.

Well, Merry Christmas &
a Happy New Year to a swell girl.
Love,
Hirok &
Gordon.

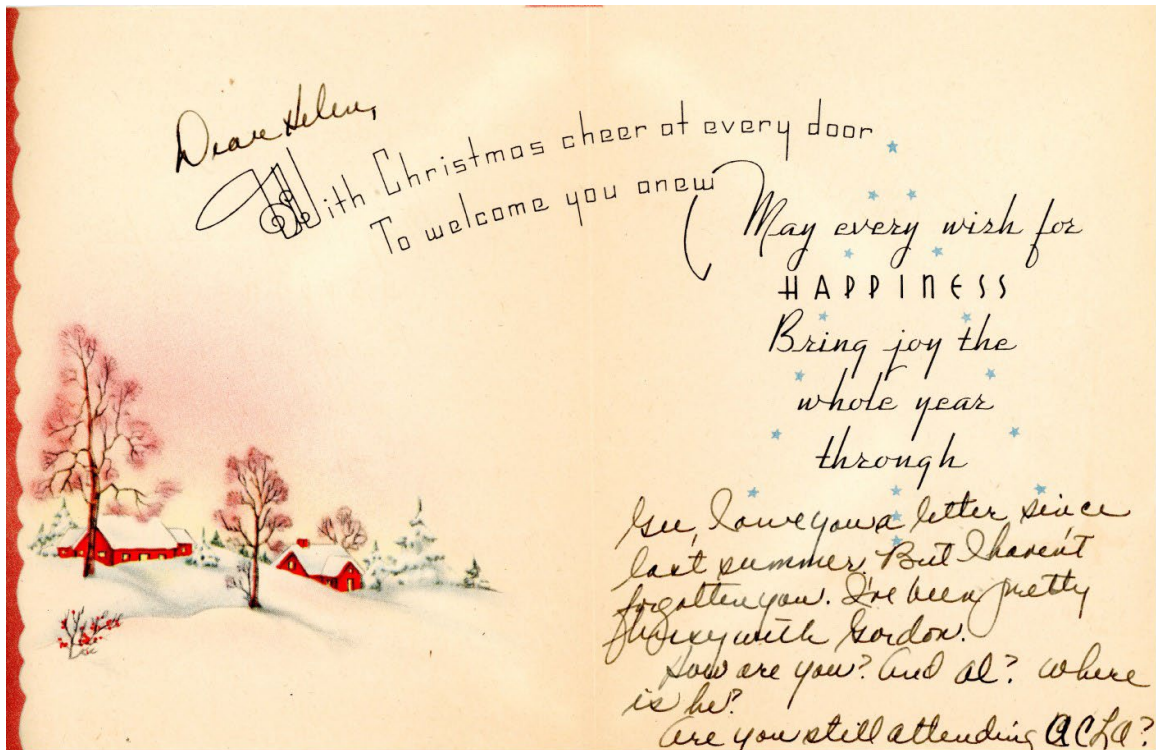


Figure 6: Letter 13, Hiroko Nonoshita to Helen Tracy, December 21, 1943, Manzanar, California [excerpt].

Edition: Letter 14, Photograph of Gordon Nonoshita,
April 18, 1944, Manzanar, California

Front: [black-and-white photograph featuring a one-year-old boy of Japanese descent
sitting upon a wooden bench, grasping a stuffed panda bear]

Back: [handwritten text:]

Gordon Nonoshita 1 Yr Old
Hiroko Takahashi – Mother

⁸⁸ The same individual as “Kashy” in letters 6, 8, and 11.

Ryogo⁸⁹ [sic] Nonoshita – father
Manzanar, Calif 4/18/44



Figure 7: Letter 14, Photograph of Gordon Nonoshita, April 18, 1944, Manzanar, California.

Edition: Letter 15, Birth Announcement, addressed to Helen Tracy,
November 7, 1944, Redwood City, California

Beige paper envelope: [text:] 336 Edgewood Rd⁹⁰/Redwood City/Calif [round postmark:] REDWOOD CITY/NOV 7/1:00 PM/1944/CALIF. [canceled purple stamp featuring an eagle encircled by stars; text: WIN THE WAR/3¢ 3¢/UNITED STATES POSTAGE] [addressee:] Miss Helen M. Tracy/Diet Dept. California Hospital/1414 S. Hope St⁹¹/Los Angeles/ California [written in pencil:] Carol⁹²

Beige card (front): [design featuring a question mark made of blue flowers surrounding the head of a baby with a white bib; printed:]

⁸⁹ The parentage of Gordon Nonoshita is written in a different handwriting than the rest of the notes on the back, which possibly explains why Ryoji's name is misspelled

⁹⁰ At the time of this edition, this residence (built in 1912) still exists.

⁹¹ At the time of this edition, this building (built in 1925) still exists.

⁹² This is the only item in the collection not written by Hiroko Nonoshita. The sender is unknown, but likely related to the baby announced here (James Donald), possibly one of his parents (Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Satterbury, mentioned in the newspaper clipping).

Want to Know About Me?

Beige card (inside, left): [design featuring a baby laying on a pillow; printed:]

Want to know about me?

When and where I came?

Just what I/tipped the scales at?

And what's my

brand-new name?

Beige card (inside right): [design of blue flowers in the upper right hand corner; printed; added, handwritten words appears in italics below:]

Well, here goes:

I arrived *Christmas Day*

at *1:02 P.M.*

weighing exactly *9 lbs*

everybody calls me

James Donald

Newspaper clipping of birth announcements: [added, handwritten words appear in italics below:]

To Mr. and Mrs. William Potter, 150 Redwood, a daughter was born on Dec. 24 in the Palo Alto Hospital.

To Mr. and Mrs. [Larry] William Goldsmith, 3243 Spring St., a son was born on Dec. 24 in the Palo Alto Hospital.

To Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Satterbury, 413 Lakeview Way, a son was born on Dec. 25 in the Palo Alto Hospital.

To Mr. and Mrs. Sylvan J. Kaplan, Bldg. 327, Apt. 8, Stanford Village, a son was born on Dec. 25 in the Palo Alto Hospital.

To Mr and Mrs. Ragnar Thorensen, 417 O'Connor St., North Palo Alto, a daughter was born on Dec. 26 in the Palo Alto Hospital.

To Mr. and Mrs. [Barbara] Dudley B. Shean, Apt. 6, Stanford Village,

a daughter was born on Dec. 26
in the Palo Alto Hospital.
To Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Car-
penter, 1315 Hollyburne Ave.,
Belle Haven, a daughter was
born on Dec. 27 in the Palo Alto
Hospital.

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Michael Conti, Jacob Lange, Desiree Montes, and Melissa Sanford (editors)

*"All I eat, drink, sleep, and dream about is home and you and love."
Sidney Goldman's Post-War Letters from Manila (January 1946)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

University Archives and Special Collections.

SC-2018-08.

Sidney Goldman War Letters.

Document box 3, folder 1.

January 1, 1946, to January 23, 1946, one letter undated.

Seventeen letters (numbered 1 to 17 below).

Introduction

The seventeen letters edited here were written in January 1946 and belong to the "Sidney Goldman War Letters" held in CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections. They were donated by Sidney Goldman's daughter, Rhoda Becker, in 2018. One letter is fully typewritten while the others are handwritten in cursive with pencil; letter 11 appears to be written in black ink with pen; letters 14 (mimeographed) and 15 feature typewritten military messages; letters 7 and 11 are accompanied by their envelopes, which are still well preserved. Letter 11 is written by one M. H. "Smokey" Rieders, who appears to be a family friend (letter 6 mentions Mrs. Rieders). All letters are written in the English language on military-issue paper (yellow and white stationary) and fairly well preserved (with the exception of letter 17 which appears to have been torn at the top of the page).

Sidney "Sid" Goldman was born April 12, 1912 in Chicago, Illinois, and was the fourth of five children of Rose Mesigal Goldman and Abraham Goldman (for this and the following biographical information, the editors are indebted to CSUF's University Archives and Special Collections). While his siblings were good students, Sid did not fare well in school. After being denied a different book to do a report on, he left in his first year of high school and began working at his father's grocery store. He met Lillian ("Lil") Weinberg, his future wife, at a picnic. Sid and Lillian dated and eventually married in 1932. Following a series of jobs, including running numbers at a gambling establishment and as a jewelry salesman, Sid opened a tire retread shop near Riverview, Illinois, with one of his uncles. After seven years of marriage, Sid and Lillian had a daughter and named her Rhoda ("Rho") Thalia in 1939. Following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Sid was told by friends that he could avoid being drafted by taking an exempt job. However, he decided against it and enlisted in 1943 in his early 30s. Lillian and Rho went to Revere, Massachusetts, to live with Lillian's mother and visited Sid when he was on leave stateside. Sid then served as an army tire repairman in Europe while his unit followed General George S. Patton. As World War II was

drawing to a close, Sid was sent on one of the last boats to the Philippines and Japan, where he opened a tire repair shop and taught locals how to use machines. While he liked his job and the country well enough, Sid was eager to return home.

Written between New Year's Day and January 23, 1946, most of the letters edited here are addressed to either Lillian or Rho. They describe the dysfunctionality of demobilization, as the United States Congress improperly implemented a point system for soldiers to return home (letters 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12 and 17); low morale because the servicemembers' discharge from duty was delayed (letters 3 and 4); the mail system in disarray and cigarette rations running low, leading to further discontent (letters 4 and 5); soldiers rioting and forming demonstrations, and Sid managing to peacefully disperse them on one occasion (letter 6); Sid not wanting to miss Rho's birthday and having a kimono (a traditional Japanese garment) made for her (letters 6, 7, and 10); matters back home, such as Lillian's interaction with Sid's siblings, neighbors, and seriously ill father (letters 2, 7, 10, 13); Sid's interaction with the locals at his shop (letter 9); an interaction between "Smokey" and Lillian, catching up on past events (letter 11); rumors of discharge orders being cut (letter 12); Sid working toward and being granted a furlough to see his father (letters 14 and 15); a military-issued form with Sid's information (letter 16); and a partial letter announcing that he is to be sent home (letter 17). Readers should be advised that the writer uses derogatory terms/ethnic slurs.

These letters offer the individual perspective of a soldier longing to return home at the end of World War II. They also provide insight into 1940s popular culture, as Sid often makes references to movies and comedy acts that he or Lillian had attended. There is also a reference to medical technology used at the time as Sid had his body treated with violet rays (letter 2). Therefore, these letters will be of interest to anyone studying 1940s American military, social, cultural, medical, and political history.

The transcriptions below preserve the lines, spelling, and capitalization of the original letters. Any additions are enclosed by square brackets.

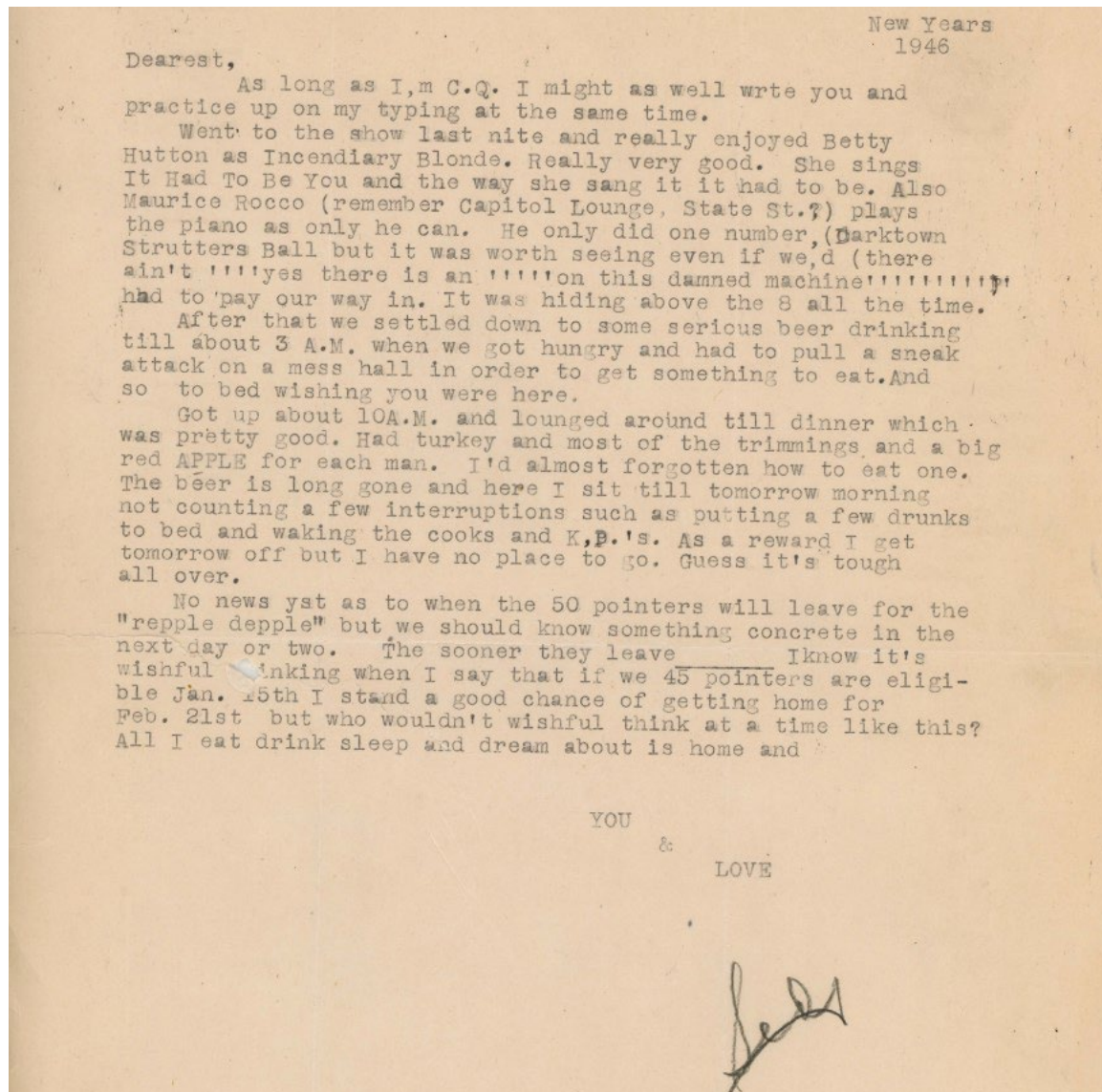


Figure 1: Letter 1, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], January 1, [1946], [Manila, Philippines].

Edition: Letter 1, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 1, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]

Page 1 of 1 [The letter is typed; only the signature, "Sid," at the end is handwritten]:

New Years

1946

Dearest,

As long as I,m¹ [sic] C.Q.² I might as well wrte³ [sic] you and
practice up on my typing at the same time.

¹ Goldman did not immediately locate the apostrophe key on the typewriter he was using.

² Abbreviation for "charge of quarters;" someone on guard duty.

³ Misspelling of "write."

Went to the show last nite⁴ and really enjoyed Betty Hutton⁵ as Incendiary Blonde.⁶ Really very good. She sings It Had To Be You⁷ and the way she sang it it had to be. Also Maurice Rocco⁸ (remember Capitol Lounge, State St.?)⁹ plays the piano as only he can. He only did one number, (Darktown Strutters Ball¹⁰ but it was worth seeing even if we,d (there ain't "" yes there is an "" on this damned machine """"""') had to pay our way in. It was hiding above the 8 all the time. After that we settled down to some serious beer drinking till about 3 A.M. when we got hungry and had to pull a sneak attack on a mess hall in order to get something to eat. And so to bed wishing you were here.

Got up about 10 A.M. and lounged around till dinner which was pretty good. Had turkey and most of the trimmings and a big red APPLE for each man. I'd almost forgotten how to eat one. The beer is long gone and here I sit till tomorrow morning not counting a few interruptions such as putting a few drunks to bed and waking the cooks and K.ÐP.'s.¹¹ As a reward I get tomorrow off but I have no place to go. Guess it's tough all over.

No news yst [*sic*] as to when the 50 pointers¹² will leave for the "repple depple"¹³ but we should know something concrete in the next day or two. The sooner they leave_____ I know it's wishful thinking when I say that if we 45 pointers are eligible Jan. 15th I stand a good chance of getting home for Feb. 21st but who wouldn't wishful think at a time like this? All I eat drink sleep and dream about is home and
YOU
&
LOVE
Sid

⁴ Simplified spelling of "night."

⁵ American film, stage, and television actress (1921-2007).

⁶ Musical film, released in 1945.

⁷ Song by Isham Jones and Gus Kahn (1924).

⁸ American "boogie-woogie" pianist (1915-1976).

⁹ Cocktail bar and entertainment venue (closed 1954), 167 N. State Street, Chicago.

¹⁰ Song by Shelton Brooks (1917).

¹¹ Abbreviation of "Kitchen Police" or "Kitchen Patrol;" enlisted personnel assisting the cook.

¹² Reference to the demobilization point system ("Adjusted Service Rating Score").

¹³ Slang term for "replacement depot."

*Edition: Letter 2, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 2, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 2:

Wed.

Jan. 2

Dearest,

Got yours of 12/21 describing the arrival of the Nudelmans¹⁴ and you always were the lucky one! I knew that if it were at all possible they'd bring chow cause they take no chances on eating. Its wonderful to have good friends & as you know by now they're real people. Wish I'd have been there but then thats nothing new. I keep wishing that every day regardless of who's there? (As long as you & Rho are there of course.) Been really catching up on my sleep today. After waking the company & having breakfast I slept till noon then chow & my daily sunbath & back to sleep again. I never had it so good. Meant to tell you bout¹⁵ my sunbath—I'd been throwing a ball around & twisted my shoulder & it was paining me a bit. Went to

Page 2 of 2:

the Doc who Rx violet ray.¹⁶ It baked it out in about 3 treatments & in the meantime I got friendly with the guy who runs the lamp. Soooo I get a treatment every day (10 min.) at 9:30 (one day chest, one day back etc.) & by the time I get there & back the A.M. is gone. Then chow & I buzz around the motorpool 'till about 3 P.M. at

¹⁴ Unidentified individuals; friends or acquaintances of the Goldmans.

¹⁵ Simplified spelling of "about."

¹⁶ Therapeutic electrotherapy used in the early twentieth century.

the Doc who R^x Violet say, It baked it
 out in about 3 treatments & in the
 meantime I got friendly with the
 guy who runs the lamp. So o o o I
 get a treatment every day (10 min.) at
 9:30 (one day chest, one day back etc.)
 & by the time I get there & back the A.M.
 is gone. Then show & I buzz around
 the motor pool till about 3 P.M. at
 which time there's hot water & I have
 the shower more or less to my-
 self. By the time I shower & change
 clothes it's too late to go back. So far
 no one has said anything & I can
 handle my job in the motor pool in
 about an hour a day. After reading
 this over it's almost worth reenlist-
 ing. Can you keep me in the style in
 which I've become accustomed? On
 2nd thought I'll settle for You
 Love
 Sid (in about 81 days?)

Figure 2: Letter 2, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], January 2, [1946], [Manila, Philippines] [Page 2 of 2].

which time there's hot water & I have
 the shower more or less to my-
 self. By the time I shower & change
 clothes it's too late to go back. So far
 no one has said anything & I can
 handle my job in the motorpool in
 about an hour a day. After reading
 this over it's almost worth reenlist-
 ing. Can you keep me in the style in
 which I've become accustomed? On
 2nd thought I'll settle for You
 (in about 81 days?)
 Love
 Sid

*Edition: Letter 3, Letter 3, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 6, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 3:

Sunday

Jan. 6

Dearest

Pardon my not writing last nite
but I couldnt. Its 1:30 P.M. & I just got up
after a mean drunk. Reason? We
were told officially that our discharge
may be delayed as long as 90 days
on a/c¹⁷ "danger of lowering the strength
of occupying forces in hostile coun-
tries" and lack of replacements. In
effect we can be held till sufficient
men arrive to replace us. Here we
are a co.¹⁸ without a mission to
perform and no equt.¹⁹ to perform with
if we had a mission & we're stuck.
Looks like all our dreams are again
shot to hell and its a good thing I
have a strong constitution and can
take it. I know how all of you back
home feel but all I can say or do to
alleviate conditions is to tell you
that someday in every way I know
how, I'll make up to you for all the
distress these brass hat bastards have

Page 2 of 3:

caused you. To add insult to injury
we read the enclosed in todays S&S.²⁰ You
write senators and think they can
help you! Here's the No. 2 war bass²¹ [sic] and
he "didn't know that the point count
was stopped Sept. 2!! I'll bet he never

¹⁷ Abbreviation for "on account of."

¹⁸ Abbreviation for "company;" a military unit consisting of 80-250 soldiers.

¹⁹ Short for "equipment."

²⁰ Abbreviation for "Stars and Stripes Newspaper;" U.S. military newspaper since 1861.

²¹ Misspelling of "brass."

had to sweat out points. And we're supposed to have faith in our commanders! How in hell can we have? I wonder if he knows yet that MacArthur²² has 5 stars? ~~It certainly is no wonder~~ On the date of Japan's surrender? Or did they? I'll bet he knows to the penny how much pay he draws a year. I find myself wondering if Gen. Patton²³ didn't throw in his chips & give up his fight to live. Imagine if you can men like he & Eisenhower²⁴ taking orders from a guy who and I quote "was completely surprised" when told discharge points have not been accumulating since Sept. 2. To add insult to injury our cigarette

Page 3 of 3:

ration is snafued²⁵ somewhere and we won't draw any till further notice which may be according to rumor-about the 15th. Wonder if the Sec. of War²⁶ knows we'll have to buy smokes from the Japs²⁷ if that's true? To top it all off he's here as you know and is sposed²⁸ [*sic*] to be at this base tomorrow. We have a 6 ft. honor guard all decked out with white helmets to greet him. Only bright spot is your letter containing the article on baldness and/or virility & the boys got a big bang out of it. Trouble is your letter says 86 days & ordinarily the count now would be 76 but now —

²² Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964); U.S. Army General.

²³ George S. Patton (1885-1945); U.S. Army General.

²⁴ Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969); General and 34th President of the United States.

²⁵ Past tense of "snafu;" slang term for throwing something into chaos.

²⁶ Robert P. Patterson (1891-1952); Secretary of War, in office Sept. 1945 to July 1947.

²⁷ Derogatory term/ethnic slur for "Japanese."

²⁸ Alternative spelling of "supposed."

who knows? Maybe we took too much for granted. We should have known better. We'll make it all up someday.

With
Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 4, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 7, [1946], Manila, Philippines*

Page 1 of 3:

Mon. nite

Jan. 7

Dearest,

To top every thing this mail situation is really rough. Thats about all the morale we have left & the service is lousy. No mail again today.

Been listening to the radio for developments [sic]²⁹ from Manila. You probably heard about the riots, parades, etc.

It was pretty rough & I wish I'd have been there. I was out all afternoon trying to get a protest parade here but got no cooperation. Would have been perfect cause our Sec. of War is due here tomorrow. No doubt he would have again been "completely surprised." Too many rookies here scared of their stripes to start anything. Most of us are plenty desperate [sic].³⁰ Don't worry. I won't get into anything I can't get out of & you know it.

Working on 2 jobs now. We are very short of inner tubes so have

Page 2 of 3:

set up a crude repair shop. They tried to get me out of the motor pool &

²⁹ Obsolete spelling of "developments."

³⁰ Misspelling of "desperate."

the motor pool wouldn't release
me so we made a deal. I work
both places. Important guy me! I
rigged up a crude (but very) hot
plate & today I was instructing Japs
in the art of tube repair along pro-
duction lines. Quite a job. I like
it tho [*sic*].³¹

Only bad news is that our
mascot³² was hurt. He got his leg
caught in a revolving door (he
was sober) and it hurt like hell.
We took him to the Doc who really
checked him over. Says he doesn't
think its broken but called the hos-
pital to find out if they can x-ray
it & make sure. So "Skinny Boy" (that's
the pup's name) has an appt.³³ at the
161st Sta. Hosp.³⁴ tomorrow at 11 A.M.
Some class!! Poor guy has been
whining all evening & he has about

Page 3 of 3:

50 nurses tending him. He seems to
like it. Sounds screwy but we need
something or someone to love &
lots of us prefer a dog to the Japs.
The radio keeps banging away
at Patterson. Latest is that a bunch
of G.I.'s³⁵ booed a 3 star Gen.³⁶ who
asked em³⁷ [*sic*] to break up a demonstra-
tion. Bet Patterson will be "complete-
ly surprised" at that! AP³⁸ had a
star reporter making the rounds in

³¹ Simplified spelling of "though."

³² The company dog.

³³ Short for "appointment."

³⁴ Short for "Station Hospital."

³⁵ Abbreviation for "General Issue" or "Ground Infantry;" refers to common soldiers.

³⁶ Short for "General."

³⁷ Short for "them."

³⁸ Abbreviation of "Associated Press;" American non-profit news agency founded in 1846.

Manila & he says "G.I. morale in the Pacific is lower now than at any time since Pearl Harbor. "And he ain't³⁹ kidding.
 So – Patterson, MacArthur & God willing – I'll see you in my dreams cause it seems like you're farther away now than you ever were.
 Love,
 Sid

*Edition: Letter 5, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
 January 9, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 2:

Wed.
 Jan. 9
 Dearest,
 No mail again today & as usual that's a bad day. However there are always bright spots. Tomorrow nite there is a mass protest meeting & we'll see if we can get something done. The 53 pointers are leaving tomorrow and 8th Army⁴⁰ promises all 50+ men will be on the way home by Jan. 31. No news as yet on any further cut in points. They added that the above schedule will be met or beaten if shipping is not diverted. It's up to us tomorrow nite to see that shipping is not diverted. One more thing and I'm writing the same to Shir & Min⁴¹ – How bout doing a little recruiting among your friends & neighbors? S&S says that one of the reasons we are not getting replacements is 'cause they need the low point men in the States as stenos⁴² cooks & bakers etc. and they can't get

³⁹ Informal contraction for "are not."

⁴⁰ U.S. field army; first activated in 1944.

⁴¹ Shirley and Minnie: two of Sid's sisters.

⁴² Short for "stenographers;" people who generate verbatim records using a steno machine.

civilian labor to do it. Consequently these low pointers must work in replacement centers. — Now — if some of our wives would vol-

Page 2 of 2:

unteer to work say 4 hrs. a day (gratis if Uncle⁴³ can't afford to pay) maybe they could send those guys over & us home.

Write your senator and/or congressman?

Otherwise — we listen to the radio all day & the news is all about parades, meetings & now of all things — a hunger strike. I know lot of it sounds screwy & desparate [sic] but we are.

Hope you're the same.

Love

Sid

Edition: Letter 6, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman] and Rho[da Goldman], January 10, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]

Page 1 of 6:

Jan. 10

Thurs.

Dearest,

Finally blowed my top tonite and you'll no doubt read about me in the papers but don't worry. As I've said often said — I'll get into nothing I can't get out of.

Heres the story: you've read about the meetings etc. — O.K. there was a meeting scheduled tonite at 5:30 P.M. in front of 8th Army H.Q.⁴⁴ and we were told permission was granted by Comm. Gen.⁴⁵ 8th Army When we got there about 1000 guys & about 200

⁴³ "Uncle Sam;" a term used to "personify" the U.S. government.

⁴⁴ Abbreviation for "headquarters."

⁴⁵ Short for "Commanding General;" at that time, Robert L. Eichelberger.

M.P.'s⁴⁶ were milling around. Someone had a few mimeographed⁴⁷ forms with statements by W.D.,⁴⁸ Mac.,⁴⁹ Patterson etc. There were only a few & the crowd wanted em read so all could hear. It'd be superfluous to tell you who climbed on a jeep & started to read 'em. I was interrupted by an M.P. Major who ordered me to stop & I did. He and a Col. Caldwell⁵⁰ who is Provost Marshall⁵¹ 8th Army

Page 2 of 6:

told me in a very nice way that 2 G.I's had permission to hold a meeting & that they had gone. That anyone else speaking was unauthorized. Meanwhile the crowd was waiting & getting impatient. I asked the Col. if I might tell this to the crowd so they would disperse & he thanked me for the suggestion & told me to go ahead which I did. I explained to the crowd and told 'em that anyone who wished to hold a meeting could ask permission of the Comm. Gen. 8th Army & do it in an orderly manner. I also added that I wouldn't want and am certain that the boys wouldn't want any disorder that would reflect on us as we had enuf⁵² [sic] troubles now & suggested that instead we go home & write a letter & to leave in an orderly fashion—now. In 3 minutes the crowd was gone & the Col.

⁴⁶ Abbreviation for "Military Police."

⁴⁷ Method of document duplication.

⁴⁸ Abbreviation for "War Department."

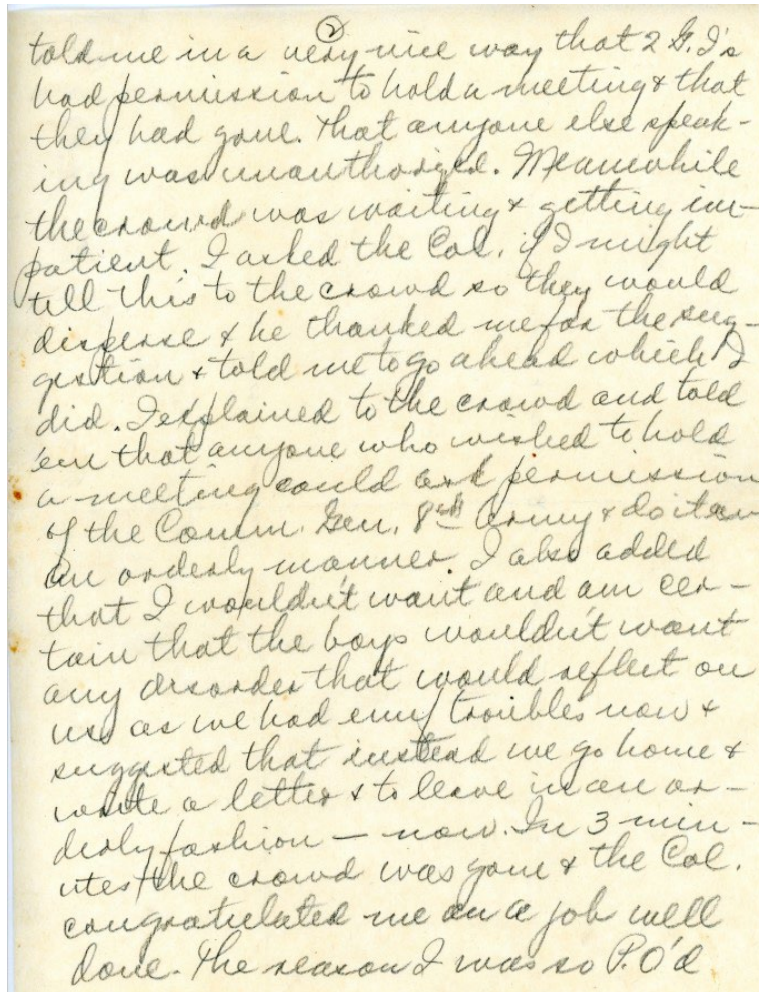
⁴⁹ Alternative abbreviation for "MacArthur."

⁵⁰ Colonel Carol V. Caldwell, Provost Marshal 8th Army.

⁵¹ The head of Military Police in camp or on active service.

⁵² Simplified spelling of "enough."

congratulated me on a job well
done. The reason I was so P.O'd⁵³



told me in a very nice way that 2 S.I.'s
had permission to hold a meeting & that
they had gone. That anyone else speak-
ing was unauthorized. Meanwhile
the crowd was waiting & getting im-
patient. I asked the Col. if I might
tell this to the crowd so they would
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gestion & told me to go ahead which I
did. I explained to the crowd and told
them that anyone who wished to hold
a meeting could ask permission
of the Comm. Gen. & Army & do it in
an orderly manner. I also added
that I wouldn't wait and am cer-
tain that the boys wouldn't want
any disorder that would reflect on
us as we had many troubles now &
suggested that instead we go home &
write a letter & to leave in an or-
derly fashion — now. In 3 min-
utes the crowd was gone & the Col.
congratulated me on a job well
done. The reason I was so P.O'd

Figure 3: Letter 6, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman] and Rho[da Goldman], January 10, [1946], [Manila, Philippines] [Page 2 of 6].

Page 3 of 6:

was that our Col. held a meeting
today of the officers & top 3 graders at
which he said many things among
which that he thought these meetings
were silly and attended by nincom-
poops⁵⁴ etc., and added that "any
noncom⁵⁵ who doesn't think the way

⁵³ Abbreviation for "pissed off;" very angry or annoyed.

⁵⁴ Derogatory term for a gullible person.

⁵⁵ "Noncom" or NCO: noncommissioned officer in the U.S. military.

I do can turn in his stripes an[d] that any officer could see him and he'd see that they were removed." After the meeting I immediately went to my Capt. & offered to turn in my stripes & he wouldn't take 'em. Said among other things that he wanted me as a noncom in his outfit because of my ability. I've been damned mad and things will no doubt come to a head in a day or two. There were some correspondents there tonite who asked my name etc. and I gave it to 'em. Also to the Provost Marshall. Also my address both civilian and army. When our Col. gets the report he'll blow sky high and thats just what I want.

Page 4 of 6:

Again—let me caution you not to worry. I'll keep you informed of any events as they happen if I have to write twice an hour.

On the brighter side—got 2 3 letters from you today and it looks like you got almost no mail from Xmas⁵⁶ to New Years. You've probably caught up by now. You seem to have been plenty blue New Years Eve but so was I. The enclosed group snap will show you how we spent the Eve. The other was Xmas day & you can draw your own conclusions. Also on the bright side—the 53 pointers leave here tomorrow.

Didn't know the Krafts⁵⁷ were at it again & all I can say is I'm sorry. You never did tell me what was

⁵⁶ Alternative spelling of "Christmas."

⁵⁷ Unidentified individuals.

with Rene.⁵⁸ Was she ill or what the hell?
 Haven't heard from Irv⁵⁹ they left for Opelousas.⁶⁰ They too probably got caught in the storms.
 Rho's letter made me angrier

Page 5 of 6:

if that's possible. I don't want to disappoint her by not being home for her birthday if I have to fight the whole Army!
 Nice letter from Mrs. Rieders⁶¹ who reiterates her invite. Asked her if she wanted any souvenirs⁶² [sic] from Japan & she answered "the souvenir [sic] I want most is for you and your wife to visit us after you have the little pin with the bird in your lapel." Nice.
 So-o I'll shower & shave so I'll be all cleaned up for any developements [sic].
 Maybe they'll get real mad & send me right home right away?
 With
 Love
 Sid

Page 6 of 6:

Thurs.
 Jan. 10
 Dearest Rho,
 Thanx⁶³ [sic] for the letter & I hope you enjoyed Iris and Alan⁶⁴ as I know you did.

⁵⁸ Unidentified individual.

⁵⁹ Irving; Sid's brother.

⁶⁰ City in Landry Parish, Louisiana.

⁶¹ See letter 11, written by M. H. "Smokey" Rieders.

⁶² Misspelling of "souvenirs."

⁶³ Alternative spelling of "thanks."

⁶⁴ Unidentified individuals; Iris is also mentioned in letter 13.

I'm going to bring your kimono⁶⁵
 home with me as it might get dam-
 aged in the mail. You can wait a
 bit longer can't you? I'll give you a
 small hint tho. Its red. I'm try-
 ing to get you a doll too. Who knows?
 It seems like the powers that be
 are trying to keep us from getting home
 soon but I'm still hoping. I promise
 that I'll do all I can to get there in
 time or before.
 S'pose⁶⁶ [*sic*] you've been having lots of fun in
 the snow. We haven't had any yet
 but its getting colder every day.
 See you soon
 with Love
 & many xxxxxx⁶⁷
 Dad

*Edition: Letter 7, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
 January 11, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 5:

Fri.
 Jan. 11
 Dearest,
 Best news today was 3 letters
 from you with news that my mail
 had finally caught up. Also a letter from
 Fritz⁶⁸ plus a copy of the one she sent
 you. You didn't write me about Rho
 at the wedding as you wrote Fritz
 Wassamatter?⁶⁹ Fraid I'd get the
 swelled head? I did.

⁶⁵ Traditional Japanese garment.

⁶⁶ Alternatative spelling of "suppose."

⁶⁷ Denoting "kisses."

⁶⁸ Frieda: Sid's sister. "Fritz(i)" can be a female nickname for Fri(e)da and Fri(e)derike.

⁶⁹ Alternative spelling of "What's the matter?"

Saw "Love Letters"⁷⁰ last nite. Jennifer Jones⁷¹ in an altogether different kind of picture and good too. O.K. I know you're sweating out my last nites escapades—I looked for the Old Man this A.M. to tell him what happened so that if he was called on the carpet he'd know the scene. I couldn't find him till 10 o'clock & started to tell him. He already knew all about it. Seems like the report came in and there was a meeting at 9 A.M. The Bn.⁷² Comm (a Col.)—plus his next in command Lt. Col., Major, Adjutant (Capt.) and

Page 2 of 5:

our Old Man. The subject of discussion — Me. Seems like someone wanted to rap me but was overruled. So much for that. At noon I was eating & the Mess Sgt. called me to the phone and I quote—Sgt. Goldman speaking—VOICE This is Lt. Gen. Byers⁷³ aide speaking—(The pause is me gulping) What can I do for you Sir? VOICE we understand that you're the noncom who broke up the demonstration last nite. Yes sir I am. The Gen. (3 star no less) would like to speak with you. Can you be at his office (& he gave me directions) at 9 A.M. tomorrow? Yes sir. VOICE THANK YOU SGT. GOODBYE & I gulped again end quote. Now get this. I was not ordered to report. The Old Man says I'm a cinch for a letter of commendation.

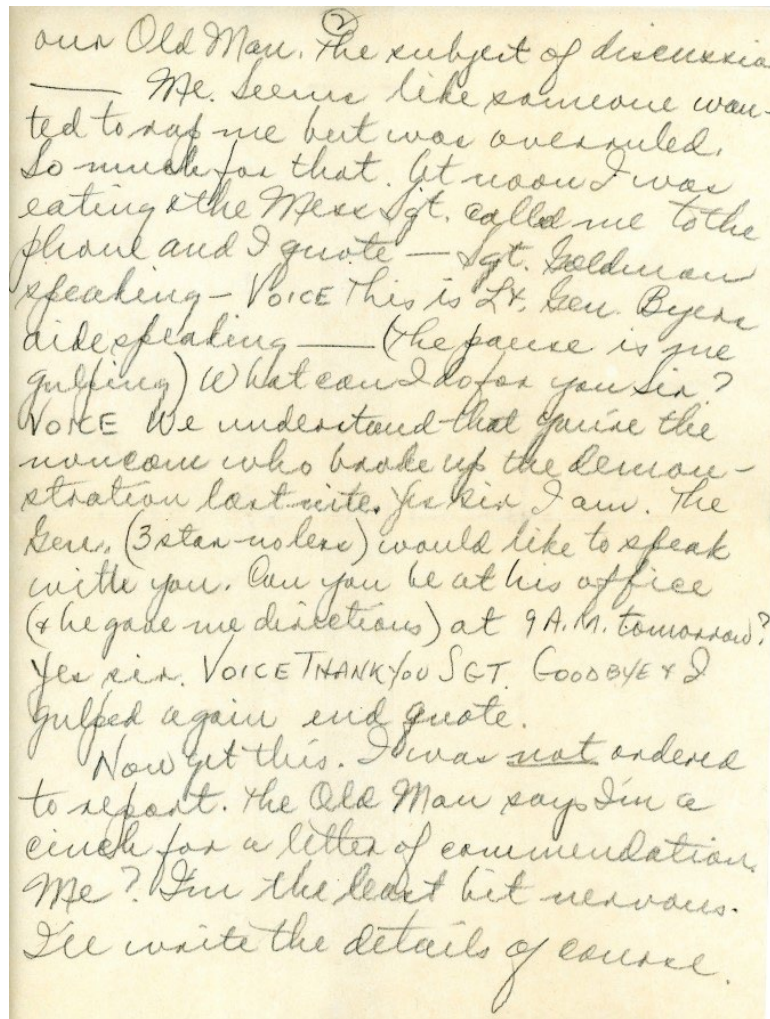
⁷⁰ American film noir (1945).

⁷¹ American actress (1919-2009).

⁷² Short for "Battalion."

⁷³ Clovis Ethelbert Byers (1899-1973); Lieutenant General U.S. Army.

Me? I'm the least bit nervous.
I'll write the details of course.



our Old Man. The subject of discussion
— Me. Seems like someone wanted to say me but was overruled. So much for that. At noon I was eating & the Mex Sgt. called me to the phone and I quote — Sgt. Goldman speaking — VOICE This is Lt. Gen. Byers speaking — (the pause is me gulping) What can I do for you Sir? VOICE We understand that you're the someone who broke up the demonstration last night. Is that right? The Gen. (3 star - no less) would like to speak with you. Can you be at his office (he gave me directions) at 9 A.M. tomorrow? Yes Sir. VOICE THANK YOU SGT. GOODBYE & I gulped again and quote.
Now get this. I was not ordered to report. The Old Man says I'm a cinch for a letter of commendation. Me? I'm the least bit nervous. I'll write the details of course.

Figure 4: Letter 7, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], January 11, [1946], [Manila, Philippines] [Page 2 of 5].

Page 3 of 5:

Also important is the fact that the orders on the 52 pointers were cut today and "our boy" says his boss told him that he was told to keep going down the line i.e. 49 48 47 etc. He says I have a good chance again of leaving here by Feb. 1st.
Now for your letter — I know you're burning, sweating it out but keep your morale up. It can't be long now. At the moment my morale is

good. I wonder what I'll feel tomorrow at this time?

Now I am hot at Meyer.⁷⁴ I don't mind what he says about his own immediate family but I'll take no remarks about my wife from him or anyone else regardless of circumstances. I'll kick his goddam teeth in & I mean it. I'm surprised that you didn't. You must be tamed down from the wildcat I knew! Forget about the 120 film. I've about 5 dollars & that'll last for a

Page 4 of 5:

while. I too am glad you didn't know about that Jap holiday for the Emperor tho nothing happened.

That wasn't such a wonderful thing to do for the guys at the repple depple. We've lived together for over a year and a half and they weren't getting enuf [*sic*] to eat & no beer. Its only 20 mi.⁷⁵ and we have transportation. We'd be pretty lousy if we didn't go out. Going again Sunday. All of the cooks will make pizza Sat nite. Knew you'd be glad about the kimonos for the Mothers and as to Beth Ellen⁷⁶ — she's kind of nice — writes to me too which is more than some of my other nieces do. Did I tell you I am to get a real M^cCoy⁷⁷ doll for Rho? Don't tell her cause I haven't got it yet. A Jap is making one complete with silk kimono.

⁷⁴ Unidentified individual.

⁷⁵ Abbreviation for "miles."

⁷⁶ Unidentified individual; based on what follows, probably one of Sid's nieces.

⁷⁷ A/the "real McCoy" is an idiom meaning "the real thing" or "a genuine piece."

It'll probably cost a lung & he doesn't play klabbiash!⁷⁸

Page 5 of 5:

Hope Sal Adelstein⁷⁹ gets his break. I liked him. He sure was "beaucoup de madamoiselle" in "Baby" Rose Marie.⁸⁰ Guess that after 2 ½ yrs. C.B.I.⁸¹ he can handle it—for a while anyway.

Don't worry bout what to wear when you meet me. The less said about the less you wear—am I mixed up! Anyway.—I want some steak & fried potatoes & some lettuce and tomatoes and some STUFF LIKE THAT THERE!

Guess I'll have to wait till you shop for steak etc.

This place is like a madhouse!

One guy is cleaning my boots, another pressing my pants another cleaning his ribbons for me to wear & the barber gave me priority. The Old Man came up said "I know you can take care of yourself in the clinches" "Good luck". Swell bunch of guys—& you too

Love Sid

Envelope: [handwritten, in black ink, on tab:] This was already opened [postmark:] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE 1946 Jan 12 7-APO⁸² [sender, handwritten, in pencil:] T/3⁸³ SID GOLDMAN 36783791 / 166th ORD. TIRE REP. Co⁸⁴ / APO 503 SAN FRANCISCO⁸⁵ [postage stamp, featuring an airplane, orange, printed:] U.S. POSTAGE

⁷⁸ A fast-moving card game for two players also known as klabberjass.

⁷⁹ Unidentified individual; based on what follows, probably an actor.

⁸⁰ Possible reference to the 1929 silent short "Baby Rose Marie the Child Wonder," starring Rose Marie, an American actress and comedienne (1923-2017).

⁸¹ Abbreviation for "China Burma India Theater" (World War II).

⁸² Abbreviation for "Army Post Office."

⁸³ Abbreviation for "Technician Third Grade;" rank of the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1948.

⁸⁴ Short for "Ordnance Tire Repair Company."

⁸⁵ Short for "San Francisco."

VIA AIRMAIL 6 ¢ [addressee, handwritten, in pencil:] Mrs. S. Goldman / 1636 No.
Shore Road⁸⁶ / Revere, 51 / Mass.

*Edition: Letter 8, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 14, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 2:

Monday

Jan. 14

Dearest,

Mail service is picking up. Got 3
from you today. 4-5-6 so I'll probably
draw a blank tomorrow but every day
can't be a holiday.

We're still in the dark. Don't know
what the score is & probably won't know
till Eisenhower speaks to Congress. There's
a rumor circulating that he may reco-
mend discard of the point system &
discharge by the length of service. So far
8th Army is cutting points. They cut or-
ders today on the Col. of the 51's and
most of the 50's. Start on 49's Wed.
& so far as they know they'll go right
down the line. I could be in rep
dep⁸⁷ in about 10 days or less if our
luck holds out. I'm sweatin.

Drove to rep dep today & brought the
boys some beer & cake. They gave us
butts⁸⁸ in exchange. Bringing pizza
out to 'em tomorrow nite for a
real sendoff.

Page 2 of 2:

Irv wrote that he's going after Penny
so I'm leaving it to him. OPA⁸⁹ fined
him \$200 which isn't bad but they
got an injunction prohibiting him
from repairing or capping tires

⁸⁶ As of this edition (2022), the residential structure at this address (built in 1900) still stands.

⁸⁷ Short for "reple depple;" replacement depot.

⁸⁸ Unused parts of cigarettes or cigars.

⁸⁹ U.S. Office of Price Administration (OPA) tasked with price controls and civilian rationing from 1941 to 1947.

not conforming to OPA specifications
and you try & find em. As Irv says
“It looks like a long cold winter” &
he’s surprisingly calm.

Thanx much for writing the folks.

It means a lot to me as you can
understand so please keep it up?
We’re sposed to get 30 replacements
in tonite fresh from the States & they
are 4 hrs. late so far. They’re going to
feed em when they come in so I think
I’ll wait up & have coffee. In the
meantime I’ll sit & think of you &

Love

Sid

*Edition: Letter 9, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 15, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 2:

Tues.

Jan. 15

Dearest,

I knew it. Got 3 letters yesterday
so today there were 4 letters for the whole
co. Can’t have cream always I guess.
Sent in a list today “for planning
purposes only” of all men with 45/or
more points or those with 30 mos.’
service. Seems like they’re starting to
put emphasis on service & I don’t
like. Every time I get near the top of
a list they do something to set me back.
Some day I’ll beat ‘em.

Got word today on our barge. Its
in dry dock at Okinawa⁹⁰ for repairs
& they don’t know if & when it will
get here. I’ve got the tube repair shop
just about set up now so I don’t mind.
Got 10 Japs that I taught how to use
cold patches turning out 100 tubes a

⁹⁰ Japanese island prefecture, located northeast of Taiwan and southwest of Kyushu; following World War II, it remained under U.S. American administration until 1972.

day and in the meantime I've got a welder making tube plates & a plumber setting up a boiler. When its complete I'll have a line like on Western

Page 2 of 2:

Ave.⁹¹ only this will be solely tubes. I had 'em dig a 6 ft. pit for this boiler so we won't have water in the molds. Remember? Getting quite a kick out of it. Meeting tonite – top 3 graders – and if that so & so Col. sounds off again I'll blow my top right in his face! After that Abbot & Costello in Hollywood⁹² & so to bed. Got 30 some odd replacements last nite from the 81st (Black Panther Div.)⁹³ now inactivated. Mostly rebels.⁹⁴ Need I say more? Still waiting for news of Rho's doll but haven't heard yet. It's a long ride out. News is on & everyone is sweatin out Gen. Ike's⁹⁵ speech to Congress, Hope & pray it helps me – & you
Love
Sid

Edition: Letter 10, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman] and Rhoda [Goldman], January 16, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]

Page 1 of 4:

Wed.
Jan. 16
Dearest,
So Gen. Ike finally sounded off & we knew what he was going to say. Went out to the rep dep today &

⁹¹ Western Ave. is Chicago's longest street (27.38 miles).

⁹² American comedy film released in 1945, starring comedians Bud Abbott and Lou Costello.

⁹³ The 81st Infantry Division was actually known as the "Wildcats." "Black Panthers" was the nickname of the 66th Infantry Division.

⁹⁴ Many servicemembers of the 81st Infantry Division hailed from the southeastern states.

⁹⁵ Commonly used nickname for General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

the 50 pointers are just about cleaned out. They expected to cut orders on 48-49 pointers today but didn't. Our boy says they'll also cut 30 mo. men but that points have priority. I now really think I'll leave here by the end of the month but don't stop writing till I tell you to. Sorry to hear that Joe & Lil⁹⁶ need adjusting. Kind of scares me but I don't see how we can have those troubles. I think most of the trouble is that the man expects his wife to think he's changed and he tries too hard. Me—just the steak & fried potatoes and the lettuce and tomatoes and SOME STUFF LIKE THAT THERE! & if

Page 2 of 4:

after the steak & stuff I'm not adjusted—Shoot me! Some disturbing mail today. Letter from Leo Young.⁹⁷ Willie⁹⁸ is still in England, it was Leo's wife Ruth who had (& has) the ticker⁹⁹ trouble & one of the boys I went thru Atlanta with had his chest caved in on Okinawa. Sounds like our daughter is practicing up on being a model child. Who's she conning & what's her angle. I can't believe its spontaneous. Saw part of Abbott & Costello "In Hollywood." Walked out & so would you. Been dreaming of you lately again. Seems to run in streaks & its nice but—

⁹⁶ Unidentified individual; husband to Ruth Young, mentioned below.

⁹⁷ Unidentified individual; perhaps Leo and Ruth Young's son.

⁹⁸ Unidentified individual; Leo Young's wife.

⁹⁹ Colloquial term denoting the (beating) heart.

Love
Sid

Page 3 of 4:

Jan. 16
Dearest Rhoda,
Do you mind if I answer
2 of your letters (and a postcard) all
at once? You see — you write only
to me and I have so many people
to write to.
I'm happy that you've been helping
Mother with the housework and
she tells me that you have been
doing very well. Keep up the good
work. She also says you are doing
quite well in school and I'm glad.
I'm sure now that I'll be home
for your birthday and am hoping
to get home for Feb. 21st because
on that day your mother and I
will have been married for 14
years. I doubt very much that I'll
be there in time but I like to
dream. Do you ever dream
while you sleep. Lately I've been

Page 4 of 4:

dreaming of you & Mom almost eve-
ry nite — and I like it.
Did I tell you I'm bringing
your kimono home with me so
that I can give it to you myself?
Thought you'd like it better that
way than if the mailman brought
it.
Not much other news. The Japs
still look the same as they did
and I don't like 'em but
I
LOVE
YOU¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ "I LOVE YOU" is "spelled" in x-s (representing kisses).

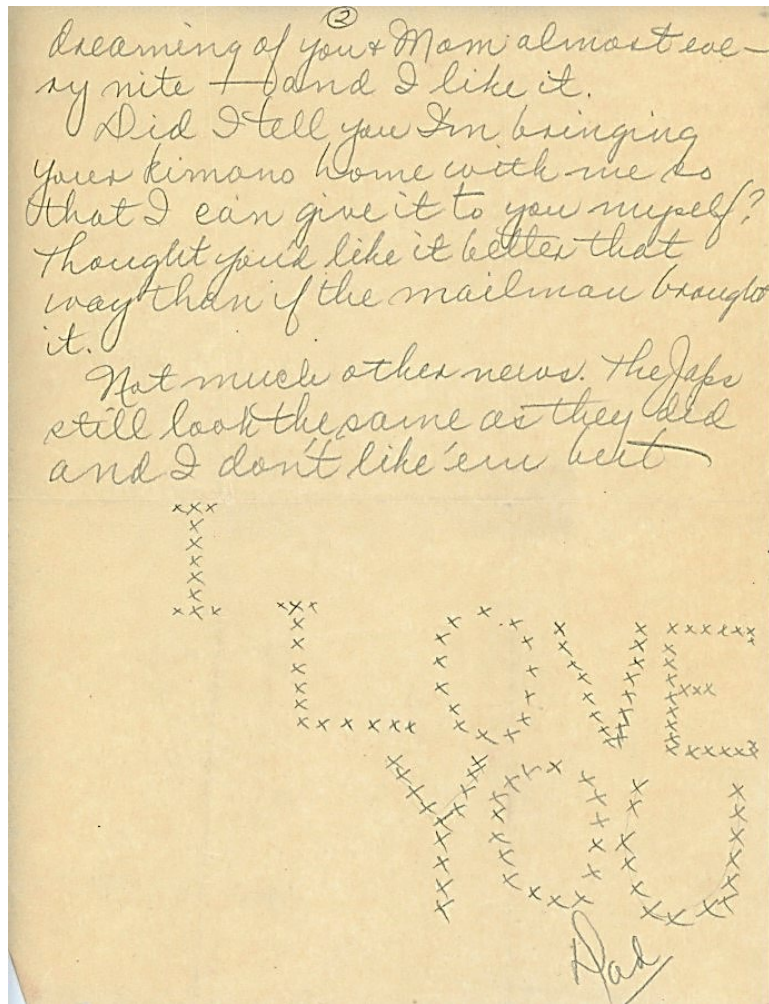
Dad

Figure 5: Letter 10, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman] and Rhoda [Goldman], January 16, [1946], [Manila, Philippines] [Page 4 of 4].

Edition: Letter 11, M. H. "Smokey" [Rieders?] to [Lillian Goldman], January 17, [1946], Manila, Philippines

Envelope [front]: [postmark:] U.S. ARMY POSTAL SERVICE 1946 Jan 17 7-BP [sender, handwritten, in blue ink:] T/5¹⁰¹ M. H. Rieders 32697327 / 232 Ord. Tire Rep. / A.P.O. 75 c/o pm / San Fran¹⁰² / [postage stamp, featuring an airplane, orange, printed:] U.S. POSTAGE VIA AIRMAIL 6 ¢ [addressee, handwritten, in blue ink:] Mrs. S. Goldman / 1636 No. Shore Road / Revere, 51, Mass.

Envelope [back]: [handwritten, likely by Sid Goldman, in pencil:] Everybody fine here, and I'll write / tomorrow. / Love / Mom, / Bernie & Estelle¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Abbreviation for "Technician Fifth Grade;" rank of the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1948.

¹⁰² Short for "San Francisco."

¹⁰³ Unidentified individuals; also mentioned in letter 15.

Page 1 of 4:

Jan. 17, 46

Manila

Dearest Lil

I was really waiting for melon-head¹⁰⁴ to actually leave before I wrote but it's imminent now just a matter of a day or two. Start the presses, roll the cameras, pull the switches, fire the starting gun – sure as all hell I'm behind you 1000%.

As for Ike's plan for demobilization, it's fairly hard to get a perfect picture of it. Those of us in the 45, 46, 47 bracket don't know how soon before Apr. 30, we'll be on our way. As we see it, if there are boats in the harbor, they could readily start now, they don't dare to wait till Apr. 30th. In any event, Sid and I will be home, the latest, March. I'll now contradict myself and say that demob[ilization] has been slower in Japan – but at first, it surpassed all the Philip-

Page 2 of 4:

pinos.

Again in regard to balloon-head,¹⁰⁵ I think Sid, and, I know, myself, plan some concrete action against him so he'll never forget us. I think that together, we can do a fairly good job. I miss that wretched husband of yours. I've lost all my sharpness, walk around like a "mope" since he's gone. I wish his business was in N.Y.,¹⁰⁶ Chi[cago] is too far to go to see him as often as I'd like to.

¹⁰⁴ Perhaps a nickname for Sid.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps another nickname for Sid.

¹⁰⁶ Abbreviation of "New York."

And you and Rho, feeling great, I hope? You're probably putting in a cold winter – and right now, perspiration is on my brow – not from work I assure you. I haven't gone to work in two weeks. The final outcome of my swollen toe was a bad ingrown toe-nail which had bothered me continually since Oct[ober]. Two weeks ago, at a hospital (248 Genl.). I had the ingrown

Page 3 of 4:

part removed, talked the MD¹⁰⁷ into letting me out of the hospital and am still on quarters, the equivalent to sick leave, I just lie around. However, it can't last, it's healing slowly but perfectly so soon I must again face the barge – horrors.

Our company will move our area, to the other side of Manila, – who cares, just the bother of moving.

Lil dear, that T/5¹⁰⁸ was more of a surprise to me than to you but Sid showing off a T/3¹⁰⁹ was no surprise he should have had that long, long ago. But typing is no miracle, anybody can hunt and peck, what you didn't know is how long it took me to type it!!!!

I still hear from Regine,¹¹⁰ seems as if she is married in name only. She asks me to write "en Francais" so as to elongate our friendship, no [sic] compris!

Page 4 of 4:

nevertheless, I feel certain she'll make the guy a marvelous wife, I believe if I ever do see her alone, it would be

¹⁰⁷ Abbreviation of "Medical Doctor."

¹⁰⁸ Abbreviation of "Technician Fifth Grade," rank of the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1948.

¹⁰⁹ Abbreviation of "Technician Third Grade," rank of the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1948.

¹¹⁰ Unidentified individual; perhaps a "war bride" from France.

nothing more than a reunion and a
 bunch of chatter. That was her sacrifice
 for getting to the states, marriage without
 love (which I am certain of) but her
 children if any, will have no life
 like her or her family and that's
 why she'll be happy and sincere.
 If we do meet at the station (I bet
 there's a good price on that), you'll drink
 Cutty Sark¹¹¹ and so will Sid, and like
 it. Imagine a guy refusing a drink in a
 nite spot!!!! From the president of
 something or other, too!!!
 Accept belated New Years greetings,
 Hope to deliver Sid's birthday greeting
 in person
 Love
 Smokey
 P.S. I've finally latched on to a "51"¹¹² but
 you [wou]ld never catch me putting red ink in it!!

*Edition: Letter 12, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
 January 18, [1946], [Manila, Philippines]*

Page 1 of 2:

Fri.
 Jan. 18
 Dearest,
 Sweated out the phone service
 this afternoon but they couldn't squeeze
 me in. Got into an argument with the
 guy in charge — a looie¹¹³ fresh from the
 States. You see I have a scheduled call
 for the 22nd but have been trying to
 get there sooner. He accused me of
 trying to bribe him and I accused
 him of brown nosing the higher
 brass so we're even. What a jerk!
 I'll pester him again tomorrow.

¹¹¹ A brand of Scotch whisky.

¹¹² Possibly a "Parker 51" fountain pen.

¹¹³ Short for "lieutenant."

The 49 & 48 pointers are all in
 the rep dep now and we tried today
 to get in touch with our boy to find
 out what the score is. The Old Man
 was downtown today to see about
 his orders (he's sweating too) and he says
 they told him they expect to cut orders
 on 45-6-7 point men early next week
 which means —
 I'm scared to write it.
 Getting back to the phone call —

Page 2 of 2:

the thought occurred to me that you
 might be P.O.'d on a/c I didn't call you in-
 stead of Irv. First of all — if I called you
 & spoke to you & Rho & then had to come
 back here it'd be an awful letdown
 and on top of hearing about Dad that
 would be too much. Secondly — I'm
 going to see you soon and I can wait.
 Thirdly — I must give Irv instructions
 on how to go about the Red X¹¹⁴ business.
 Comprenez vous?¹¹⁵
 Went to the show last nite — "Dakota"¹¹⁶
 a western — no more no less. Tonite
 a mystery — "Crimson Canary"¹¹⁷ — no-
 thing else to do and it keeps me occu-
 pied.
 Got our boiler set up today and I've
 got my fingers crossed. We'll light it up
 tomorrow and it has to work on a/c
 otherwise 18 or more guys will say "I
 told you so."
 Love you
 but I told you so before
 Sid

¹¹⁴ Short for "Red Cross."

¹¹⁵ French for "Do you understand?"

¹¹⁶ American Western adventure film, released in 1945, starring John Wayne.

¹¹⁷ American mystery film, released in 1945.

*Edition: Letter 13, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 19, [1946], Manila, Philippines*

Page 1 of 1 [additional page or pages lost]:

Sat.

Jan. 19

Dearest,

It was wonderful to talk to Itch¹¹⁸ & a great relief to find out Pa was O.K. When he said you & Rho were in Chi[cago] my heart fell cause I knew that you'd be at Henrietta's.¹¹⁹ Probably if I'd waited till my appointed time I could have spoken to you. That would have been the 22nd but I was worried and pulled all the strings I could find to get the call there sooner. I wish now that I'd waited. However that's all water over the damn dam damn!

We've received no air mail the past 3 days consequently I didn't even know you were planning on Chi[cago] I did get a regular mail letter today from Iris¹²⁰ dated Dec. 18 so I understand how come I owe her a letter.

My plans now are really changed.

First of all being as to how you're in Chi[cago]

I'll want discharge there, 2nd Irv says that AGO¹²¹ ok'd my release (in Wash¹²²) on the 15th which means it has to come thru channels – WASH to AFPAC¹²³-Manila to 8TH ARMY in YOKOHAMA¹²⁴ to ASCOM¹²⁵ to Bn. to 166th and the least time is 10 days. I expect to be in the rep dep by next Sat. so the papers probably will never catch up with me.

¹¹⁸ Perhaps a nickname for Sid's brother Irving.

¹¹⁹ Unidentified individual; also mentioned in letter 17.

¹²⁰ Unidentified individual; Iris is also mentioned in letter 6.

¹²¹ Abbreviation for "Adjutant General's Office."

¹²² Washington D.C.

¹²³ Abbreviation for "U.S. Army Forces, Pacific."

¹²⁴ City in Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan.

¹²⁵ Abbreviation for "Army Service Command."

There's only one thing left. I called
Gen. Byers'¹²⁶ office and he wont be in
till Mon. A.M. That's the guy I had [loss]

*Edition: Letter 14, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 20, [1946], Manila, Philippines*

Mimeographed [printed] page:

ROUTINE CLEAR

MCN:	4277	SBE: VP
TOO:	191141 Z	USASCOMC DIST:
TOR:	200326 Z	ACTION: PERS (E)
REC'D	USASCOMC 1400 20 JAN 46	INFO: G-1
FROM:	CINGAFPAC	ORD
TO:	CG ASCOM C	SURG
INFO:	CG EIGHTH ARMY	FILE
CITE:	Z 47113	

GRANITE MOUNTAIN CITE WARTAG RAD SPXPF-A, W DASH US DASH
THREE DASH FOUR SIX EIGHT FOUR ASP. SPECIAL TEC THREE SID GOLMAN [sic]
THREE SIX SEVEN EIGHT THREE SEVEN NINE ONE. ONE SIX SIX ORD TIRE
REPAIR CC, SERIOUSLY ILL FATHER. PUT HENRY HAUS SIX FIVE SIX TWO
TWO ZERO FIVE. ONE SEVEN TWO STA HOSP, SERIOUSLY ILL WIFE.
ROUTINE CLEAR

Page 1 of 2:

Sunday

Jan. 20

Dearest,

I'm bout as nervous as a bride on
her wedding nite. Can't imagine that a
month from tomorrow will find me in
Chicago. Went to the movie & saw Catherine
the Great¹²⁷ for the 2nd time & enjoyed it again
but if it had been the 22nd time I'd have en-
joyed it as well. Its 11 P.M. & the mess hall
just called; they're making pizza & I
scored 4 cases of beer tonite so I'll stay
up. No work tomorrow on a/c I'm going
to try to see the General (wish me luck)
to secure plane transportation and I'll
take the rest of the day off to clean up
my stuff. Our orders should be cut to-
morrow and we should be in the

¹²⁶ See letter 7.

¹²⁷ Probably a reference to the American comedy-drama film, "A Royal Scandal," released in 1945, starring Tallulah Bankhead as Catherine the Great.

rep dep Tues. or Wed. if no snafu develops.

We've been reminiscing tonite & brought back a lot of memories (some pleasant & some unpleasant) of the past year. There are still a few of us from the orig. 232nd and one of the boys who is leaving with me has been with me since Atlanta.

Page 2 of 2:

We've been wondering about the change to civil life & laughing about how we'll have to watch our speech & actions. I don't think it will be too hard. Been conjuring up your face all day & it comes up perfect even to the mole on your upper lip, my left side. Rho is a bit harder cause she seems to have grown. Wondering bout her school & a jillion other things.

Love
Sid

*Edition: Letter 15, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
January 21, [1946], Manila, Philippines*

Form [printed; italics: typewritten data; both signatures are handwritten, in ink]:

WAR DEPARTMENT
MESSAGEFORM

File No.	<i>JSXE 201-GOLMAN [sic], SID (ENL)</i>	Date:	<i>21 JAN 46</i>
Office of origin:	<i>HQ USASCOMC</i>	Telephone No.	<i>43</i>
	<i>(Arm of Service)</i>		<i>AG-E</i>
			<i>(Section)</i>
[no data entered for: "(Division)," "(Branch)," and "(Symbol)" and section "PRECEDENCE"]			
Address:	<i>APO 404</i>		
To:	<i>CO 166 ORD TIRE REPAIR CO</i>		
	<i>APO 503</i>		

MESSAGE:

REQUEST MOS, ASRS, RACE, BRANCH OF SERVICE AND HOME ADDRESS OF
T/3 SID GOLDMAN 36783791. BE SENT THIS HQ WITH LEAST POSSIBLE
DELAY TO EFFECT RETURN OF EM TO US FOR EMERG FURLOUGH DUE SER-
IOUSLY ILL FATHER. INDIVIDUAL WILL BE PROMPTLY INFORMED OF FUR
AND RETURNED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Charles M. Williams [signature]

HYSSONG

CHARLES M. WILLIAMS

CAPT FA

ACTG ASST ADJ GEN

[stamp with numbers 00-23 around border, "RECEIVED 22 JAN 1946 Hqs. Base Ord."]
 201-Goldman, Sidney (Enl) 1st Ind. JTR/sjr
 HEADQUARTERS, 166TH ORDNANCE TIRE REPAIR COMPANY, APO 503, 23 January 1946.
 TO: Headquarters, USASCOM, APO 404.

1. In reference with above message the following information is submitted:

- a. MOS:¹²⁸ 240.
- b. ASRS: 46.
- c. Race: White.
- d. Branch of Service: Ord.
- e. Home Address: 1636 N. Shore Road., Revere, Mass.

John T. Radigan [signature]

JOHN T. RADIGAN

Capt., Ord Dept.,

Commanding

W.D., A.G.O. Form No. 801

August 11, 1944

WAR DEPARTMENT MESSAGEFORM		Date 21 JAN 46														
File No. JSXE 201-GOLMAN, SID (ENL)	Telephone No. 43															
Office of origin HQ USASCOMC (Army or service) (Division) (Branch) (Section) (Symbol)	AG-E															
Address APO 404																
To: CO 166 ORD TIRE REPAIR CO APO 503	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">PRECEDENCE</th> </tr> <tr> <th>WIRE OR RADIO</th> <th>ESSENTIAL MILITARY MAIL</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Urgent</td> <td>Air mail</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Priority</td> <td>Special delivery</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Routine</td> <td>Ordinary</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Deferred</td> <td>Registered</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Week end</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		PRECEDENCE		WIRE OR RADIO	ESSENTIAL MILITARY MAIL	Urgent	Air mail	Priority	Special delivery	Routine	Ordinary	Deferred	Registered	Week end	
PRECEDENCE																
WIRE OR RADIO	ESSENTIAL MILITARY MAIL															
Urgent	Air mail															
Priority	Special delivery															
Routine	Ordinary															
Deferred	Registered															
Week end																
Any message not X'd for precedence will be sent "Deferred."		Initial of officer assigning precedence														
<p>MESSAGE:</p> <p>REQUEST MOS, ASRS, RACE, BRANCH OF SERVICE AND HOME ADDRESS OF T/3 SID GOLMAN 36783791, BE SENT THIS HQ WITH LEAST POSSIBLE DELAY TO EFFECT RETURN OF EM TO US FOR EMERG FURLOUGH DUE SERIOUSLY ILL FATHER. INDIVIDUAL WILL BE PROMPTLY INFORMED OF FUR AND RETURNED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.</p> <p><i>Charles M. Williams</i> HYSSONG CHARLES M. WILLIAMS CAPT FA ACTG ASST ADJ GEN</p> <p>201-Goldman, Sidney (Enl) 1st Ind. JTR/sjr HEADQUARTERS, 166TH ORDNANCE TIRE REPAIR COMPANY, APO 503, 23 January 1946. TO: Headquarters, USASCOM, APO 404.</p> <p>1. In reference with above message the following information is submitted:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. MOS: 240. b. ASRS: 46. c. Race: White. d. Branch of Service: Ord. e. Home Address: 1636 N. Shore Road., Revere, Mass. <p><i>John T. Radigan</i> JOHN T. RADIGAN Capt., Ord Dept., Commanding</p>																
W. D., A. G. O. Form No. 801 August 11, 1944																

Figure 6: Letter 15, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], January 21, [1946], Manila, Philippines [War Department, Message Form].

¹²⁸ Abbreviation for "months of service."

Page 1 of 3:

Monday

1 – 21

Dearest,

They've got me hanging on a string
& really sweating. The General is away
on a trip and his aide says that if I can
get word from Red X that my furlough
has been authorized his office will
cut air orders immediately. I find out
that Red X in U.S. doesn't cable Red X here
unless the people at home specifically
request it. I don't know whether Irv
did that or not so it looks like I'll
come back by boat anyway. So far they
haven't cut any orders on 45's but our
boy (who has 45 points) took today off
so that he could pack his clothes. He
still says we should be in the depot
by Wed. & then it will be too late to do
anything about Red X.

Glad you liked the pictures. I have
been getting fat this past month on a/c
chow is good and I'm not doing
any work even tho I'm on two
jobs. I'm glad Rho liked the pic of me

Page 2 of 3:

in the sack¹²⁹ in what the boys call my
most natural position. I thought she
would.

You sounded like you looked sharp
at the wedding & that's the way I want
you to look – always. Can't say I
go for that long hair do tho.

We all got a big laugh out of you
& Shir – I vote you- Heard near riots
in Yoko¹³⁰ hunch you were in vanguard
I vote Shir – Saw mass meeting 8th Army

¹²⁹ Slang term for "bed."

¹³⁰ Short for "Yokohama;" late 1945/early 1946 saw numerous near-mutinies of U.S. Armed Forces servicemembers demanding to be demobilized.

& I hope you were there rallying the guys
around in greater numbers than the crap
games. Hope you sounded off. End quote.
Hope you're both satisfied cause I did
my best.

Somehow I had a hunch you would
take off for Chi[cago] on the slightest provo-
cation. Probably a good deal tho I did
want to see Ma & Bern & Estelle.¹³¹ May-
be we can take a trip East before I
settle down to work.
How's it feel not to write cause

Page 3 of 3:

I'll probably be on or close to a boat by
the time you get this? I just gotta get
home in exactly 30 days (or less) on
a/c today is 1/21.

Haven't been able to get out to find
out about Rho's doll on a/c I've been
sleeping close to the phone.

See you soon & I do mean
soon!

Love

Sid

*Edition: Letter 16, Capt. John T. Radigan to Headquarters, USASCOMC,
January 23, [1946], [no location given]*

Form/official notice [typed]:

201-Goldman, Sidney (Enl) 1st Ind. JTR/sjr
HEADQUARTERS, 166TH ORDNANCE TIRE REPAIR COMPANY, APO 503, 23 January 1946.
TO: Headquarters, USASCOMC, APO 404.

1. In reference with above message the following information is submitted:

- a. MOS: 240.
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JOHN T. RADIGAN
Capt., Ord Dept.,
Commanding

¹³¹ Unidentified individuals; also mentioned on the envelope (back) of letter 11.

*Edition: Letter 17, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman],
before or on January 23, [1946] [Manila, Philippines]*

Photograph [Sidney Goldman]:



*Figure 7: Letter 17, Letter 17, Sid[ney Goldman] to [Lillian Goldman], Undated, [no location given]
[enclosed photograph of Sid Goldman].*

Page 1 of 1 [top portion damaged]:

and [loss]
with our [loss]
still trying [loss] to hear so [loss]
thing before I go to bed.
I know you're enjoying Henrietta¹³² &
Adolph¹³³ & the kids & probably eating like
a horse. I shouldn't have any trouble
getting the steak etc. wow. So many
things I want to ask you such as how
everyone is & how Chi[cago]. looks etc. but

¹³² Unidentified individual; also mentioned in letter 13.

¹³³ Unidentified individual.

if everything works (what a longshot!)

I'll soon know.

Love,

Sid

P.S. !FLASH!!

ATTENTION!!

Our boy just called. "All

45 pointers will be in

the depot by Wed. 1/23

the latest as per tele-

type orders.

Happy Anniversary &

Love &

STUFF LIKE THAT THE [loss]

P.S. Your copies of these

pictures went to Boston.

Please pass these out.

STOP WRITING!

ABOUT THE EDITOR: *Michael A. Conti of Mission Viejo, California, earned both his B.A. in History with a minor in Political Science (2019) and his 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 also served as an editor for volume 49 of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History" (2022).*

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The primary-source edition published above originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.

Colin B. Eastman and Mercy Reyes (editors)

*Mentoring Santa Ana's Future:
An Interview with Police Officer Alan Bond (1973)*

Shelfmark

California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Santa Ana Project.

O.H. 1411.

Oral Interview with Alan Bond, conducted by Jennifer King Torres,
May 8, 1973, Santa Ana, 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 "Santa Ana Project." The interview with Alan Bond was conducted by Jennifer King Torres on May 8, 1973, in Santa Ana. The interview lasted 36 minutes and 43 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 2021 by Colin B. Eastman and Mercy Reyes.

At the time of the interview (1973), Alan Bond had been a police officer in the Santa Ana Police Department for five years, and his experience encompassed a wide range of police work. Prior to serving in the arrest unit, he had taught weapons-handling for the Sheriff's Department. Bond's interview discusses the origins of the P.A.A.L. (Police Association Athletic League) program—originally an attempt of the San Jose Police Department to curtail gang wars and sponsor outreach to the community. The success of San Jose's boxing program encouraged the Santa Ana Police Department to set up its own program. Bond describes the start of Santa Ana's boxing program and other community-building activities, including a baton-and-drill team, air rifle club, and model building for the less athletically inclined. Bond then turns to his respective brainchild, a wrestling program, and the small budget it received the first year. This wrestling program quickly became immensely successful, though, and earned its participants notable championship placements. Bond describes how the community became involved and how the P.A.A.L. program was promoted. Bond characterizes P.A.A.L. as "giving them [i.e., children and youth] something to do" to prevent them from looking for trouble. The increasing number of young people joining the program, as well as the support of Santa Ana Police Chief Raymond C. Davis, made Bond feel optimistic about P.A.A.L.'s prospects. He also mentions the inclusion of girls and women in wrestling as competitors and referees. Bond expresses his hope that, once the program would be fully established, it might even be able to obtain its own facility in the future.

Officer Alan Bond's interview offers a valuable perspective on the creation and development of Santa Ana's P.A.A.L. program by one of its founding officers. It contains useful material for community history, social and cultural history, ethnic studies, as well as gender studies.

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Colin B. Eastman of Ladera Ranch, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

ABOUT THE EDITOR: Mercy Reyes of Los Angeles, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 1411)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Alan Bond [AB]

INTERVIEWER: Jennifer King Torres [JT]

DATE: May 8, 1973

LOCATION: Santa Ana, California

PROJECT: Santa Ana Project

TRANSCRIBERS: Colin B. Eastman and Mercy Reyes

JT: This is an interview with officer Alan Bond of the Santa Ana¹ Police Department by Jennifer King Torres for the Oral History and Criminology departments at California State University at Fullerton. The interview is taking place in officer Bond's office at 530 North Ross, Santa Ana, California, at 11:30 a.m. (pauses) May 8th, 1973. Would you please tell me a little about your own personal background before you begin to associate with P.A.A.L.?²

AB: Before I became associated with P.A.A.L. as far as police work or (pauses) I've been a—I've been a police officer for five years, and during that time I've worked a little of everything, uh (pauses), to do with patrol, I've been a training officer for three years—training new police officers. I've taught the sheriff's academy, weapons defense. I've won the Award for

¹ City in Orange County, California.

² Abbreviation for "Police Association Athletic League."

Outstanding Police Work in 1971 for capturing three armed robbers in progress, on different days at the same location. Uh, and then last year in 1972, I got started in the P.A.A.L. program as the head of the wrestling (pauses) part of it.

JT: Um, how did P.A.A.L. get organized, and what do the initials stand for?

AB: The initials stand for Police Association Athletic League. It was started because San Jose³ Police Department had started their program five years ago to curtail gang wars (clears throat), and they got all the gang members together and asked why the kids were fighting 'cause, why don't they go to the parks and, you know, play with the rest of the kids, and they would rather box each other and so they broke the gangs up into boxing clubs. And through that they received many donations from the city, and they built a three-million-dollar complex to house all sorts of sports activities for both boys and girls, and they have sixteen thousand youth involved in San Jose. So, using them as a guideline, we started our own program, and there are P.A.A.L. groups throughout the United States. That's how Joe Frazier⁴ got his start into boxing. It was through a P.A.A.L. group in Pennsylvania.

JT: How did this one in particular get started?

AB: We just heard about, uh, San Jose's, and we wanted to try it, so a couple of officers went to San Jose to look at their program, came back, and started a boxing program, and they started with four different centers, and when I heard about it, I asked them to start wrestling, and they said wrestling would not be a popular sport, and they didn't wanna start it. And they gave me two-hundred-dollar budget, and we spent four-thousand dollars last year on a wrestling program.

JT: (laughs)

AB: And we took first in the state, and one of our boys took first in the nation, and – and wrestling has blossomed to be the best program.

JT: Now, I – I personally enjoy the wrestling programs, so I can appreciate it. Um, (pauses) what kind of other programs do – does P.A.A.L. offer?

AB: Ok, right now, they have the wrestling and the boxing, and those incorporate kids from eight years old up through college. We also have a hobby club which, uh, we have two officers on the department who are professional model builders, trains and planes, and so on and so forth. They do it professionally, and they start a club for kids who are not physically inclined as far as, you know, athletics, and there are several kids who would rather do things like this, so they start that on Saturday mornings and, in fact, it will be starting this Saturday. It will have thirty kids involved, teaching them how to build any type of model they wanna build, and it'll enter them in the competition throughout Southern California, and we also

³ City in Santa Clara County, California.

⁴ Joseph "Smokin' Joe" William Frazier (1944-2011); U.S. American professional boxer.

have a girls' baton-and-drill team. Which has the youngest—well it's not just girls: we have one boy who's four years old, and he is too young to wrestle, so they put him in baton for his coordination, but they have that, and that, last year, had over a hundred girls (pauses) involved, and we have a dispatcher who used to be the instructor for the Ramettes,⁵ the baton group that works with the Rams at half time, she instructed them, so now she is working with the girls. And we have a air rifle and air pistol team, and we have a trap shooting team for the boys and girls. We sponsor Little League,⁶ uh, Pop Warner football.⁷ They don't call it Pop Warner anymore, but it's basically the same thing. We have a girls' softball team, and we are gonna be expanding into other fields, such as swimming and track-and-field, but, uh, they're all—every program is headed by a police officer, and it's—all the time is donated. Yes. They don't get paid for it, and they put all their—their extra time at working with the kids. And they're in—districted by the police officers and anybody else that wants to help.

JT: And it's all volunteers?

AB: Right, right.

JT: Uh, do you take volunteers from the community?

AB: Yes, yes, we have. That's our boxing program starting again this year, and it's gonna be run by a—a civilian volunteer with police officers helping him. Because he—his expertise is better than the officers', so we'll do it that way. (laughs)

JT: Uh, what kind of kids are recruited for the programs? Who is it open to?

AB: It's open to anybody, we have, uh (pauses)—oh, right now, our wrestling, we have over 200 kids, we're close to 200 boys involved, and we have them from as far north as Bellflower⁸ and as far south as, uh, Mission Viejo,⁹ Laguna Hills,¹⁰ and anybody can participate, it's not just open to Sana Ana. Because we are trying to get all the youth involved in some sort of athletics to keep them out of trouble during their, after-school hours.

JT: Have you been able to, uh, divert any of your problem kids into your programs at all?

AB: Yes, we have, uh, in the wrestling, a couple of kids that have been arrested for burglar—burg—burglary. Can't talk. And, uh, they come to practice instead of going to Juvenile Hall.¹¹ They come to our practices, and instead of reporting to a probation officer, this is—it's not an official thing yet, that

⁵ Cheerleading squad for the Rams, a professional American football team.

⁶ Local youth baseball and softball league.

⁷ American football youth organization; named after Glenn Scobey "Pop" Warner (1871-1954).

⁸ City in southeast Los Angeles County, California.

⁹ City in Orange County, California.

¹⁰ City in Orange County, California.

¹¹ Youth detention center.

is being done—but however we would like to work with the probation department on this, I’ve talked to a probation officer who will be working with our department. And she would like to see kids, you know, first, second offenders that haven’t really done anything major yet, get put in a program like this, like kids that are professional runaways. They generally run away because they have nothing to do, they, you know, they’re down on their parents, and they need something to do. And they like to see this become, uh, you know, involved with probation department to help the young kids instead of: stick ‘em in Juvenile Hall.

JT: Yeah, it seems they want a more constructive answer.

AB: Right.

JT: Um, how do you publicize your programs?

AB: Well, we had, uh, basically just taking posters around the different schools, and we’ve done a couple radio shows. We have had problems with the newspapers, uh, the one local newspaper¹² anyway, the largest one here in Orange County has, I don’t know why, but they haven’t really given us any publicity like we would hope to have. Like, last year, our wrestling team went to Watts¹³ to the Summer games. We were the only police agency there, and every one of our kids won a trophy, plus we got the outstanding wrestler of the tournament, and, uh, when they came down and did a big write up and never printed it. And then we won the state championship, and they never printed that. So it’s basically word-of-mouth, but it’s—it’s working apparently ‘cause, uh, the kids get involved. They tell their friend, and they bring a friend, and so on so forth.

JT: How many, uh, kids to have in the program?

AB: Right now probably over a thousand. It’s hard to tell because we got more coming all the time. And then not all of ‘em join. They’ll come and work out, or the girls will go, you know, with the baton girls and then not join the program until a later date. They like to see how it’s going first.

JT: I think that’s typical—

AB: Alright.

JT: —with anybody you want to find out what it’s like before you commit yourself.

AB: Right.

JT: Uh, as the wrestling coach, um, why do you feel that wrestling, uh, is such a good sport for aggressive—boys in particular that seem to get in trouble, break the law, or—or anti-social behavior?

AB: Well, I don’t think it’s any better a sport for an aggressive boy than it is for a passive boy. It’s just a good sport, period. I wrestled in college and high school, and we always had problems with wrestling programs. We never

¹² A reference to the *Orange County Register*; a daily newspaper, published since 1905.

¹³ Neighborhood in southern Los Angeles, California.

had enough, it seemed, and wrestling is quite popular 'cause it's one of the few sports that a boy can go out for and only weigh a hundred pounds, be in high school and become a national champion. And he can go to college and weigh 118 pounds and be a national champion. You can go to the Olympics weighing, you know, less than 120 pounds and be the best in the world. And it's one of the few sports that offers that challenge to where the boy will go out with another boy, and for nine minutes on the mat, they are gonna see who's the best and it's, uh, I believe, it takes more courage to wrestle than box and any other sport. 'Cause in that time you walk out, it's just you and one other individual. It's not the type of sport where a coach can call a time-out and call you over to the side and tell you, you wanna – wanna run a in-sweep instead of, you know, an off-tackle play. You have to be out there, make your own decision. A coach, I don't care how good the coach is, they can't coach you once you're on the mat because you're not more than two or three seconds at a time. You're moving from one move to the other, and you don't have time to sit there and listen to your coach or walk over and ask him a question. And it takes a intelligent boy and a, uh, just a good boy, that's what it takes for a sport like that.

JT: It takes an awful lot of concentration and work ethic –

AB: Right.

JT: – to become good at wrestling.

AB: Right, you know, you find, too, that most, uh, of the average grade for wrestlers is 3.0 in high school and college. That's compared to some of your other sports where it's, you know, down in the C brackets going up to the Bs. Like Larry Morgan¹⁴ at Cal Poly,¹⁵ who is one of the nation's greatest wrestlers, uh, he's a Biochemistry major and has a 3.9 grade average, and he is also an outstanding wrestler. It makes you learn to, uh, you know, it's something worth working for. You do it to, hopefully, to apply to more than just sports – to your own personal life. We try to teach that to the boys.

JT: Well, do you feel that it is easier to get, uh, say, gang-type juveniles involved in the wrestling program than would be into a football program –

AB: No.

JT: – or basketball.

AB: It's easier to get them involved in a boxing program. That's why our – our boxing program is going to hopefully go pretty good this year. It's, uh, they – boxing is something they can more or less just walk out and do, where wrestling, they might walk out and, uh, first few times get beat,

[00:10:00]

¹⁴ Student athlete.

¹⁵ California State Polytechnic University, Pomona; located in eastern Los Angeles County.

- AB: and get beat pretty bad, where in boxing they can go out and at least hit somebody and, if they lose, at least get their frustrations out by – they don't just want to go out and get pinned in 16 or 20 seconds like one of our boys did last week. Go out, at least you get to hit a kid for a period of time. Even if they miss, they're at least – they're throwing punches at him, and it releases their frustrations apparently. And they seem to enjoy boxing tremendously, at least the Mexican Americans, especially in Santa Ana, they really enjoy boxing.
- JT: So, do you feel that your, um, P.A.A.L. program has been an effective deterrent in, uh, juvenile delinquency in the area?
- AB: It's too early to tell right now, it, uh, has been for some, but, uh, not as great as we'd like, and it's gonna just take – like this is only the second year of it, and, uh, hopefully, once it gets going full-scale, when we get a facility constructed, and, uh, and when we have a place where kids can go year-round, a facility run by police officers that – we think it would be quite the deterrent. It's a lot better program, I feel, than the community relations programs that all the departments have where they send two uniformed officers out to a school, and they just talk to you, and it's the same – they tell each school the same thing. And it's the same stock answers and same stock questions and, uh, a kid up to – maybe up to junior high school will listen, at least ten percent of the time, and maybe try to enact some of what he is told, but, uh, I feel, athletics is the best way to get a kid involved, and he is actively involved, he is not just listening to somebody telling him something, he is out there with that person, either boxing against him or wrestling or whatever, but it makes him feel like he is involved in the program anyway.
- JT: Uh, usually a prevention program implies a underlying, uh, causation theory. What is your own personal theory concerning crime and delinquency causation?
- AB: There's (pauses) – that would take a – an eternity to answer. (laughs) There are so many, uh, there's such a variance of reasons. Kids, uh, like most of our burglaries occur in the daytime. Kids aren't in school, they cut school, and they found an easy way go out and, uh, you know, make some money, go out and steal something. You can always blame narcotics, that's, uh, prevalent now with our minority populace and also, uh, in the White sections of town, but there is no one reason you can, you know, pin-point as: this is the reason we have crime, 'cause crime's been in existence as long as, uh, you know, two people have had different opinions: somebody is gonna do something wrong and, uh, you just can't – that's a hard question to just flat out say –
- JT: I know.

- AB: —this is the reason we have, you know, robberies, and this is the reason we have rapes or whatever. The easiest way to cure is to just make everything legal.
- JT: I know. (chuckles)
- AB: If you legalized all your robberies, rapes, and burglaries you wouldn't have crime.
- JT: Right. Well, what do you think is the most important variables in general delinquency?
- AB: Uh, it's getting the kids, uh, giving them something to do. You hear this a lot. The kids who would, "Gee, I don't have anything to do." And most time they're right, they don't. And you ever go into one of these parks: now a kid can go there, and he can play dominos or chess and checkers, and half these kids, their—the best book they've read in their life is *Popular Mechanics*¹⁶ or, you know, *Hot Rod* magazines¹⁷—they're not gonna want to sit down and play chess and checkers. You gotta give the kids something to do to, you know, to deter 'em. If he is just going to go out every day, day after day, and he, you know, walks home from school and, on the way home, he, you know, sees a house he can break in, he might break in just from the lack of anything better to do. We (pauses)—I arrested a boy a few years ago that, uh, was a 4.0 grade average in high school and extremely intelligent, and he was, uh, about fourteen. He'd stolen eight cars and several thousand dollars in electronics equipment throughout all of Orange County—mainly because he was quite intrigued with electronics, and he didn't, uh, have a place to go where he could work on building things, so he would go out and steal the parts he would need, and his room was like walking into a laboratory: it was just fantastic. And, uh, we didn't do anything to him. We returned all the property, but now if he had had some place where he could go like, uh, hopefully, this hobby club will turn out to be, more of a science club—anything—if someone had just offered him something. Now here was a boy who was, uh, a great student, potentially, you know, he might even be president someday, but he is out pulling burglaries to get the things he needs, and, uh, so, I think it's just basically giving kids something that's showing you actually mean it, not just like tell a kid, "Here, we will give you this," and then say—say, we had a wrestler who came out and took first in state championship, and then after that we wouldn't send to the nationals. Say, now you go and pay your own way. Now that would completely shock the kid but we, uh, if he places first we pay their way to the nationals or to whatever they qualify to go to. And the kids really appreciate this 'cause most of 'em don't have the money to, you know, do that sort of thing. A police officer can give it to them, fine, and I

¹⁶ A magazine of popular science and technology; published since 1902.

¹⁷ An automobile magazine focusing on muscle cars; published since 1948.

am sure there is federal funds that'll help with this sort of thing. I know with our building we're trying build, uh, we're trying to get the federal government to go fifty-fifty on it, 'cause I'm sure they see the need for something like this, too, and it'll hopefully be a complete center where—where kids from any school can go to, and if they wanna play any type of sport, hobby, or whatever, they got the facility, and everything is given to 'em. (pauses) But then, where it's not everything, it's not—will be given to them just as a hand-out, they'll have to, if they want to progress, naturally have to win at whatever they're gonna do or at least show some knack for improvement.

JT: What kind of support have you gotten from the community?

AB: Well, right now, we—we're starting a campaign now to—we're sending out cards to all—there's eight-thousand businesses in Santa Ana, and we're sending out cards to all, but a few, like, we don't wanna send them to the pornography shops and this sort of thing. Trying to get the community there financially, or whatever way possible, to help with the program, 'cause it's their kids we're helping, and it's getting so big now that the officers just can't really afford to be, you know, putting out that much money into the programming alone, because it has all been funded strictly by the police officers themselves, and money coming out of their pockets. And then this year, we won the Disneyland¹⁸ Award for Best Community Service, which was \$10,000, which is almost gone. And, uh, so we're waiting now to see how the community will back it. The—I've talked to several businessmen who are really behind it, but it's not the big businessmen we need so much, it's just the parents of the kids, to get involved, and last year, uh, the parents got quite involved with the wrestling, especially the mothers. They went crazy over it—they loved it. So, you know, they've been wanting to have banquets all the time and bring food in and, uh, make things—anything that, you know, they really wanted to get involved with their kids. And that's great, 'cause, uh, that's—nothing shows the kids that their parents do care about them. And, uh, nothing better for a parent to go and watch his kid box or wrestle, but then the parent has something to either brag about or put him down and—but at least they are getting involved with it.

JT: So, you do try and get the families actively involved also.

AB: Oh, yes. Yeah. We try to have like—anytime we go somewhere, we always take, uh, police units and the paddy wagon,¹⁹ we load it up with the kids and drive 'em to local matches. But we also like to have the parents, like, drive one of the cars or something. And that way, you know, each week

¹⁸ Entertainment park in Anaheim, California; opened 1955.

¹⁹ Motortruck; normally used to transport prisoners.

- will have a different parent, and the kids can meet 'em. And it's been pretty good with parents.
- JT: Have you had to, uh, call parents and ask them to come to matches? Or do they pretty well respond when their kid gets involved?
- AB: No, we've never called a parent asked them anything. They've all called us and, uh, asked how they get, you know, whatever we need. And, uh, it's worked out great.
- JT: Well, what about, uh, families that are not too involved with their kids? Do you have any kind of family counseling or any kind of program for the future, for this certain area?
- AB: Well, we don't at this time, uh, we've had like, we have one black boy on our team who—he was very quiet and hardly ever talks, so, I sit down and talk to him one night, and I asked him what his problem was. He said he's working and working and working, but his parents never come and see him. And, uh, he felt kind of put down because he'd go to the matches, and everybody else would have somebody there watching, and he just he felt like he was by himself. And so I went and talked to his mom, and, uh, she never realized this. She always thought her son liked to be left alone. And, uh, now, every match we've gone to this year, she's been there with—there's nine kids in the family—she has all eight. They're cheering him on, and he's—he's improved almost, I'd say, a hundred percent. This year, he's really become a better wrestler. And he's more of an extrovert now than he is an introvert. He's really, uh, become just that—you can see the difference like day and night by getting his parents out there watching him, and made him feel a lot better.
- JT: That's a case of ignorance where, you know, if you probably hadn't gotten in contact with them, it would have gone on for a long time.
- AB: Right.
- JT: So, you are dealing with them on an individual basis then if there's a problem.
- AB: Right, Right. And, like the kid—oh, I've had to buy kids their breakfasts and this thing. They don't have money, and they're afraid to say anything about it, and you'll see 'em—not, oh—"I don't wanna eat this type thing." And you ask them why, and, well, "I don't have any money." So, if kids have any financial problems, we try to help them out with it also, anything we know within reason. We're not gonna buy 'em a new car because they couldn't come and practice.
- JT: Or steak and eggs? (laughs)
- AB: Right, right.
- JT: How do you feel about your own work in—in the P.A.A.L.? Do you feel it's worthwhile? Are you getting a lot of satisfaction out of it?
- AB: Yes, uh, I am. I've—I have my own duties at work. They last till 5:30 at night, and every night until about 9 o'clock, I'm involved with some

P.A.A.L. activity and then on the weekends, all day Saturdays, and then on Sundays, I get to see my wife and make phone calls to get other org—things arranged but it's, uh, it's been great, so—I've really gotten a lot out of it. Before I became a police officer, I was a swimming instructor. And, uh, for four years, I managed swimming pools and taught and so on so forth. And I've always worked with kids. And this, I think, I just personally feel

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AB: that this program is necessary. And I'd hate to see it, you know, stopped for lack of interest on any police officer's part. So, you know, sometimes I've had to work in two and three programs at one time to get it all working. But in the end, it's been well worth it.

JT: Are you getting good support from the police officers themselves?

AB: Well, police officers, like anybody else, there's jealousy and this sort of thing. And, uh, we don't have as many officers involved as we'd like to have. They wanna say where the money should be spent and all this, and yet, they're not involved. But I—we have this new Chief of Police, Chief Davis,²⁰ who is extremely behind the program. He just—he really thinks it's great. And, uh, as long as we have the support of the man upstairs, that's, you know, the program will go, and the city manager is behind it. And so, it looks like an up-and-coming thing. Let's see all other police agencies get involved. There's no reason they shouldn't.

JT: Uh, is it—most of the police officers that are working within the program, are—are they young like you?

AB: Yes. We have, uh, well, like some of 'em—this Saturday, we're going to San Diego²¹ for a wrestling tournament. And, uh, I've had a couple officers just come up and ask if they can drive the kids down there. They don't know anything about wrestling, and they've never been to a wrestling match. But they wanna get involved in some way, and that's all they can do, and they're older officers. Well, that's fine. You know, as long as they wanna get involved doing something with the kids.

JT: I noticed a variety of, uh, officers at the tournament, at the state championships. There seemed to be, what, three or four?

AB: Right.

JT: And they're in uniforms (inaudible).

AB: Well, there's—there was only one Santa Ana officer there in uniform. Uh, that was a sergeant. He wore the uniform just to see what people would think. And I bet he had fifty people come and ask them about our association and how to start programs like this. And then they, of course,

²⁰ Raymond C. Davis (1932-2018), Santa Ana Chief of Police (1973-1987).

²¹ City in southern California just north of the U.S.-Mexico border.

- they also asked him if he would quiet down the crowd and close the doors and get the kids back from the mat. They –
- JT: (laughs).
- AB: – one police officer is the same in every city.
- JT: I know, I was surprised when I saw the – the – the wagon in the center place. I thought, what are they doing here in Fullerton, you know?
- AB: Yeah, we've had, uh, last year our – you've seen our warm-ups: they have big "P.A.A.L." across the back, or the white – we have white ones and blue ones, and the blue ones have "Santa Ana Police" and the white ones don't. And last year when I went to the tournaments, people would ask our kids what the P.A.A.L. stood for. And they told them well, they're – they're all under arrest for heinous [*sic*] crimes and stands for "Prisoners All At Large" –
- JT: (laughs)
- AB: – we come after their, you know, their youth camps and bring them on the weekend just to wrestle, and they have the choice to either do that or stay in prison.
- JT: (laughs)
- AB: It was really embarrassing sometimes to have these parents come up and ask, you know, "Gee, is that kid a robber or rapist or what?" No, he's, you know, a student in Los Amigos High School,²² or whatever. Kids enjoy it.
- JT: Um, let's see (pauses). If we could go back for just a moment to when you said you won the 1971 Police Award for – what was it?
- AB: Outstanding Police Work.
- JT: Why don't you tell me about that. What was that all about (inaudible)?
- AB: Oh, okay. We had a store in Santa Ana that constantly got robbed. At the same time, we had a sergeant that wasn't getting along real well with me, so he stuck me in the worst area of town, which is where the store was. It's – it's the most boring part of town to work. And they put me down there. My second night down there I drove, uh – well, I was across the street from the store actually, catching up on my log, and I saw a car parked behind the store that's – parking lights on. And then, in the store, a man is pulling an armed robbery at that time. And he ran out and got in the car and drove off. And I followed him and called for some help and eventually arrested him. And it was funny 'cause by the time I was going to call in that I had seen the robbery, the station was putting out a broadcast. So I had to wait almost thirty seconds till our dispatcher, you know, stopped, so I could tell them that, yes, I have the guy, and I'm following him. And then, about four weeks later, I drove up there again. And there was a – two guys sitting by the store, looking suspicious. When they saw me, they took off. And so I chased them, and one – got out of the car – had a rifle, and the other one

²² High school in Fountain Valley, Orange County, California; established 1968.

didn't have a gun, at least obvious, and they ran in opposite directions. So I ran after the one without the rifle, naturally, and caught him, and they were just getting ready to rob the store. Plus he was a — wanted by Federal Parole for, uh, escape from some prison somewhere [sic]. And then a couple of months later, as a joke, I asked the lieutenant if I could take a plain unit to drive to down there and catch another robbery and he says, "Oh sure." So I went down, and ten minutes later, after I'd gotten there, a car drives up. A guy starts putting a stocking mask over his face and putting gloves on. I'm just sitting there going, "Yeah, this can't be happening," and —

JT: (laughs)

AB: — at the same time he saw me and figured I was a police officer. So he took off. And as I'm following, on the stolen car broadcast comes out which — the car he's driving, they'd just stolen. So, I ended up arresting him. And, uh, I got the award for that.

JT: (laughs)

AB: It was weird.

JT: That was crazy, like a TV show, you know.

AB: Yeah. It does.

JT: (laughs). Alright. Okay, um, you said that right now you're not working with the probation department?

AB: Not officially, no.

JT: But you are trying to develop a program.

AB: Yes.

JT: Uh, what exactly would be the kind of limitations — qualifications of having, uh, delinquents released to you in your programs?

AB: Well, I don't — we don't, we really don't know. That's going to be up to the judges and the people out at, uh, Juvenile Hall. But we have a probation officer assigned to work with our department now, which is something new. And she'll just handle the cases here. And, she's already asked me about this program and thinks it's good. So, we're gonna have to get together and go out to probation, juvenile courts, and talk with them. I really can't see any reason why they wouldn't wanna do it, you know. But they — they can always say no, but we hope they won't.

JT: Do you — do they ever refer anybody to you?

AB: No, they can't do that yet. I mean, officially, they can't, they — unofficially, kids have been told about it, and, uh, they have come to our program, and we realize why they're there. And they ended up generally doing, uh, fairly well. They don't become the outstanding athlete, but they're there every night, and they work hard and practice. That's the main thing.

JT: Well, it is not so much is becoming a — an outstanding athlete is that thing you're in there, I think, it's not getting into trouble.

AB: Right.

JT: Can you mention any example of cases of, uh, kids that have been able to, uh, adjust better –

AB: Yes.

JT: –because of your program?

AB: We have a boy that was a – uh, he ran away from home and stole several weapons out of his dad's house. And his brothers are in our wrestling club. And the day he ran away from home was the day we sent, uh, take the team to San Francisco. And it was the same day I saw his picture on our roll-call boards being "wanted." I thought, "Oops," and so I called his brother, and his brother got a hold of him somehow. And, uh, so the kid really wanted to go out for wrestling, especially if you happen to go to San Francisco because they've never been there. So he called his wrestling coach in high school and said that, you know, "If I give myself in," uh, excuse me, "If I turn myself in, can I return all the – everything I took and, uh, you know, go out for wrestling?" And they did send him out into our wrestling program. He's been there every night. And he is wrestling in all the matches. He's not winning a whole lot. But at least he's, uh, involved in it, and he enjoys it. He probably works harder than the rest of the kids that are there.

JT: Has he been in – into any more trouble?

AB: No. Uh-uh. He's too tired when he goes home. That's what his parents have told me. He doesn't feel like running away. Just goes home and goes to bed. And also his grades have come up. He had almost, uh, nearly straight Fs in all classes because he wouldn't go to class, and he has been going to class. And, you know, as you know, by – in college, in high school, you just go to class, you're gonna get at least get C out of the class. He was there every day. And so he's been there. His, uh, his grades come up, and he started to pay attention.

JT: How many volunteers do you have for each kid?

AB: How many volunteers for each kid?

JT: Uh-huh.

AB: That hasn't been broken down yet 'cause, uh, well, like with the wrestling program this year, we had four or five officers, you know, and they told me "Yeah, we want to get involved, and we can't wait," and all this. And they lasted, I think, two times. And I've had – I've been the only officer there ever since, as far as being actually involved in the practices and instructing the kids. And it's – it works out this way with all the different programs. But, uh, we do have, uh, civilians that do come in and, like the boxing and stuff. And at least, as long as one police officer is there at night, the kids, the kids – a lot of times will go over and just talk to him more or less like counseling instead of actually boxing, as they go sit down and talk with you about problems they've been having or they know somebody that's involved in a problem, and they'd like an answer for it. So there's really not

- a ratio like say ten to one or one hundred to one. Some nights, it will be one to one, depends on what the sport is and what the activity is.
- JT: So, the officers that are volunteers are available for informal counseling?
- AB: Sure, yes, yes.
- JT: Do you feel that's an important part – part of your program also?
- AB: Yes, it has to be 'cause, you know, they're always screaming about why don't the police do this and why don't they do that. And with our program, we can show that the police are actively involved with the kids, and no officer is going around, made any big deal out about how, "Hey, I talked to this kid about this." They, you know,

[00:30:00]

- AB: we'd rather not be telling the people who are there. They're actually trying to help these kids.
- JT: It's too bad, though, that it all has to be volunteers. It seems that some of your work time could be, you know, (inaudible) to these type of activities (inaudible) (loud mechanical screech) –
- AB: Well.
- JT: – get more officers involved (inaudible).
- AB: Yes, no doubt about it. But, uh, this year, uh, Chief Davis is – he's allowed me several, uh, leeway on several things as far as time off, and that's why I'm working this detail on why now, most of my work, on-duty time is actually involved in this P.A.A.L. program. And he allowed me the time off to go to San Francisco to take the kids there. And I'm going back to New York and Vermont for a convention there. And, uh, but to do that, we have to first meet our maximum manpower at the department. We're down almost eighty positions, as far as field personnel, and before you can start making new positions, you gotta catch up on what you have. Because we're expanding in Santa Ana, we need more officers.
- JT: It seems to me actually, you – you know, put a lot of effort into this program and that you prevent future problems, a lot of it, it seems.
- AB: Well, we hope so, uh, you know, maybe if we can get some parents and some people writing in letters stating that to our Chief, he could show 'em to the city manager and convince him that's, you know, who you have to answer to, in the end, is the city manager.
- JT: If nothing else, it seems that this is a program with a – with a lot of community support in place –
- AB: Right.
- JT: – and the kids and their parents in other aspects, just being, uh, witnesses when there's problems, like arrests and things, where a lot of people just will not come forth –
- AB: Right.

- JT: – where they might if their kid is involved in a program or a kid has been involved. And he realizes that, uh, he has that responsibility. (machinery in the background)
- AB: That's right. That's – that's – the way I feel. This way, I hope, we get more people to feel, and I feel that's the way our – our Chief is just looking at the program now also. So, eventually, I would say in the next couple of years, you will see several officers working in this, either on a full-time or paid-overtime-type job for them.
- JT: I think it should be, uh, paid jobs.
- AB: Right, well, because to work on it, you have to give up going to school, and, uh, you've gotta make a choice. Do you wanna work with kids, or do you wanna further your education? And you know, they should really compensate you for it. Hopefully, they will do that soon.
- JT: Only, this is the, uh, just the second year –
- AB: Right.
- JT: – may be able to fix it for the better as it – as it proves it self.
- AB: Right, you've gotta be able to show them the program is working first of all, and I think ours is. You've seen our wrestling program. Those kids get along with each other quite well, and there's about eighteen different schools represented there, I think it's going to – plus some kids don't go to school. You know, but, uh, it's working out pretty good.
- JT: I noticed, uh, I noticed my, uh, husband's wrestling team with the kids that, when they first started out being here do not know each other, do not care less about each other.
- AB: Right.
- JT: But, as time goes on, they – they really change. They become very outgoing, very friendly toward each other. Even though wrestling is a very personal sport, there is, you know, some comradeship among those – for the team members.
- AB: We've got kids from Santa Ana High School²³ now hanging around with kids from El Modena²⁴ High School they never even knew before. And the only way they had known them before was they competed against them. And now they're on the same team. It's been – it's really neat, they have really kind of formed their own little alliance. It's like a club. It's a personal-type thing. And they go out together on the weekends, and they get, you know, five to ten of them together, and they go around doing things, getting in trouble, really – really enjoying themselves.
- JT: (laughs) I know in some high schools, there tends to be kind of a rivalry of schools.
- AB: Right.

²³ High school in Orange County, California; established in 1889.

²⁴ High School in Orange County, California; established in 1968.

- JT: And you – when you don’t know anybody from the other school, it’s easy to think of them as all rich snobs or, you know, definitely underhanded type of sneaky people. I think any kind of problem with – with drinking at school or (inaudible) with somebody or at school, you can’t go – stick a stereotype and perform a little fight at the football game (inaudible).
- AB: Right, yeah, you hear, uh – that’s like people in Fullerton.²⁵ You mention Santa Ana Police and, they’re, “Oh my God,” you know, or you mention Anaheim,²⁶ they think – or you mention the Highway Patrol,²⁷ and they have their opinions of the Highway Patrol, and everybody’s, you know, basically alike. And just, uh – they have different connotations because of the things they hear, and surprising, though, once you get ‘em together, and they really become good friends.
- JT: Sounds like we have a very, very big program going.
- AB: Oh, we hope so. Uh, we’ll know more about after this year, and then we’ll know more next year after we get our, uh, new programs. We’re trying to get more girls involved. In fact, we don’t wanna get them too involved. I don’t know whether you’re aware or not, but now girls are eligible to go out for, like, football and wrestling in high school. They can, you know, go out for varsity sports with the guys, and I had three girls call week that wanna wrestle in our wrestling club. You know, that was a shock.
- JT: (laughs)
- AB: The weigh-ins might be embarrassing. I don’t know they’re – they, “Do you wanna wrestle,” they will come out – so.
- JT: It could be a problem.
- AB: Yeah, it could be. Especially if they beat some of the boys –
- JT: (laughs)
- AB: – then it’ll definitely be a problem.
- JT: Well, that’s something, uh, boys are going to have to get used to. Women are competing more and more in, uh, male-dominated fields.
- AB: That’s true.
- JT: And winning. (laughs)
- AB: Yeah, I know. That’s bad.
- JT: I know, I’ve been having enough trouble getting certified as a referee for wrestling. ‘Cause, they really just backed off, you know. How could you possibly go?
- AB: Well, one the best – one of the best referees in Alabama is a woman.
- JT: A woman?

²⁵ City in northern Orange County, California.

²⁶ City in Orange County, California.

²⁷ California state agency; founded 1929.

AB: Yeah. Her, uh, husband's the head of the A.A.U.²⁸ back there, and she's become a referee, and her daughter is also becoming a referee, and they refereed the national championships in Alabama, as they're both pretty good – they're a lot more conscientious, they didn't wanna make a mistake, so they – their concentration level was extremely high. And, uh, they did a really fantastic job. In fact, I would have rather had one of those women referee in matches than any of the men that were there. So, who knows, maybe we'll have a lot of women referees.

JT: (laughs) I still can't picture, uh, wrestling, though, boys against girls, because I know I always lose (inaudible).

AB: Yeah, maybe you're out of your weight class.

JT: That's true. Oh well. Well, it's been nice talking to you –

AB: Enjoyed it.

JT: – and thank you very much for the interview. I thank you, the Criminology department thanks you, and the Oral History department thanks you.

AB: Okay, you're welcome. Thank you.

[00:36:43]

END OF INTERVIEW

²⁸ Amateur Athletic Union; a U.S. sports organization, founded in 1888.

Anthony Chavez, Moriah P. Esquivel Narang, and Osbaldo Jr. Rubalcava (editors)

*A Career Launched by a Photograph:
Recollections by Cal State Fullerton's Lincoln Scholar Ronald Rietveld
(1997)*

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Oral Interview with Ronald Rietveld, conducted by Brenda Maingot,
October 28, 1997, Fullerton, 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 "Civil War Enthusiasts." The interview with Ronald Rietveld was conducted by Brenda Maingot on October 28, 1997, in Fullerton, California. The interview lasted 52 minutes and 12 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 2021 by Anthony Chavez, Moriah P. Esquivel Narang, and Osbaldo Jr. Rubalcava.

Ronald Rietveld was born in Pella, Iowa on September 22, 1937. In the interview edited here, he recalls his upbringing and early fascination with Abraham Lincoln. As a youngster, he corresponded with Civil War veterans and Lincoln scholars, which led to a meeting with Dr. Harry E. Pratt, the State Historian of Illinois. It was through this acquaintance that Rietveld found, at the age of fourteen, the only known photograph of Lincoln lying in state. Rietveld details how this discovery led to national media acclaim, an invitation to the Eisenhower Inauguration (1953), and senatorial and presidential campaign experience. Rietveld then relates the stages of his academic education, namely, his undergraduate work at Drake University and Wheaton College, and his graduate work at Bethel Theological Seminary and the University of Illinois (M.A. 1962; Ph.D. 1967). In 1969, after teaching at Wheaton College, Rietveld and his family relocated to southern California where he started his professorial career at (what is now) California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). Rietveld addresses his curricular portfolio, which includes courses in world history, Black history, and American history, and he shares details on his academic service, which includes serving as the CSUF History Department's undergraduate coordinator, advisor to the Tau Kappa Epsilon fraternity, and board member for the University Center. Rietveld closes his interview with comments on the relevance of the Civil War and how it has continued to affect the United States up to the present (1997).

Ronald Rietveld uses his life story to showcase how the shared interest in a historical topic can lay the groundwork for both personal and professional relationships with other individuals. These relationships presented him with the opportunity to make an unprecedented discovery which has influenced his entire life. Rietveld's perspective on the American Civil War, combined with the knowledge gained from conversations with veterans of the war, his relationship with numerous Lincoln scholars, and his extensive educational experience, offer a unique perspective on a well-known historical topic.

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 2642)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Ronald Rietveld [RR]

INTERVIEWER: Brenda Maingot [BM]

DATE: October 28, 1997

LOCATION: Fullerton, California

PROJECT: Civil War Enthusiasts

TRANSCRIBERS: Anthony Chavez, Moriah P. Esquivel Narang, and Osbaldo Jr. Rubalcava

BM: —um Fullerton, California, and we're gonna be talking about the Civil War.¹ It is Tuesday, October twenty-eighth. To start off, Dr. Rietveld, can you just give me some background information on yourself?

¹ American Civil War (1861-1865); armed conflict between the Union and the Confederacy.

- RR: (squeaking noise)² I was born in a Dutch³ community called Pella,⁴ Iowa, on September twenty-second, 1937. Uh, the picture on the wall is a log cabin on a place called Lincoln⁵ Street, which is the home of my great-grandparents—grandparents, my mother lived there, and I grew up there. So, I grew up, part of my life, in a log cabin. Still—
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: —stands in my hometown. And, interestingly enough, if you—in the view of what I became later, in the Lincoln world, that house was on Lincoln Street. If that isn't a twist.
- BM: Yeah.
- RR: Uh, my family still live there. My father's family founded the community of Pella in 1847.⁶ My great-great-great-grandfather, John Rietveld, led a boat of a hundred and thirty-seven people. In addition, three other boats accompanied that came over to, uh, bring people for religious freedom. They fled Holland⁷ in 1847 because of the persecution under the Dutch government.⁸ And that's how Pella came about. Uh, so I am a, uh, I guess you could say a full-blooded Hollander, uh—(pause in recording)
- BM: Dr. Rietveld, can you just continue where you—you left off about, uh, being brought up on Lincoln Street.
- RR: Yeah. Uh, I began my interest in Lincoln, therefore, as a very young boy. I was already interested at the age of five. I have here in my library a couple of books, which are books that I purchased when I was five years old. So, my interest started about 1943, actually. I have an engraving of Lincoln that was given to me by my second-grade classroom teacher at Brooks School⁹ in Des Moines,¹⁰ Iowa. And I received it in about 1944 or '5. So, I started very, very early. Uh, as a boy—as a teenage boy, I corresponded with the last living Civil War veterans. There were still seven alive by 1950—'51 and I wrote them, and one by one they passed away. They, so-called—there's some question about the last one being a Confederate,¹¹ but those (knocking)—(pause in recording)—yeah there's a rumor that the last soldier—rumor, depends on your viewpoint, if—if he was a viable

² This squeaking noise recurs throughout the interview, but is only noted here.

³ Denoting affiliation with the Netherlands, a country in northwestern Europe.

⁴ City in Marion County, Iowa.

⁵ Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865); 16th President of the United States (1861-1865).

⁶ According to the City of Pella's [website](#), "Prominent among the persecuted dissenters was Reverend Hendrik Pieter Scholte, or Dominie (meaning "Pastor") Scholte."

⁷ Informal name for the Netherlands, as well as the name of a province in the Netherlands.

⁸ Discrimination against dissenters from the state church.

⁹ Elementary school in Des Moines, Iowa, that is now permanently closed.

¹⁰ Capital city and county seat in Polk County, Iowa.

¹¹ Resident of the Confederate States of America.

Confederate soldier, but supposedly one of the last of the Civil War soldiers was Confederate. He died in December of 1959 at the age of 117.¹²

BM: Wow.

RR: But, it — that's debatable — a year or so before that, the last may have been a *federal* soldier.¹³ Nevertheless, I did — in my life — did touch the lives of Civil War soldiers. As a boy, in 1946, I remember we had a centennial parade in Des Moines, Iowa, for the centennial of the state of Iowa which was, uh, organized in 1846 from a territory to a state. And there were Civil War soldiers in that parade, in cars going down the streets. And I do remember seeing Civil War Soldiers in Iowa in 1946. Um — I began to write Lincoln scholars across the nation as a teenage boy. And I wrote a man by the name of Judge Bollinger¹⁴ — James Bollinger — James W. Bollinger, in Davenport,¹⁵ Iowa, probably Iowa's oldest Lincoln enthusiast, and I was then a boy of thirteen — fourteen. So, the two of us corresponded for a while. He sent me an engraving of Lincoln as a gift. Then he died — but I found they were gonna dedicate his Lincoln collection at the University of Iowa¹⁶ in Iowa City.¹⁷ I wrote a letter, saying that I would love to attend the dedication because I had known Judge Bollinger personally. I didn't receive an answer.

BM: Hm.

RR: Then I got a phone call. Clyde Walton,¹⁸ who was in charge of the Special Collections at the University of Iowa, called — and the essence of his question to me on the phone was, uh, "Are you for real?" I said, "Excuse me, what do you mean?" He says, "Why, are you only fourteen and did you write and know Judge Bollinger?" I said, "Well I knew him through writing." And he says, "Well, we'd like to have you come to the dedication and be our guest."

BM: Mm.

RR: So I was placed on a train, by myself — a steam train in those days — between Des Moines and Iowa City. I went to the dedication, November of 1951, at the University of Iowa. And there at the dedication, which was about a two-day affair, I met all the *living* Lincoln scholars — major scholars — in the United States, except for Carl Sandburg,¹⁹ who wasn't there at the time. But the State Historian of Illinois, Dr. Harry E. Pratt,²⁰ took a liking to me and

¹² Walter Washington Williams (1842/1854-1959).

¹³ Albert Henry Woolson (1850-1956).

¹⁴ James Wills Bollinger (1867-1951).

¹⁵ City and county seat in Scott County, Iowa.

¹⁶ Public university in Iowa City, Iowa; established 1847.

¹⁷ City in Johnson County, Iowa.

¹⁸ Clyde C. Walton (1926-2000).

¹⁹ Carl August Sandburg (1878-1967); Pulitzer-Prize recipient (1919, 1940, 1951).

²⁰ Harry Edward Pratt (1901-1956).

asked me if I'd ever been to Springfield²¹ to see the Lincoln home,²² tomb,²³ and New Salem²⁴ where he grew up as a young man. I said, "No," I had never done that. He said he'd like to have me be his guest. He and Marion²⁵—his second wife, had just married in '51—would like to have me—I think it was '50—'50 sounds right. He'd like to have me visit them as their guest in Springfield the next summer (pauses) for a week. I said I would like that. So they—he said they'd let me know about when. So, he wrote me a postcard and said, "It's very hot right now, in the summer—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —but we'd love to have you come and be our guest." So, mother put me on the bus that—all by myself. I was a crazy kid. I traveled a lot alone after I was fourteen. I went on the bus from—Greyhound Bus²⁶—from Des Moines to Galesburg,²⁷ Illinois. Transferred by myself from Galesburg to Springfield. And after I arrived in Springfield, Dr. and Mrs. Pratt met me at the bus station and took me under their wing. They took me to the home, they took me to the tomb, took me out to New Salem to a production, uh, a Lincoln production, in the evening. And then on Sunday morning, we had missed getting up to go to the Methodist²⁸ Church which they attended. And Dr. Pratt said that he needed to go to the office and do a review on a book, and Marion said that she really needed to go to the Lincoln Home upstairs and do some work on the galley proofs of the *Collected Works* of Abraham Lincoln.²⁹ And, up there on my shelf, those blue and grey volumes are the *Collected Works* on which she was working. Upstairs—then the upstairs of the Lincoln Home had not been restored. Virginia Stuart Brown³⁰—who was a—a relative of Mrs. Lincoln³¹—lived upstairs. And so we took her to the home—Lincoln Home—and then we went off to the Centennial Building.³² And, um, Dr. Pratt took me to the file of the

²¹ Capital city and county seat in Sangamon County, Illinois.

²² 413 S 8th St, Springfield, Illinois.

²³ Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.

²⁴ Former village in Menard County, Illinois.

²⁵ Marion Dolores Pratt (1907-1963).

²⁶ Greyhound Lines, Inc.; bus company, established 1914.

²⁷ City in Knox County, Illinois.

²⁸ Protestant Christian denomination.

²⁹ Abraham Lincoln, *Collected Works*, The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois, ed. Roy P. Basler, Marion Dolores Pratt, and Lloyd A. Dunlap, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1953).

³⁰ (1892-1970); great-granddaughter of John Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner.

³¹ Mary Ann Todd Lincoln (1818-1882); wife of Abraham Lincoln.

³² Michael J. Howlett Building, Springfield, Illinois; commemorates the state's centennial.

Nicolay³³-Hay³⁴ Papers. Nicolay—John Hay and John Nicolay were Lincoln's private secretaries during the presidential years in the White House.³⁵ And this set of notes was given to the state of Illinois in 1943 by John Hay's daughter.³⁶ And so he opened up the file and said I was free to take anything out I liked, but that I needed to return the things to the very same place where I had taken them from, and I agreed to that. I would obtain what I needed from the file, walk across the hall area to the Lincoln-Horner Room,³⁷ and then I'd sit at a desk, look at it. Then I would walk the envelope *back* to the file so it was in the exact place. I'll never forget the file number was X:14. X colon 14. And the notes in that file were of a Lincoln visit. President *and* Mrs. Lincoln both visited City Point³⁸ in late March of 1865. There was a review of troops at the time. Mrs. Lincoln was very agitated because she and Mrs. Grant³⁹ got to the review late. They were, uh, riding on a corduroy road. That's where you take trees and halve them, and then the flat surface you ride over with a coach—very rough and very bouncy. She hit her head on the top of the carriage—she was not a happy camper—got there and found that General Ord's⁴⁰ wife⁴¹ was on horseback, sitting next to her husband reviewing the troops, became absolutely enraged. (pauses) She not only gave Mrs. Ord a tongue-lashing when she came over, but when her husband came over she equally gave him a tongue-lashing.

BM: Hm.

RR: One of those sad moments because it wasn't long after that President Lincoln was shot.⁴²

BM: Mm.

RR: I was going through those notes. In that same file was an envelope, written from John Nicolay. On the envelope it was addressed from—excuse me, *to* John Nicolay, Washington D.C., from Lewis H. Stanton.⁴³ Lewis Stanton was Lincoln's Secretary of War Edwin Stanton's⁴⁴ son. Son of the great Secretary of War, the war years. I pulled out two pieces of stationery. The

³³ John George Nicolay (1832-1901).

³⁴ John Milton Hay (1838-1905).

³⁵ Official residence of the President of the United States; Washington, D.C.

³⁶ Hay had two daughters: Helen (1875-1944) and Alice (1880-1960).

³⁷ Located in the Centennial Building, Springfield Illinois.

³⁸ Former town in Prince George County, Virginia.

³⁹ Julia Boggs Grant (1826-1902); wife of Ulysses S. Grant.

⁴⁰ Edward Otho Cresap Ord (1818-1883).

⁴¹ Mary Mercer Thompson Ord (1834-1894).

⁴² Lincoln was shot on April 14, 1865, inside Ford's Theatre by John Wilkes Booth.

⁴³ Lewis Hutchinson Stanton (1860-1938).

⁴⁴ Edwin McMasters Stanton (1814-1869).

inner stationery was folded in three and had something in it, I didn't pay any attention to the inner fold. I laid it aside, read the letter—I have a copy of the letter. And in essence it said, "I was going through my father's papers"—and that would've been Secretary of War Stanton's own papers after his death. And he says, "I found this photograph, and I thought perhaps it might be of some use to you." Of course, John Hay and Nicolay were writing that set of ten volumes on Lincoln⁴⁵—*Abraham Lincoln: A History*—in the 1880s. The letter was dated in July of 1887.

[00:10:00]

RR: Said he'd found this, uh, coffin photo. I thought it was rather interesting. I closed the letter up, I put it back in the envelope, and then I remembered, Uh-oh, I forgot the contents. So I opened up the other piece of stationery, and in the center was a—looked like a proof of a picture, which you get these brown proofs. And the closer I looked at it, the more I realized that it was a picture of President Lincoln, lying in state. You could see his face in the coffin, (pauses) (talking in background) taken in New York City. I knew *when* it was taken, April twenty-fourth. I knew *where* it was taken, in New York City. I knew that it shouldn't *exist* because there were *no* known photographs of the body, and I was in a state of shock. (pause in recording) Okay. Uh, Dr. Pratt asked me where I thought the photograph was taken, I told him New York City. He asked when I thought it might have been taken, I said "During the Lincoln funeral in the city," which turned out to be, I was right, April twenty-fourth '65. And then his next comment was, uh, could I keep my mouth shut? I had a lot of chutzpah,⁴⁶ as a boy of fourteen—I was technically fourteen, I didn't turn fifteen till September twenty-second, and this is July of '52. I suggested I would be glad to be still about it if he would promise me something and he said, "Sure, what?" And I said, "Will you promise to give me a copy of the photograph?"

BM: Mm.

RR: He agreed to that. In fact he kept his—his part of the bargain. And I kept my part, I remained still. Then on September 14, '52, AP⁴⁷ had released it across the United States that a fifteen-year-old boy—though I wasn't fifteen yet—had found the last photograph taken of Lincoln. And it was in the *Des Moines Register*⁴⁸ in the morning. My grandfather called around five o'clock in the morning to ask my mother what the deal was; my picture was in the paper. Mother hadn't seen it, so she awakened me at five in the morning

⁴⁵ John George Nicolay and John Milton Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 10 vols. (New York: The Century Co., 1890).

⁴⁶ Yiddish term for strong self-confidence, nerve.

⁴⁷ Abbreviation for "Associated Press;" American non-profit news agency, founded 1846.

⁴⁸ Daily newspaper; founded 1849 as *The Iowa Star*.

- and said, "Your picture is in the paper, your grandfather said. He just called." She says, "What have you done wrong?"
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: "Oh," I said, "Mother, I haven't done anything wrong." I—I said, "It's that photograph!" "What photograph?" Well, I was a good boy. Even if I had told her—and I can't remember that I had—she didn't remember it anyway. And I said, "Well, that Lincoln photograph I found last summer in Springfield." And, after that, of course, the media picked it up. We had, uh, interviews by the press. Uh, I was on live television, WOI-TV⁴⁹ in Ames,⁵⁰ Iowa, in the day when they didn't record—pre-record anything. I was on *live*—
- BM: Mm.
- RR: —in 1952, '53. And, uh, then *Life Magazine*⁵¹ picked up the story in September and October of 1952, and so the story was covered in *Life*. The initial story of it was written by Stefan Lorant,⁵² S-t-e-f-a-n L-o-r-a-n-t, from Massachusetts. But, Stefan mentioned at the end of it that a Lincoln *student* had found it, didn't mention my name (pauses) which upset several Lincoln scholars that I knew, one in particular, Louis H. Warren⁵³—Louis (pauses) Louis H. Warren? Shoot. Louis E. Warren I guess it is. (inaudible) I have to look—(cluttering)—real quick.
- BM: Mokay.
- RR: I think it's Louis E. Warren. I don't wanna get this wrong. (pause in recording)—Warren, who was (pauses) in Fort Wayne,⁵⁴ Indiana, in charge of the Lincoln National Life Foundation⁵⁵ and the Lincoln Museum⁵⁶ in Fort Wayne. He wrote and said, "You need to write *Life Magazine* and tell them that *you* were the one that took—that found the photo." So, I wrote them. The next thing I found was that somebody was knocking on our door wanting to take a photograph of me, that *Life* had requested a photograph.
- BM: Hm.
- RR: So, in the early October issue—I think October 6, 1952—of *Life Magazine* in the editor—letter to the editor section, you will find the letter I wrote them and my photograph—
- BM: Mm.
- RR: —at the age of fifteen, and I look very different than I do now.

⁴⁹ Television station; established 1950, now known as WOI-DT.

⁵⁰ City in Story County, Iowa.

⁵¹ American general-interest magazine; published 1883-2000.

⁵² Hungarian-American filmmaker, photojournalist, and author; 1901-1997.

⁵³ Louis A. Warren (1885-1983).

⁵⁴ City and county seat in Allen County, Indiana.

⁵⁵ Educational branch (founded 1928) of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company.

⁵⁶ Collection of the Lincoln Financial Foundation's Lincoln memorabilia; closed 2008.

BM: (laughs)

RR: But! It was a nice—it was a nice experience. Um, that following January, 1953, I was the youngest guest at the Eisenhower⁵⁷ Inauguration, again at fifteen. Invited by the, uh, Washington D.C., uh, Inaugural Committee,⁵⁸ and I stayed with Congressman Paul Cunningham⁵⁹ and Gayle, his wife, he is original co-author of the G.I. Bill of Rights.⁶⁰

BM: Hm.

RR: I stayed with Paul and Gayle (barking noise) at the, uh, Inaugural. There were then only two inaugural balls in Washington, and I was at the Georgetown Ball.⁶¹

BM: Hm.

RR: Uh, having been invited, that meant I had to have a tux. Well, in Des Moines, Iowa, they didn't have any tux to fit my fifteen-year-old body. So, they asked a, uh, department store in Chicago to mail in or fly in—I guess at this point mail in a—a tux, which they did. So, my tux was everything but the hat and the gloves.

BM: Mm.

RR: So, I was invited, then, to be present at the inaugural parade. I sat in Lafayette Square⁶² across from the White House Reviewing Stand,⁶³ and while there I saw Julie Nixon⁶⁴ meet David Eisenhower⁶⁵ for the first time.

BM: Ah.

RR: They were both children, and I actually saw them, for the first time, meet at the Inaugural Reviewing Stand. Um, before the parade was over, I had to escape. And I quickly did that. I don't know how I got a taxi. I still don't know how I got back to Capitol Hill,⁶⁶ but Paul put me in his office and said, "Now you can dress here." That morning I had taken my, uh, inaugural suit for the, uh, ball to the office, in the, uh, House Office Building.⁶⁷

BM: Mm.

RR: And he locked the door, I remember that very distinctly, and put me—and sat down. "Nobody will bother you, you can get dressed," and that was

⁵⁷ Dwight David "Ike" Eisenhower (1890-1969); 34th President of the United States (1953-1961).

⁵⁸ U.S. Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies (JCCIC); established 1901.

⁵⁹ Paul Harvey Cunningham (1890-1961); U.S. Representative (1941-1959).

⁶⁰ Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Cunningham attended its Oval-Office signing.

⁶¹ Held at McDonough Gymnasium, Georgetown University.

⁶² Historic public park in Washington D.C.; located directly north of the White House.

⁶³ Specially built stand for the incoming President to view the inaugural parade.

⁶⁴ Born 1948; daughter of Richard M. Nixon and Thelma Catherine "Pat" Ryan Nixon.

⁶⁵ Dwight David Eisenhower II, born 1948; grandson of President Eisenhower.

⁶⁶ Location of the U.S. Capitol Building; meeting place of the U.S. Congress.

⁶⁷ In 1953, either the Cannon Building (1908) or the Longworth Building (1933).

fine. I got part of it on, and suddenly I stop. I was kind of, uh, whistling or singing or whatever you do at that point—very happy camper getting ready for the ball—and I stopped. Paul rapped on the door and said, “Are you okay? Is everything fine?” I said, “Paul, everything is wrong. Absolutely everything is wrong.” “What’s the matter?” he said. “I have forgotten the most important part of my suit for the inaugural ball. I forgot my pants.”

BM: Oh, no.

RR: They lived at Rhode Island Northeast⁶⁸ in Washington. He said, “I’ll tell you what I’m gonna do.” He said, “I’m gonna go back and get your pants.” And then he said, “We’ll put you in a taxi to Georgetown.” “But,” he said, “When we start campaigning next time, you need to tell these people in Iowa what a great guy I am—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —that I would go *all the way out* to Rhode Island—Rhode Island Northeast—to get your pants.” Boy, he kept his word.

BM: (laughs)

RR: When we campaigned in 1954 together, in an audience of hundreds of people, he told them that I was present, and I could *verify*, what a great guy he was because I went—he went “*all the way out*” he—

BM: Whoo-hoo!

RR: —said, to get my pants—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —so I could go to the inaugural ball. And I was one of the most *embarrassed* teenagers—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —you can imagine, but he was right.

BM: Um-hm.

RR: That was 1953. That summer, (pauses) I traveled (pauses) to the National Hobby Convention⁶⁹ in Roanoke,⁷⁰ Virginia, with a man named Rev—the Reverend Oliver B. Rancifer,⁷¹ from Wisconsin, who was a Lincoln collector, who knew Robert Lincoln,⁷² Lincoln’s son, personally. And, um, we traveled for a month. Another fella in Chicago by the name of Kitt Boaz⁷³—both of us were young teenagers—and Rancifer, who was a man in his sixties. And we drove his, uh, car, poor car, for a whole month, uh, doing all the major historic sites in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, went into

⁶⁸ Diagonal avenue in the northern part of Washington, D.C.

⁶⁹ All States Hobby Convention; in 1953, held at the Lord Baltimore Hotel, Roanoke, Virginia.

⁷⁰ Independent city in the U.S. commonwealth of Virginia.

⁷¹ Unidentified individual.

⁷² Robert Todd Lincoln (1843-1926).

⁷³ Unidentified individual.

- Tennessee, northern Georgia, and then to Virginia, and then all the way up the New England states to, uh, Massachusetts, and then across New York to Niagara Falls, then back to the Chicago area. Um, I'm still using the experiences on that trip, teaching.
- BM: Wow.
- RR: That summer, we visited the homes and graves of sixteen American presidents.
- BM: Wow.
- RR: At, uh, the Grant Tomb⁷⁴ in New York City, I met General Grant's granddaughter, —
- BM: (gasps)
- RR: — great-granddaughter, and great-great-grandchildren.
- BM: Hm.
- RR: Uh, Julia—Princess Julia Grant Cantacuzène⁷⁵ was her name, the granddaughter of President Grant, and she was there at the tomb, had a nice visit with her. And then when we visited the home of Andrew Johnson⁷⁶ in Greeneville,⁷⁷ Tennessee, we met the great-granddaughter of Andrew Johnson at that point, and it was quite a nice experience to meet Margaret Patterson,⁷⁸ uh, Glover was her name. And, uh, so I can say I've met the descendants of at least two presidents of the United —
- BM: Uh-hm.
- RR: — States. More than that actually because I have met other descendants, too. That was '53. Nineteen fifty-four, I was, uh, active in the Republican campaign in Iowa,

[00:20:00]

- RR: and I was in charge of the mail division for a senatorial candidate, Thomas Martin.⁷⁹ And, uh, Thomas Martin was successful, went to the United States Senate. So, I had experience in 1952 working the county level, in 1954 working the state level, and then, in 1956, I was invited to travel with the Eisenhower-Nixon⁸⁰ Bandwagon —
- BM: Wow.

⁷⁴ Tomb of Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885); 18th President of the United States (1869-1877).

⁷⁵ Julia Dent Grant Cantacuzène Speransky (1876-1975).

⁷⁶ (1808-1875); 17th President of the United States (1865-1869).

⁷⁷ Town and county seat in Greene County, Tennessee.

⁷⁸ Margaret Johnson Patterson Bartlett (1903-1992).

⁷⁹ Thomas Ellsworth Martin (1893-1971); U.S. Senator (1955-1961).

⁸⁰ Richard Milhous Nixon (1913-1994); 37th President of the United States (1969-1974).

RR: —in Iowa. So, I campaigned with President, Mrs. Eisenhower⁸¹ personally, Vice President, Mrs. Nixon⁸²—I had met the Nixons for the first time in 1954. I campaigned with them in '56, and, uh, was present and met President Eisenhower at the runway, uh, in Des Moines, before he left. There were a hundred-thousand people plus in Des Moines for that presidential parade, and I was there. My role was Uncle Sam.⁸³ They had dressed me up in an —

BM: (laughs)

RR: —Uncle-Sam uniform, which is quite an experience for a boy. My grandmother attached the—the hair to the hat, because the hat was too big for my—my very small head. I think I'm, what, six and seven-eighths.⁸⁴ And, um, I had a real problem because the TV cameras were on—running and I didn't know what to do. Everybody was taking their hats off for the President of the United States—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —and Paul had yelled at me, "Here comes the President!" I didn't even think I could meet the President, but what I didn't know is three weeks before they had already given me security clearance—

BM: (gasps)

RR: —to meet him, and I didn't know that. Everybody who worked at the county headquarters were cleared to meet the President. I had no idea that I was in line to meet him until it happened, but, uh, Paul says, "Get in line!" I get in line, and here comes the President, here he comes, and I thought, "What am I gonna do?" If I take off my hat, I lose my hair.

BM: (laughs)

RR: That would be very embarrassing on national television to see Uncle Sam *lose* part of his head. So, I decided I'd play the role. President of the United States was going to meet Uncle Sam. I was Uncle Sam. I didn't take off my hat. I kept my head and had a nice little visit with, uh, President Eisenhower.

BM: Wow.

RR: The amazing thing for me, personally, is that he was a lot shorter than I thought.

BM: Hm.

RR: He was five-nine and I'm six-one, but it's so—one of the warmest, fleshiest handshakes I've ever experienced. Soft hand, but Ike didn't do much hard work with his hands his whole life through. (smacks lips) He didn't know how to drive a car till after he was President of the United States. He was

⁸¹ Mary Geneva "Mamie" Eisenhower (1896-1979).

⁸² Thelma Catherine "Pat" Ryan Nixon (1912-1993).

⁸³ Personification of the United States or its government; first used around the War of 1812.

⁸⁴ Within the range of the hat size "small."

chauffeured everywhere, his valet picked out his clothing for him, and, so, he didn't have to do any manual labor in his whole life. And you could tell with him — his hand —

BM: Hm.

RR: —shake, but a very, very warm person. I met Mamie, Mrs. Doud,⁸⁵ her mother, was there at that time. It was a very nice experience. Nineteen fifty-seven, I left Drake University⁸⁶ where I had begun my freshman year in '55 for a place called Wheaton College⁸⁷ in Illinois. I graduated from Wheaton College in 1959, and three days later was married to Ruth Eleanor Davis, now Rietveld, and we've been married since 1959.

BM: Wow!

RR: And, uh, I graduated (pauses) June ninth, married June twelfth of '59. Moved up to Saint Paul-Minneapolis,⁸⁸ where I was enrolled at Bethel Theological Seminary⁸⁹ —

BM: Mm-hm.

RR: —at Saint Paul. I pushed four years of seminary into three and graduated *magna cum laude*⁹⁰ in 1962. On June fourth, 1962, I was ordained to the Christian ministry at Union Park Baptist Church in Des Moines, which is where I had attended, and Bethel is a Conference Baptist Seminary, and I, at that point, was Conference Baptist.⁹¹ Ruth's family, uh, background was also Conference Baptist on her mother's side. Her father is an ordained Baptist minister, so she was a PK.⁹² I first met her when she was seven, and I was eleven.

BM: Aww.

RR: We didn't date till she was sixteen, and then seriously dated again seventeen, she was engaged to me at eighteen, and I married her at nineteen, and I was twenty-one.

BM: Aww.

RR: So, after we left ordination in June, I became Protestant chaplain⁹³ in Zion National Park,⁹⁴ in Utah, and I served as the Protestant chaplain in the national park. Having three services, a morning service, early sunrise, a regular morning service around ten, and an evening vesper service at six. It

⁸⁵ Elivera Mathilda Carlson Doud (1878–1960).

⁸⁶ Private university in Des Moines, Iowa; established 1881.

⁸⁷ Private Christian college in Wheaton, Illinois; established 1860.

⁸⁸ Metropolitan area in Minnesota.

⁸⁹ Private seminary in Arden Hills, Minnesota; established 1871.

⁹⁰ Latin for “with great praise;” academic honors.

⁹¹ Protestant Christian denomination.

⁹² Abbreviation for “Pastor's Kid.”

⁹³ Clergyman.

⁹⁴ Nature preserve in southwestern Utah; established 1919.

- was an interesting experience for me because I—I labored and worked among about a 90 percent LDS⁹⁵ environment.
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: Most of the people in the park are LDS or Latter-Day Saints or Mormons. And it was interesting to be a minority, uh, in—in my religious background and where the—we got along very, very well. We stayed with the, uh, the person of Christ, and we didn’t wander around too much until the last week, they wanted to know about my thinking about Joseph Smith,⁹⁶ too. Yes. (pause in recording) (clank sound)—62.
- BM: So, you’re working with the, um, LDS?
- RR: Yes. Uh, that summer, (pauses) after ‘62, I—I went to seminary at Bethel—make sure I got my sequence right. And I graduated in—from Bethel—nineteen—boy, the years go by quickly. I graduated from Bethel ‘62. That’s right. And then I went to the University of Illinois⁹⁷ that fall, that’s the way it is. I completed my work at Zion. I was admitted to the M.A. program, University of Illinois, and I started in the fall of ‘62. I finished my Master’s in ‘64. At that point, we had our first child in 1963. John was born in our fifth year of marriage.
- BM: Hm.
- RR: And Ruth was a bank teller. She had worked when I was in seminary at Bethel as a switchboard receptionist for Doctor Billy Graham’s⁹⁸ office in Minneapolis. So, she worked—
- BM: (gasps)
- RR: —uh, on the grand staff—
- BM: Wow!
- RR: —for—for—for three years. And,—
- BM: Oh.
- RR: —uh, then she became a bank teller ‘cause she counted a lot of money at BGEA,⁹⁹ when they had the Crusade fund,¹⁰⁰ she helped do that. After she left being switchboard receptionist, she moved into the—the financial part of the department, counting all the proceeds coming out of the, uh, out of the various evangelistic—
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: —services. So, she had money experience. So, she became a teller at a bank in Champaign.¹⁰¹ When John was born, that’s the last work she did as a

⁹⁵ Abbreviation for “Latter-Day Saints” (a.k.a. Mormons).

⁹⁶ Joseph Smith Jr. (1805-1844); founder of the Latter-Day Saints movement/Mormonism.

⁹⁷ Public university in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois; established 1867.

⁹⁸ William Franklin Graham Jr. (1918-2018); Christian evangelist.

⁹⁹ Billy Graham Evangelistic Association; non-profit organization, founded 1950.

¹⁰⁰ Money allotted for evangelistic campaigns (a.k.a. “Billy Graham Crusades”).

¹⁰¹ City in Champaign County, Illinois.

- teller. Um, that was '63. We lived in a one-bedroom apartment, on Church Street —
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: — nine — and 913 was the number. Church Street in Champaign.¹⁰² Went out of my mind, no air conditioning, one bedroom, kid is in the same room, and the final straw was when he would stand up in his bed and yell at us, “Up! Up!” And then, in those days, you had glass bottles. And he proceeded to throw a glass bottle and hit me in the head —
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: — which was not a very fun experience. And I thought, you know, I just can't live this way, and go on for any additional work. I wasn't sure I could go on beyond a Master's, not in a one-bedroom apartment with no air conditioning in Illinois. But the Dean of Students at the University of Illinois, Robert Sutton,¹⁰³ (pauses) was a very, very good Christian friend. They had encouraged us to su—had, we had gotten to know them in the, uh, Student Baptist Church at the University of Illinois, which we were attending. And they offered, if I would go on for my Ph.D., they offered Ruth and I the opportunity to live in their home, in Urbana¹⁰⁴ —
- BM: Wow!
- RR: — uh, and their kids would even mow the lawn, at \$125 a month. A full house, upstairs, basement. Now we can have room for John. In that spring of '65, Ruth was expecting our second child. I had to go to a conference meeting in Springfield, the last—the Civil War Centennial Conference¹⁰⁵ meetings in Springfield. While there, uh, our close friends were George¹⁰⁶ and, uh, Dorothy Cashman,¹⁰⁷ curators of the Lincoln Tomb. Uh, Ruth and I spent a lot of my vacation from school, uh, at the cemetery living in the house with the curator. We had our own room upstairs. So, my vacations were often spent — Easters, other vacations — at the tomb in the cemetery. So anyway, it —
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: — was kind of our home away from home.
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: But Ruth, or somebody, called and said that she was in trouble with the pregnancy. So I raced home, it was a couple-hour drive, and found that we'd have to put her in the hospital and try and save the baby. It didn't work.

¹⁰² As of this edition (2022), the 1950s apartment building at 913 Church Street still exists.

¹⁰³ Robert Mize Sutton (1915-2005).

¹⁰⁴ City and county seat in Champaign County, Illinois.

¹⁰⁵ Event commemoration the 100th anniversary of the end of the American Civil War.

¹⁰⁶ George Leslie Cashman (1897-1983).

¹⁰⁷ Dorothy Moline Cashman (d. 1974).

BM: Mm.

RR: After several days, uh, she miscarried. And the doctors, uh, always assured us, though, that—that if it wasn't right, it would be better to have a miscarriage than—

BM: Mm-hm.

RR —to have a situation that wasn't right. Uh, but we wanted a second child. Jim was born—our second, there's three years difference between John in '63—Jim was born November twentieth of 1966. And, uh, he really was a gift from the Lord.

[00:30:00]

RR: Both children were very clearly prayed for, and, uh, we're glad to have them both. Um (smacks lips) then, I graduated my Ph.D. in the—the summer of 1967, and Wheaton College, my *alma mater*,¹⁰⁸ asked me back to be a professor. I would be assistant professor at Wheaton. So, eight years after I graduated, I returned to Wheaton—

BM: Mm.

RR: —as a professor. But, unknown to me, their Americanist whom they were replacing me with at this point decided to remain and, unknown to me without communicating to me, I was going to be their European historian.

BM: Oh!

RR: So when I got to Wheaton it was a great shock to me to find I wouldn't be teaching the American courses, I'd be teaching European. So I began my career as a European historian.

BM: Hm.

RR: I have more coursework in European history than I do in American, but I did my Master's and my Ph.D. dissertation on nineteenth-century American history, so I'm qualified to do that as well. As a result of all of this, I ended up with a six-language background. Uh, which qualifies me to be a Europeanist as well. So that's why today I'm teaching world history, because I have the background to do that. Uh, at Wheaton, I developed seven new courses in two years—

BM: Mm!

RR: —for the student body, 75 percent of which are high school valedictorians.

BM: Wow.

RR: Wheaton is a very, uh, very *excellent* academic clientele. We had a hundred and twenty-five faculty while I was there. We had one thousand seven hundred students, and, today, one of my students in my European history course is a professor at Notre Dame¹⁰⁹—

BM: Wow!

¹⁰⁸ Latin for “nourishing mother;” allegorical phrase denoting an institution one has attended.

¹⁰⁹ Private Catholic university in Notre Dame, Indiana; founded 1842.

RR: —teaching American colonial history, of all things. I stayed at Wheaton, uh, for summers teaching in '65, '66, became full-time on staff '67, '68. In 1969, I decided that I would opt for a meeting—uh. Back up. December of '68, I went to an American Historical Association¹¹⁰ convention in New York City, where I was interviewed for a job as an American professor at a place called California State College at Fullerton.¹¹¹ I never heard of the place. Ruth wanted to come to California badly, and, unknown to me, she had prayed to come to California for twelve years.

BM: (laughs)

RR: So she prayed me right out of the Midwest—

BM: (laughs)

RR: —to California. I came here and pioneered Black history at Cal State,¹¹² I was partially brought here to do that. Before there was Afro (pauses) Ethnics or African American history, or whatever. I taught Black history courses on campus.

BM: Mm.

RR: As well as—I began to teach “Jeffersonian¹¹³ Themes in American Society,” which I had built from scratch. I taught a course initially, in those early years, called “Democracy on Trial,” which I hope to offer again soon, 1845 to '77, pre-war, Civil War, Reconstruction.¹¹⁴ And then I continued to build courses in my career here. I am currently offering off-and-on about ten different courses in—

BM: Mm-hm.

RR: —this department. So I came in the summer of 1969 as an assistant professor. My salary, however, increased dramatically. At Wheaton, I was making seven thousand dollars a year, with Ph.D. in hand. When I came here, my income went up to thirteen thousand, which I thought was wonderful, until President Reagan,¹¹⁵ who was then governor, decided that it was the faculty's responsibility to control their students, and we'd had a student riot¹¹⁶ here, in March of 1970, and, uh, we didn't get a raise for three years.

BM: Mm.

¹¹⁰ Professional organization for historians; founded 1884.

¹¹¹ Now known as California State University, Fullerton (CSUF); founded 1957.

¹¹² California State (College, later University) in Fullerton, Orange County, California.

¹¹³ Political, social, and cultural beliefs advocated by Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826).

¹¹⁴ Period in U.S. History (1865-1877) after the Civil War.

¹¹⁵ Ronald Wilson Reagan (1911-2004); 33rd Governor of California (1967-1975), 40th President of the United States (1981-1989).

¹¹⁶ Student protests against campus officials, Reagan, the Vietnam War, and the Kent State and Jackson State Massacres.

- RR: So I lost my shirt, financially, in the move. And what I thought was gonna be such a great up, was not financially the up that we thought it would be. But, nevertheless, I was at Cal State. Wheaton asked me to return, two different times, and, in each case, offered to put my children through college at no expense.
- BM: Wow.
- RR: They were little then, and I didn't think that was quite such a big deal, so I didn't return to Wheaton and stayed on. Now I think, maybe that wasn't such a bad —
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: —offer. It's very expensive, and my *alma mater's* over twenty thousand dollars, I think, a year now, —
- BM: Mm!
- RR: — which is not cheap. Um, but I stayed on. In these years at Cal State, I have served as undergraduate coordinator¹¹⁷ as a total — at a total of twelve years. I was the first undergraduate coordinator in this department, and I just resigned the position this year after the last of a second six-year span. Um, in all these years, I remain very active with the student clientele. Since 1975, I've been advisor to Tau Kappa Epsilon¹¹⁸ fraternity here, a social fraternity. Um, I've been active, off-and-on, as an officer in Phi Kappa Phi,¹¹⁹ the national honor society, this year now I'm president of the honor society at Cal State. Uh, I was on the board of the University Center¹²⁰ when we, uh, added all the new addition to it. And I'm the one that's responsible for having named those names Gabrielino,¹²¹ Hetebrink.¹²² Uh, the pavilion which is the, uh, named after the Spanish explorer —
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: — Portolá,¹²³ because we're gonna be putting up, before long, a display on the walls explaining why those names are over there. All the original landowners of Cal State have a name of a room now, from the Indians, through the Spanish, through the Mexican period, through the American period as well. Um, I don't know, that's kind of a run-through of where I am up till now. Now, you can ask questions.
- BM: Okay! Now, going way back, when you said that you got interested — you became interested in Lincoln at age five.
- RR: Mm-hm.

¹¹⁷ Advisor who explains course requirements to students based on their major (e.g., History).

¹¹⁸ Founded 1899.

¹¹⁹ Founded 1897.

¹²⁰ As of this edition (2022), known as the TSU ("Titan Student Union").

¹²¹ Gabrielino-Tongva ("San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians"), California Indigenous people.

¹²² Family with ties to Fullerton, California, since 1874.

¹²³ Gaspar de Portolá (1716-1786); Spanish explorer who led expeditions into California.

BM: How were you exposed? Was it during kindergarten class or?

RR: No. I, I don't think so. I think we had some neighbors who—who loved to study about the American presidents. And I became interested, I think, partly through that. Although there is an indirect connection through my own family. The founder of ma—my hometown is Reverend Henry Peter Scholte.¹²⁴ My grandfather led one of the boats, and Scholte's family came over on a separate boat also. Uh, but together they picked the home site. My grandfather and four other men picked the site where Pella's located. Scholte became a good friend of Lincoln's. And, as a young boy, I was aware that Reverend Scholte had, uh, been a guest at the Inauguration 1861. Uh, family tradition says that Lincoln offered him position of Ambassador to Austria in 1864. Scholte had his first heart attack when he received word that Lincoln had been assassinated. And—and I have, uh, even, uh, touched or put around my shoulders the Scholte shawl,¹²⁵ which he wore to meet Lincoln. Which turned out to be the very same kind of shawl that Lincoln had! They compared notes—

BM: Hm!

RR: —on their shawl. I had the very early connection, when I was a young boy. So, indirectly, my grandfather knew a man who knew Mr. Lincoln very well. That was there in the family. But I, I think my neighbors—who especially enjoyed studying presidents—turned me toward Lincoln and Washington.¹²⁶

BM: Now, why is that?

RR: Because I think we just admired Lincoln as—as a human being, and as president during the Civil War years. Uh, I read some—some of the earliest books on Lincoln, which are now *child's* books, that are still available. And I began to read about Washington *and* Lincoln and soon I focused just on Lincoln.

BM: Uh, but you don't know *why*?

RR: I don't know exactly why. I get—really can't say. Already, by the time I was in first grade, I was focusing on Lincoln.

BM: Hm.

RR: Certainly by the second grade, clearly.

BM: So you don't really know what's kept your interest going all these years?

RR: Oh that's a difficult question. I think it's because I have grown in my appreciation of—of not only *who* Lincoln is, but the *importance* of him to the nation. He is a—a fascinating character, not an easy person to know at all. Therefore you're never sure you've got your hand around the man's story. There's always something new to learn about him. Um, even his law

¹²⁴ Hendrik Pieter Scholte (1806-1868); see above, note 6.

¹²⁵ A piece of clothing worn to protect against chill or damp weather.

¹²⁶ George Washington (1732-1799); 1st President of the United States (1789-1797).

partner said that he was a very difficult man to know, and to know well would be very hard. But, as President of the United States—I have grown in my appreciation (pauses) to accept the fact that by own mind, that we have a nation today, partly because the will of one man. Lincoln was not willing to see the nation divide into two separate nations. And if any one person can *make* a difference, I would suggest he probably is one of those—in our history—who made a *great* difference. One person. One person's will. Never giving up. And—and—paid a real price, eventually gave his life for it. But I think my admiration started out interested in him as a young man, because I was young. And then I have grown up with Lincoln, so to speak, all these years. Now I am four years older than he was when he was assassinated. Hard for me to think that he accomplished all that he did accomplish by the time he was fifty-six, when, now, I'm sixty. I have never lost admiration for him. I know he's mortal.

[00:40:00]

RR: I see moments when his anger was very paramount. He had a very strong will. He could control his will—which some people cannot do—and he could do that. But—he was a man with a difficult life. And spiritually, I think, he grew very much during the war years. So, I admire him on many counts. Political. His importance for the nation. I admire him as an individual. I especially admire his spiritual qualities as a person.

BM: Mm-hm.

RR: And, uh, that has only, I suppose, enhanced what—as a boy—I thought was a very admirable person. That's a roundabout way of saying: I was attracted early, but I can't say why, and I still am attracted and I'm not sure I still can say why.

BM: So are you more attracted to Abraham Lincoln rather than the Civil War as a whole.

RR: I started out being attracted to Lincoln first.

BM: Mm-hm.

RR: Then my interest spread to the war. You cannot understand the war without the man, and you can't understand the man without the war. (tap)

BM: Mm-hm.

RR: And so my interest, you see, already by the time I'm a teenager, I'm writing Civil War veterans. So my interest had already grown by the time I was twelve—thirteen to encompass the war years, so.

BM: Now, wh—somebody with not that type of background that you had such exposure to Lincoln. Why is it that so many people in 1997 are so fascinated with the Civil War? Not having exposure like you had?

RR: (takes breath)

BM: What is it?

RR: Well, I would say—if you wanna be pragmatic about it—I'd say the Ken Burns¹²⁷ series, which was on television, uh, on the Civil War,¹²⁸ really brought back to the consciousness of the nation the importance of the war in the life of the country. It's a watershed in American history. Uh, the nation is different coming out of the war than went into the war, as often wars do. You can never predict going into war what will come out of it, and we found that through the Civil War. It's the bloodiest war in the nation's history.

BM: Hm.

RR: Uh, many Americans have forgotten that it was the bloodiest war, and we killed each other in this country. Uh, but it had an impact on the world! Not only did it keep the United States together so it might become a major world power, it also, in the military sense, set the tone for modern warfare, and the means and technology of modern warfare. Uh, the next war that came out after the Civil War in Europe was the, uh, war between, um, Germany and France, the Franco-Prussian War.¹²⁹ Well some of the observers, who were French, some of the observers, who were German, of the Civil War were active in—in fighting each other in Europe! And the Civil War had a direct impact on the French and the Germans. And then, of course, you can see it in the Spanish-American War¹³⁰ right on up and through to the twentieth century. Um, but it's the watershed event in the nation. I think it still is, and the Ken Burns series made that clear. And then the movie *Gettysburg*¹³¹ just reinforced that. The movie *Glory*¹³² reinforced the importance of Black Americans in the Civil War event as well.

BM: Cause there's, um—there's quite a few different organizations—are you in any organizations, um, on the Civil War?

RR: Yes. I'm a member of the Long Beach Civil War Roundtable.¹³³ In fact, I was their first lifetime honorary member.

BM: And what do you do in those organizations?

RR: What we do is we meet once a month and, uh, we have different speakers or sometimes discussions on personalities, or military events, or some aspect of the war itself. And, uh, usually have a— a pretty fair number there. I'm not only a member of that, but I am a member of other organizations

¹²⁷ Kenneth Lauren Burns (born 1953); American filmmaker.

¹²⁸ *The Civil War*, directed by Ken Burns, 9 episodes (1990).

¹²⁹ Armed conflict between the Second French Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia; 1870-1871.

¹³⁰ Armed conflict between the United States and Spain; 1898.

¹³¹ *Gettysburg*, directed by Ronald F. Maxwell (1993).

¹³² *Glory*, directed by Edward Zwick (1989); about the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment.

¹³³ Meeting of enthusiasts to discuss aspects of the Civil War; Long Beach is a city in Los Angeles County, California.

across the nation, too, uh, the Abraham Lincoln Association¹³⁴ in Springfield. I'm a member of the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin.¹³⁵ I'm a member of the Surratt Society¹³⁶ in Maryland, uh, um, I guess my memberships are multiple, certainly my publications coming in are legion. I have difficulty keeping up with all the information coming in, but I belong to multiple organizations around the war itself.

BM: And, uh, what is the goal of the organizations? What's their purpose?

RR: Basically to inform and to educate. Um. (pauses) It's important to keep the impact of this war alive in the nation's consciousness because it's the old story, if we don't know our history, we may be forced to make some of the same errors or mistakes. However, after all these years of teaching, I know one thing we have learned from history, and I can tell you what that one thing is.

BM: Now, what is that?

RR: We *don't* learn from history.

BM: So then why are we continuing —

RR: Because —

BM: — doing —

RR: — we don't, we don't know. And you keep hoping that the next generation will be smart enough to correct the faults of the previous generations. But, unfortunately, they think they know it, and they don't need any other input, so you make the same mistakes from generation to generation.

BM: Do you think there'll be another Civil War where the tr — the South try to succeed again.

RR: No, I don't think the South will ever secede again because — as a nation — we are so tied together and — and even more now as a part of the world economy. We can't survive, unless we're a part of the world economy. And the South is as much of that now as the North.

BM: What — what do you feel was the South's major, um, (smacks lips) points of defeat?

RR: They're debating that one. They still are debating it. And I — I suppose I have reevaluated that many, many times over. I think, ultimately, you have probably two answers, and they're — they're fussing about both of them. I think, in the *final* word, the North, economically (pauses) and in unity, somewhat politically, were so united, that their overwhelming resources meant, I think, that the Confederacy would not *be* successful. But there are many examples in the world, of a small nation — to say, for example — like the United States withstanding the greatest empire in the world, which is Great Britain, who had all the resources on *their* side. And, yet, they were

¹³⁴ Advances studies and disseminates scholarship about Lincoln; founded 1908.

¹³⁵ Aims to unite Lincoln enthusiasts through a common organization; founded 1940.

¹³⁶ Dedicated to the history of the Surratt House Museum; founded 1975.

- not successful in stopping the Americans' (knocking) revolt! (pause in recording)
- BM: Okay. So you're just saying, uh, it was the South—it was the North being more united than the South. Do you think the blockade of the Southern ports¹³⁷ —
- RR: Well—
- BM: —played to be—
- RR: —that was a slow thing. It— (longer pause in recording)
- RR: —point I want to make, probably. I mentioned the overwhelming resources and the organization of the nation's military structure under Lincoln. He was the first to organize what we call the modern command system. And that's what my course "Lincoln and His Generals" is all about in January. But I would say the other factor is the loss of will in the South. And I *know* Gary Gallagher¹³⁸ has a new book¹³⁹ out on that, which he of course opts for—my first point is that the Northern resources were just so overwhelming. That the South, of course, still continued their will to fight, and you can see that in the Army of Northern Virginia under Robert E. Lee,¹⁴⁰ they would not—at least, a certain number of them would not—*leave*. But, on the other hand, look at the number of people that went AWOL!¹⁴¹ As the war was lost in the South—in the western part first—and the forces dwindled *away*, uh, in the western part of the—of the South. And then a large number were abandoning the cause in Virginia in those last weeks of the war. And so I *still* think, there was a loss of will!
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: And part of that is because when your wife and your kids are exposed to starvation and to danger, you're concerned about the *home*. And you *leave* and go home, a lot of them did that and came back and fought. Eventually, frankly, they couldn't leave anymore.
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: I think the South's will (pauses) failed in the end.
- BM: Hm.
- RR: And thus, it was better to give up and live and survive than to fight and starve. Jefferson Davis,¹⁴² however, was the one clear un-Reconstructed rebel.¹⁴³ He wanted to *continue* the war, he wanted to take the war into a

¹³⁷ The U.S. government preventing the free passage of Confederate supply ships (1861-1865).

¹³⁸ Gary William Gallagher (born 1950); American historian specializing in the Civil War.

¹³⁹ Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

¹⁴⁰ Robert Edward Lee (1807-1870); Confederate Army General.

¹⁴¹ Abbreviation for "Absent Without Leave."

¹⁴² Jefferson Finis Davis (1808-1889); President of the Confederacy (1861-1865).

¹⁴³ Former Confederate, opposed to Reconstruction.

- form of *guerilla warfare*¹⁴⁴ into the mountains of Appalachia,¹⁴⁵ and Robert E. Lee *opposed* that.
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: But when Robert E. Lee died, he had at least applied for United States citizenship. One of the clerks *took* his application as a souvenir for the signature, it was never acted on. Therefore, Lee did not regain citizenship when he died in 1870. But Jefferson Davis is a different story. Jefferson Davis *refused* to apply for citizenship in the United States his *whole* life, and died *not* a citizen of the United States.
- BM: So the men that fought on the Confederacy side, they lost their right as United States citizens? I—I never heard of that.
- RR: The leadership did.
- BM: The leadership.
- RR: Yeah.
- BM: I never —
- RR: They had to be reinstated by —by an oath of allegiance! And Davis *refused* to take the oath of allegiance. Lee was *willing to*, but his application was never acted on. So, technically, Lee died not a citizen, and Jefferson Davis was not. Therefore, I have a real problem when President Jimmy Carter¹⁴⁶ *gave back* Jefferson Davis his citizenship¹⁴⁷ — which he never wanted, never asked for.
- BM: Mm-hm.
- RR: I highly object to that.
- BM: Now what role do you think *California* played during the —
- RR: Very —
- BM: — Civil War.
- RR: — important role. Lincoln said in 1863 before the Congress, that California's role was very important, partly because of the amount of gold and silver coming out of the Comstock Lode.¹⁴⁸ There were ships off the coast here of San Francisco,
- [00:50:00]
- RR: uh, that were called treasure ships. And California's gold and silver helped *pay* the Northern part of the Civil War.
- BM: Well, how did the — 'cause the gold and silver were not, they were privately owned.

¹⁴⁴ Fast moving, small-scale military action by irregular forces against traditional forces.

¹⁴⁵ Mountainous region in the eastern U.S. (from southern New York to northern Mississippi).

¹⁴⁶ James Earl Carter Jr. (born 1924); 39th President of the United States (1977-1981).

¹⁴⁷ Jefferson's citizenship was restored by Senate Joint Resolution 16 (Public Law 95-466), approved October 17, 1978, which President Carter signed.

¹⁴⁸ 1859 discovery of silver ore in the state of Nevada.

- RR: Yes, but they – but, nevertheless, the government, you know, has a certain amount of say in the middle of *war*.
- BM: That's true. Mm-hm.
- RR: That was taken around the horn.
- BM: And (inaudible) –
- RR: Oh no, Lincoln – in his last day of his life, Lincoln talked of coming out to California and *personally thanking* the *miners* of California for their contribution in the war.
- BM: Wow.
- RR: He even talked of *moving* to California, maybe. (pauses) Most people don't know that either.
- BM: Mm. Okay, in closing, do you have – do you have anything you would like to *add* about the fascination of the Civil War? The reenactments,¹⁴⁹ have you been to any re –
- RR: Oh, yes.
- BM: – reenactments?
- RR: Oh, you bet I have. Um, I'm happy right now in the state of the Lincoln and Civil War fields. We have a younger generation coming in, like Jared (inaudible)¹⁵⁰ and others, uh, who are very responsible scholars. *Much* of what's coming off the press is from young scholarship. Very good. *Very* academically strong. I'm very pleased at that. Reenactments, I'm *happy* as long as they realize, in the reenactment, that they can never, *ever*, ever, ever, *ever*, ever, ever, *ever*, –
- BM: (laughs)
- RR: – you can count all those, fully bring back the smell of death, and blood, and war. You can have all the reenactments in the world. But, like Carl Sandburg said walking with Walter Cronkite¹⁵¹ on the battlefield of Gettysburg in 1963,¹⁵² he hoped that in maybe one of those guns in the reenactment they would just put one *real* bullet. It might make a great difference to see an *actual* person shot, and bleed. But the war was more, and more of that. And we have lost the smell of death, and the trauma of war. You can have all the reenactments, all the reality that you would like to think is there. It will *never* cross that moment of real death.

[00:52:12]

END OF INTERVIEW

¹⁴⁹ Restaging and acting out of a past event.

¹⁵⁰ Last name not intelligible.

¹⁵¹ Walter Leland Cronkite Jr. (1916-2009); American broadcast journalist.

¹⁵² Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; major Civil War battle site (July 1-3, 1863).

Sandra Alvarado, Eric Morales, and Drisel Perez Gutierrez (editors)

"They breathe color!"

Chicana Artist Margaret Garcia (b. 1951) and Her Activism in Los Angeles

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California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

The Lawrence de Graaf Center for Oral and Public History.

Project: Women, Politics, and Activism since Suffrage.

O.H. 5992.1.

Oral Interview with Margaret Garcia, conducted by Helen Yoshida,

October 13, 2017, 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 "Women, Politics, and Activism since Suffrage." The interview with Margaret Garcia was conducted by Helen Yoshida on October 13, 2017, in Los Angeles, California. The interview lasted 50 minutes and 55 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 2021 by Sandra Alvarado, Eric Morales, and Drisel Perez Gutierrez.

Margaret Garcia, born September 20, 1951, in Los Angeles, California, is a Chicana artist and activist. In the interview edited here, Garcia reflects on her teenage years growing up in Los Angeles, prior to pursuing a career as an artist. Before completing high school in 1969, Garcia had experienced conflict at home, eventually ran away, and was taken in by two teachers. One of these educators had at some point housed individuals who had marched with Martin Luther King Jr., and they sparked Garcia's interest in politics, Civil Rights, and her Chicana identity. Garcia discusses her role in the 1968 Los Angeles High school walkouts, when she spoke in front of the Board of Education, and details her unconventional approach to gaining acceptance into the University of Southern California (USC).

Garcia discusses her evolving aesthetics, her passion for the use of high-key colors, and why she is so intrigued by these colors. She comments on her feelings about contemporary visual artists who have influenced or inspired her through their friendship and their craft, including Yreina Cervantez, Carlos Almaraz, Frank Romero, CiCi Segura, Sonya Fe, Linda Vallejo, Patssi Valdez, and Graciela Iturbide. Garcia shares her philosophy on teaching art and mentoring new artists through the various workshops she holds, which, she believes, are not just helpful to students, but to herself as well as she continues to grow in her experience through teaching and mentoring. She shares her sentiments about incorporating political messages into her art, reflecting issues that matter to her, such as the protection of landmarks like the Atchafalaya Basin in Louisiana and Glacier

National Park in Montana, rather than merely creating work that endorses or rejects a political candidate during election seasons.

Margaret Garcia's recollections of her teenage years provide insights into events that have affected the Chicana and Chicano community in Los Angeles, California, such as the educational inequity that resulted in the 1968 East Los Angeles high school walkouts. The changes in her aesthetics illustrate the evolution of her art and activism. Her story also touches on the beginning of artistic traditions, such as the Day-of-the-Dead celebrations, and their global influence. Her interview should be of interest to anyone interested in the community history, social history, and cultural history of southern California.

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The primary-source edition published below originated in the "History and Editing" course offered by CSUF's History Department.

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Verbatim Transcript (O.H. 5992.1)

LAWRENCE DE GRAAF CENTER FOR ORAL AND PUBLIC HISTORY
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON

NARRATOR: Margaret Garcia [MG]

INTERVIEWER: Helen Yoshida [HY]

DATE: October 13, 2017

LOCATION: Los Angeles, California

PROJECT: Women, Politics, and Activism since Suffrage

TRANSCRIBERS: Sandra Alvarado, Eric Morales, and Drisel Perez Gutierrez

HY: Um, so, um, um — where — so, kind of going off of —

MG: Where – off – of what I asked about Chicano¹ art?

HY: Yeah.

MG: What are you going to ask?

HY: Um – (laughs) – well, how did the Chicano movement affect or inform your work?

MG: Um, in 1969, I'd just graduated from high school. I had been living with an English teacher and a history teacher. I had had, um, because inasmuch as I didn't get along with my mother, I also didn't get along with my father at the time. We hadn't come to terms with our relationship. Part of that was a lot of the poison my mother had put in the water in – in terms of the way I felt about my dad.

HY: Mm-hm.

MG: So, we got into an altercation. I had a – a girlfriend. You know, at the time I was like sixteen, and I was not sexual. (laughs) I was just a normal sixteen-year-old kid, and my girlfriend kind of – her name was – we called her Evie. She was one of the girls that we hung out with. She looked and felt like a dyke² to anybody who would look at her. Now, you know – I – for me, I didn't have a word for it. (dog sneezes repeatedly) I didn't have an understanding of it and, so, she was going out with boys and, to be honest, it wasn't on my, like, radar. It wasn't something I thought about. Um, but my dad came home one day, and she was – she and my cousin, Cookie, and I were doing our hair and dancing and stuff, and my father had a hissy fit, and we got into a fist fight, and he, you know, he knocked my head on the floor, and I had like bruises around my neck where he was trying to choke me. I had a stepmother at the time who was a beautiful woman, very nice lady – got him to stop. The next day, I ran away from home, and I was taken in by an English teacher and history teacher. And the history teacher had housed some of the people that had been marching with Martin Luther King.³ I know – I'm getting – it takes me long to get back to what I was saying. Veralynn Marshall who was a history teacher at Roosevelt,⁴ and um, this politicized me to some degree – there was sort of – it indoctrinated me into modern poli – we talked about Civil Rights and Chicano rights, and things like that. So, by the time I got to CSUN,⁵ I was really thirsty, really hungry for, um, that indoctrination. And, I came into the term "Chicano" because before that I didn't know anything "Chicano." "Chicano" was – for me, a perfect word because it helped me to define myself. To say, you know,

¹ Identifier for Mexican Americans and those of Mexican descent living in the United States; in popular use since the 1960s.

² Slang term (often offensive) for a lesbian.

³ Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968); American Baptist minister and Civil Rights activist.

⁴ Theodore Roosevelt High School, Los Angeles, California; established 1922.

⁵ California State University, Northridge; established 1958.

I'm not Mexican, I'm not American. I'm both—I'm—I'm something else, you know. And I wasn't hyphenated. It was one word, and I liked—I liked that. And, so, I embraced that term because it allowed me to take pride in the things that I enjoyed about my culture. And it allowed me to discard the things that I no longer had use for. Including this sort of male-dominated world that *Mexicanos*⁶ are so strongly in favor of and something that my grandmother taught me to reject. So, it fit me. It felt right. It—it—it felt whole. So, I embraced the terminology. I became aware of the farmworker struggle,⁷ and I joined the picket line and started picketing—um, in favor of the farmworkers. Back in '69, I went up to Delano,⁸ I slept in Filipino Hall,⁹ and I stopped eating grapes, you know. What else could I do? Um, and then, uh—but I wasn't an artist at the time. I did not give myself permission to call myself an artist probably until 1983. At one point, I st—I was studying art. I learned to draw and when I turned twenty-one, I took up painting. But the reason I didn't give myself permission to call myself an artist is because my beliefs were that you had to have a certain skill to achieve that. It wasn't just you deciding, "Okay, I'm an artist today." Like, you know, you had to have some skill. And I had to practice and become skilled to get to the point where I could call myself an artist. And it wasn't until someone else called me an artist that I believed it, and I think the first time I remember someone calling me an artist, because I would say I was a painter—I—I paint, I didn't say I was an artist because I didn't feel I had the—the—the right to say I was an artist until I had achieved as—a level of skill, and I felt like I was still learning. You know, I—I, you know, it's like, you know, someone calling you *maestro*,¹⁰ and you're like, "Oh," you know, "I'm still learning how to play a note or two." And I—and that's the way I felt—I felt like a beginner. I had an artistic vision, I had an aesthetic, I had things that I love, and that any artist would be proud to be able to say, "I can express that." But it, um, I had—I didn't feel like I had achieved that. That's why I—I didn't feel I gave myself that permission until '83, I think. And Glenna Avila¹¹ was the first person to call me an artist, and I thought, "Okay, I am. I'm an artist. That's right." Because I was *doing* it. I was in the midst of doing the work. It wasn't just a fantasy in my head. I was putting myself out. That's when I felt I could give myself that permission.

HY: Um, (pauses) were you a part of the (pauses) 1968 walkouts?

⁶ Spanish for "Mexicans."

⁷ Reference to the activism of César E. Chávez (1927-1993) and others for farmworkers' rights.

⁸ City in Kern County, California; known for the 1965-1970 Grape Strike.

⁹ Community center in Delano, California.

¹⁰ Italian and Spanish for "master;" also used for a distinguished artist.

¹¹ (Born 1953); artist and art administrator in Los Angeles, California.

MG: The walkouts?

HY: Yeah.

MG: Uh, I—I hesitated walking out. I was at the gate, and I was there. I did not walk out, but I went to— afterwards, there was a town hall meeting where all the students who walked out went to speak before the Board of Education.¹² I went to that, and I spoke in terms of what I—you know, I said, “There’s—there’s something wrong here,” you know. “My sister has graduated from here, and she can’t even read. It seems to me that’s wrong.” That the level of education at Roosevelt was not as high as it was at Fairfax High¹³ or some other place. So, yeah, there was huge discrepancies. So, I spoke out in favor of the walkout before the Board of Education. I went there to speak, but I didn’t walk out. (long pause)

HY: And—

MG: I think it served its purpose. I thought it was a good thing. (long pause)

HY: Um (pauses), I’m just going back to—um, school—school again. After we talked about CSUN (traffic sounds), um, and then—did you—you attended USC¹⁴ for graduate work.

MG: Mm-hm.

HY: So, what drew you to their program?

MG: Um, I called them up and said, “You know, I would really like to go into your school, but I don’t have a B.A.”¹⁵ (pauses) So, I went, and I met with them, and I interviewed everybody on the faculty, and they voted unanimously to let me into their program. (pauses) But I didn’t have a B.A.

[00:10:00]

MG: They let me into their program. They s—(pauses)—my understanding—I wasn’t there in the meeting, but they—they said, (rattling dishware) “Well, this is a—this a person worth—you know, she’s basically trying the competition that we have in the open market, and she has achieved that level of success. So, we ought to recognize it and just let her move forward from here on in.” That’s why I was accepted. (pauses) Does—(laughs) does that sound crazy? (rattling) It set precedent. They had never done that before.

HY: (laughs) No, that sounds cool.

MG: Yeah, you know, it was nice. They were good to me. (rattling) I thought the faculty was good to me.

HY: Mm-hm.

MG: Um, the student body not so much.

¹² Governing body of the Los Angeles Unified School District; established 1961.

¹³ Fairfax High School, Los Angeles, California; established 1924.

¹⁴ University of Southern California; private institution, established 1880.

¹⁵ Abbreviation for “Bachelor of Arts;” academic degree.

HY: Mm.

MG: Kids were—I was like the only Chicana there and, (rattling) I don't know, some of those students had problems (pauses) with me. But, you know, what do you do? It was a good experience.

HY: Uh-huh.

MG: I realized how much I knew.

HY: Already, going in?

MG: Yeah.

HG: Yeah.

MG: And, you know, I was an adult. I was not a young student and, you know, a lot of these programs, it's sort of like, you're told not to have an opinion. (laughs) You know. And if you're—if you're—if you hit forty and you don't have an opinion about something, you're really in trouble—(rattling) it seems to me.

HY: (laughs) Uh, in graduate school, um, uh, when—when you began working in the field, were there—there many, uh, women artists already in the field—in your field?

MG: Uh, you—you mean, uh, what do you mean? Uh—

HY: Uh, (rattling) uh, women who are, um, s—your contemporaries?

MG: Well, Yreina Cervantez¹⁶ (rattling begins) was one of my contemporaries. You know, and there have been a few women that have been very, you know, great colleagues. And we had conversations and exchanges and things like that. Uh, my—my, uh, work, you know—Linda Vallejo¹⁷ said to me that my work was, uh, that I was a formalist. That's what she called me. It was a bit formal. It wasn't like folk-crafty kind of—I—I didn't do a lot of (pauses) folk and crafts kind of imaging. But, in truth, I did a lot of restoration work when I was living in Chicago, when I was doing—and I—I had this very strong appreciation for (door creaks) high-key color and that fact that it kind of—it comes from a folk-art tradition. Um, I didn't paint, at the time, you know, I wasn't painting *calaveras*¹⁸ and Day-of-the-Dead imagery, and the *Virgin of Guadalupe*.¹⁹ Uh, I didn't really learn about Day of the Dead until '83, I think. Kind of late. Um, I learned about those things through different ways, because I was doing restoration work in Chicago and we did a lot of, uh, European china, and things like Lladrós²⁰ and—and

¹⁶ (Born 1952); artist and Chicana activist in southern California.

¹⁷ (Born 1951); artist and advocate for Indigenous art and rituals in southern California.

¹⁸ Spanish for "skulls."

¹⁹ Title of Mary, the mother of Jesus, based on 1531 Marian apparitions in Mexico.

²⁰ Lladró; Spanish manufacturer of decorative accessories; established 1953.

Hummels²¹, and Wedgwoods²², and Royal (creaks) Doultons²³, and all this kind of, we called it “poodleship,” and occasionally, we’d get something from China, 500 B.C. China, Mexico, and Africa, and it was hand-crafted, and it had high-key color, and it was strong, and I loved it. You know, um, and what I—what I learned is that art—around the equator, art from places with hot climate and tropical places with big, beautiful butterflies and big colorful flowers, that color is the *norm*. If you live in Iceland or Holland, and it’s snowing, and it’s off-season, and you get to stay home and paint—you’re painting snow and slush and gray and umbers, and—and earth tones and just—sad, gray things, you know. And, uh, the—the color palette for those of us who live in areas that have that hot tropical sensibility, it’s a norm. Whereas, you know, like, I—I mean, I know that, on occasion, it rains a lot, and you might look up on a hillside and see ice plant that’s blooming in—to full fuchsia, and it is so electric that it almost looks artificial. Well, that’s the norm, and to European sensibilities, you know, that high-key color was almost bombastic and offensive. And then, you know, they’ll say, “Oh yeah, Gauguin²⁴ did it.” People will tell you that. They’ll say, “Oh, Gauguin did thi”—Gauguin was Latino! He grew up in Peru. His mother was Peruvian,²⁵ and he grew up as part of the Americas. So, his contribution in terms of that sense of color comes from here. It comes from us. That’s our heritage. It makes sense to me. I get it. I love it. You know, eh—eh, *Mexicanos*, the Indigenous people, they—they just about—they eat color, they breathe color, they see color. It’s—it’s part of the environment. It makes total sense. And, I—what I did was, I kind of combined my knowledge of more traditional European—with that sense of color and acceptance of works by people who do fauve²⁶-ish work, like Jawlensky,²⁷ who’s German, and, uh, you know, some of these—these other painters. I love the—the fauvists,²⁸ as they call them, wild animals or whatever. But, it doesn’t—it’s not wild—I think, you know, I turn on the TV, and I—I—we don’t watch TV here, but I—I had a TV set, I’d put the—the, you know, person looks orange with bright-colored hair, and people would say, “Your TV’s off.” I go, “No, it’s not off. It looks great. I like it that way.” You know,

²¹ Porcelain figurines based on art by Sister Maria Innocentia Hummel (1909-1946); made 1935-2008 by German manufacturer W. Goebel and since 2009 by successor companies.

²² Wedgwood; English manufacturer of decorative accessories; established 1759.

²³ Royal Doulton; English manufacturer of decorative accessories; established 1815.

²⁴ Eugène Henri Paul Gauguin (1848-1903); French Post-Impressionist painter.

²⁵ Gauguin’s grandmother, Flora Tristan (1803-1844) was French-Peruvian.

²⁶ Fauvism (from the French “les fauves,” meaning “the wild beasts”); early twentieth-century artistic movement known for intense colors.

²⁷ Alexej von Jawlensky (1864-1941); Russian expressionist painter, worked in Germany.

²⁸ See note 26.

- I—I—I—I react, and I have that sense of—of, uh, appreciation. (to NN)²⁹
Thank you, babe.
- NN: You're welcome. Enjoy.
- MG: Aw. That's sweet of you. So, um—
- HY: Thank you. (rattling ends)
- MG: —it's normal to me, you know, I think. Um, so, I don't feel so traditional as she may think I am. Um, but, you know, hey. (pauses). Thank you. He's—he knows I'm hungry.
- HY: (laughs)
- MG: Bless his heart. I'm going to just take a (inaudible) here. So, does that answer your question, or did I answer it? Did I—
- HY: No, I think you did.
- MG: Okay.
- HY: (laughs) Um—
- MG: This goat cheese tastes great with that honey, by the way.
- HY: Oh, it does?
- MG: Mm. Mm-hm. (whistle blows) Anyway—
- HY: (laughs) Um, (whistle blows) so, throughout the years, uh (rattling), what themes have emerged or reappeared—continued to play a role in your work?
- MG: In my art?
- HY: Mm-hm.
- MG: You know, there's people whose work—people, you know, I—you know, I—I—I do like, you know, the same people I liked before, except now there's a whole bunch of people that I like even more. You know, that—I'm going to put this right here. That—like David Fleury,³⁰ who is a young man that was my apprentice. (rattling begins) I got to a point where I was looking at his work, and I was saying to myself, "You know, I'd rather have a David Fleury than a Picasso."³¹

[00:20:00]

- MG: Then, I realized because it says more about who I am and where I come from, and I really love the aesthetic. I love, you know, and I—and I—of course, I love John Valadez³² and Yreina Cervantez, (rattling ends) and I love—I love things that I know. Things that (pauses) they—they—they make sense to me 'cause I see them in the context of my life now. They reverberate, um, my sensibility now in terms of what's going on (distant

²⁹ Unidentified individual present during the interview.

³⁰ Artist in Los Angeles, California.

³¹ Pablo Picasso (1881-1973); Spanish artist.

³² (Born 1951); realist painter and muralist focusing on Mexican American visibility.

chatter) and what I see. Um, of course I love Frida Kahlo.³³ She's lovely, you know, and wonderful. But, uh, there's a lot of women artists right now that I love even more. You know, um, uh, some of them are people that paint with me, that I—that I like to paint with. And it isn't because they're famous. You know, it isn't because they're well-known. It's because they speak to me (distant chatter), you know. Uh, and that includes people who aren't Chicano as well as people (whistle blows) who are Chicano. You know, uh, I feel like we're just right now scratching the surface in terms of women that are getting out there and producing. Um, (pauses) (rattling) but, um, (distant chatter begins) I guess Yreina would probably be at the top of that list (rattling). Carlos Almaraz,³⁴ for sure. You know, he's life-changing. Uh, Frank Romero,³⁵ who has been a dear and good friend to me, who has opened up his studio and been an influence and given me access to other artists and other things that he's done, and I see the relationship between him and—and Carlos and how they developed, and—and why that was really significant and really important (distant chatter). Um, but I love the work of Ester Petschar³⁶—she's a Chicana. And, uh, I like Crystal Galindo's³⁷ work a lot. Sonya Fe³⁸ is—is really amazing. She's lovely. Her work is—is really well done. CiCi Segura,³⁹ she does some gorgeous things. She's also in the Cheech Collection.⁴⁰ Um, I like, um, the altars and the installations of Ofelia Esparza.⁴¹ She was there at the beginning when all that, uh—the Day-of-the-Dead stuff, it was—she started educating everybody on how to put a—an altar together and how to make those—those, uh, presentations. And, uh, Rosanna Ahrens.⁴² Um, that's—that's kind of, the—the people that I'm close to right now, that I feel most connected to in terms of having a dialogue and being able to—to have an exchange when it comes to art. They'd probably be the first ones. There are other people who are more famous that also deserve, uh, you know, some—some recognition, that—that have worked really hard, um, Linda Vallejo (whistle blows). You know, um, and—and even, you know, Patssi Valdez.⁴³ You know, Patssi is in there. Um, but, if I was gonna do a show, right now,

³³ (1907-1954); Mexican painter.

³⁴ Carlos D. Almaraz (1941-1989); Mexican American painter.

³⁵ Frank Edward Romero (born 1941); American artist.

³⁶ Artist and activist in Los Angeles, California.

³⁷ (Born 1983); Yacqui Xicana artist in San Francisco, California.

³⁸ (Born 1952); American painter.

³⁹ CiCi Segura Gonzalez; abstract painter in Los Angeles, California.

⁴⁰ The Cheech Marin Center for Chicano Art and Culture, Riverside, California (to open 2022).

⁴¹ Altar-maker (*altarista*) in Los Angeles, California.

⁴² Rosanna Esparza Ahrens; daughter of Ofelia Esparza, artist in Los Angeles, California.

⁴³ (Born 1951); Chicana artist in Los Angeles, California.

right here and now, and I was going to try and pull people together to do that show and it was—if it—if it had to be a Chicano show, then I would probably—Son—Sonya Fe and CiCi Segura would be there at the top. Um, if it was a bigger, wider circle of people that I wanted to say in terms of women and women's art, um, I would add, uh, Margaret Lazzari⁴⁴ and uh, Ruth Weisberg,⁴⁵ Ann Page,⁴⁶ um, who do amazing work. (children audible in the background) Um, and you can say Beatriz Ochoa⁴⁷ all the way up in (inaudible), Graciela—Graciela, um, Barraza-Vega⁴⁸ in Corpus Christi. But one of the photographers, one of the women photographers who I *absolutely* adore is Graciela Iturbide,⁴⁹ who's a friend of mine. I hooked her up when she came up here. She had a solo show at the Getty⁵⁰ and uh, she did, I think, uh, "48 Hours in the Day of America"⁵¹ or something like that. And I took her and set her up with my niece who lived in Boyle Heights,⁵² and she did a series on the—the gangs of East L.A.⁵³ What time is it?

HY: Uh, two-ten.

MG: Oh, we're good then. Okay. I can eat this.

HY: (laughs)

MG: Um, Graciela Iturbide is a Mexican photographer, not a Chicana. But she's definitely on top of any list I could put together. I went to Oaxaca,⁵⁴ and I met, um, Justina Fuentes⁵⁵ from Oaxaca, and, um, she's magnificent. Laura Hernández,⁵⁶ also from Oaxaca, she's wonderful.

HY: Um.

MG: Mm-hm. (pauses) I haven't been staying on a list of everything. I think that now that I don't curate as much, that I'm not doing the Day of the Dead like I was, um, because I'm trying to stay in the studio, so to do my art. You know, Bonnie Lambert,⁵⁷ who's my—who's been my student, who's now kind of on her own, doing her own thing, she's somebody to watch. Definitely somebody to watch. Um, and my aesthetics has changed a little

⁴⁴ (Born 1953); artist and professor emerita (USC).

⁴⁵ (Born 1942); artist and professor (USC).

⁴⁶ Ann Takayoshi Page (born 1940); artist and professor emerita (USC).

⁴⁷ Unidentified artist.

⁴⁸ Also known as Grace Barraza-Vega; artist in Corpus Christi, Texas.

⁴⁹ (Born 1942); Mexican photographer.

⁵⁰ The J. Paul Getty Center/Museum, Los Angeles, California; established 1997.

⁵¹ *A Day in the Life of America* (1987); art project.

⁵² Neighborhood (also known as *Paredón Blanco*) in Los Angeles, California.

⁵³ Abbreviation for "Los Angeles."

⁵⁴ Oaxaca de Juárez, city and state capital of Oaxaca, Mexico.

⁵⁵ (Born 1954); Mexican painter.

⁵⁶ (Born 1960); Mexican painter.

⁵⁷ Stage actress and painter in southern California.

bit. There's certain things I didn't care for, I didn't like, and now I have an appreciation for it. Things that are a little more – raw. Things that are a little more – I wanna say, uh, (pauses) I don't think "primitive"⁵⁸ is the correct word. I think just things that are a little more – not so "academic."⁵⁹ Not so well proportioned. You know, I don't – I don't mind – I don't mind a certain amount of – I – I almost want to say "disfigurement" in the work, you know, where the work is not necessarily so – so practiced, so – so anatomically correct, but there's a little bit of distortion because we all see with a little bit of distortion, and that distortion sometimes kinda makes you uneasy. And sometimes it makes more of a point than something that's correct. I think if everything had to be anatomically correct, we'd have anatomy charts in the museum, and we've gotten to a point where we – we just about have done that, you know. I'm – I'm not a big proponent of conceptual art,⁶⁰ and it isn't that there aren't conceptual pieces that I don't like, it's just that, if you look in the dictionary, and you look up the word "concept, conceptual," it means "born in the mind." My work is not born in the mind. It's born in the heart. It's nurtured by the mind. And it's okay for something to be intelligent and tho – thought out, but the problem that I have with some things that are "born in the mind," when it comes to art, is that they get to the point where sometimes they're just *contrived* – for me. And even though there's always something that breaks the rule, and occasionally there's a conceptual piece that really hits home, and it's like, "Oh wow, that really says it," the majority of the work for me falls on kinda, like, deaf ears. Or, like, really? You know, I – I kinda get bored with the sort-of post-modern paste of, you know, charcoal houses and gray houses and beige houses, and you know, it's like, I want some color,

[00:30:00]

MG: you know. (dog barks) Sort of tired of that that post-modern era. I d – I – that – hipsters don't bother me, it's their aesthetic (laughs) in Echo Park⁶¹ that bothers me. (dog barks) I don't care for all those black buildings, you know. (dog barks) (pauses) I know, that's a quirk of mine, I guess. That's why my house is green.

HY: Um, you mentioned earlier that, um, you do teach – teach art to other women, um, but what – what motivates you to do that? And, how long have you been doing that?

MG: Oh – (dogs barks) I love – I love having my workshops. And, um, (dog barks) (laughs) (to dog) BooBoo, stop it! Um, students – a good student goes

⁵⁸ Adjective; referring (derogatorily) to non-European art and non-western societies.

⁵⁹ Adjective; referring to the realistic painting styles of the European academies of art.

⁶⁰ Artform that privileges a concept or idea over traditional aesthetics and forms.

⁶¹ Neighborhood in Los Angeles, California.

(inaudible) for you. You—you find that, in teaching someone, what you know, you have to find a way to articulate it in a way that is comprehensive enough to pass on. And you can't just do everything out of a book. You have to give an example. You have to show them how. You have to lead the way. *And* you have to, I think, you really have to get yourself to the point where (pauses) you—you train them to have an opinion. There's a lot of people who walk in and say, "I don't want you to teach me anything. I know what I'm doing and I—I did it that way because that's the way I wanted it." But, it—a—a person who is truly reaching to prove themselves is not like that at all. They're kinda like, "Well, what do you think?" you know, and, uh, it's the teacher's position (dog barks) to get them, to guide them to a place where they begin to understand the process that they're going through, so they can embrace it—so they can embrace their own capacity—to embrace where you are in this minute—wherever you are, whether it be good or bad. This is where you are, this is where you're starting. Embrace that, and then step up from there because until you embrace where you are, you can't take the next step to get where you are, because you're always faltering. So, you—you have to develop a foundation for yourself so that you can get where you wanna go. Whether it be skill or aesthetic, wherever you're going. And, um, I learn it—I learn a lot by teaching people who don't have the skill I do. And I learn to see things differently. Skill is one part of it. Talent is an overrated concept. It's just totally overrated. Somebody may have talent. So what, if they're not working? They may have talent (dog barks), but they don't practice it. So what, if they have talent? (dog barks) If you really wanna be an artist, and you have no talent, and you have to develop it—you have to develop the way to understand composition, how to create values of light and dark, how to balance color, how to move quickly perhaps across the page. That's an accomplishment. To go from—perhaps not understanding—"I can't even draw a stick figure." Who cares? Who wants stick figures anyways? You know, it takes the determination and the desire. Do you wanna be an artist? Then develop your skill. If you want it bad enough, you can have it. There isn't anything to keep you from trying to do that. And, you know, hey, I have a—a guy, he's like, in his, like, late seventies—he comes to my workshops. It's kind of late in life for him, you know. But he gets better, and he gets better, and occasionally he really, really surprises us. And sometimes, he does a lot of stuff that you're going like, "What were you thinking?" You know, there's a lot of that. But I think because—I think—I—you know, I believe in reincarnation. Whatever skill you're practicing in this lifetime, whatever it is you're teaching yourself to do, there's always going to be a payoff. It may not even be in this lifetime, it may be in the next one. But the process of learning it, the process of going through it, the process of being creative and giving yourself the opportunity to be creative

- and learn a skill—I don't believe is ever wasted at—regardless of what place and state you're at and if you have a lot of talent and you practice it—oh my God—you flourish. But if you have all this talent, and you don't practice it, who cares what talent you have? (rattling)
- HY: It's essential to practice—to practice.
- MG: You know, start playing, you know. Go out there and play. Just go out and do what you're supposed to do. Make time for yourself. Indulge yourself with the time to be creative, to sit there and be able to enjoy it, and do it.
- HY: Being present.
- MG: Yeah, you have to be present. You know. (pauses)
- HY: When you come to the canvas, um, and you're painting or you just finished a piece, uh, what do you hope viewers will, um, come away from with—by—viewing your work—experiencing your work? (traffic sounds)
- MG: You know, it, um—of course, it depends on what I'm painting. If I'm painting a portrait, you know, probably what I want more than anything is that you get a sense of that person; that you see that humanity; that you—you have some kind of understanding of it. You know, I—uh, when I did the *Nuevo Mestizaje*⁶² series, you know, the majority of the people were people of color. Not everybody was Mexican, because that's the—the point of it, they were all kind of blending. Some people were Asian, some people were African, or White—whatever. But I wanted to put us all within the context of being human, you know, of, uh, seeing our humanity, you know. Not just the sleepy Mexican with the *sombrero*⁶³ pulled over their head, where it's just a stereotype in an eye color that we are. You look at the television and, you know, we're portrayed as, um, lazy, sleepy Mexicans, drug addicts, prostitutes, uh, but, in—in what I'm painting, people around me, and I'm painting the portrait of a person I know, and they're a teacher or a filmmaker, a singer, an author, or an artist, you know, I put those things oftentimes on the painting. I write something about what they say to me. You know, Elias Nahmias,⁶⁴ who is part Lebanese and part Israeli, and he knew, um, um, Gabriel García Márquez,⁶⁵ he knew him, and he knew his son, and when he met him—Ga—Má—Márquez said, "The seeds of destruction are within you," because he had two opposing—the Lebanese, the—the Arab—and the—the Israeli—and he was part of the same thing. And I thought, "Oh, that is so beautiful." So, I took that, and I scratched it into his portrait, and it says, "The seeds of destruction are within you." I loved it. Uh, and that's true about his portrait (whistle blows), about who

⁶² Spanish for "New Miscegenation;" Margaret Garcia's contribution to the exhibit, "Chicano Visions: American Painters on the Verge" (2001), organized by Cheech Marin.

⁶³ Spanish for "shadower;" a wide-brimmed Mexican hat.

⁶⁴ Mexican-born independent filmmaker.

⁶⁵ (1927-2014); Colombian author.

he is. And he's a Mexican filmmaker, but he's also, uh, you know, Israeli, Arab, you know, he's—he's a—a lot of things. So, I—I think, uh, I want people to walk away with the complexity of what we are, and that we have our contradictions, and that we're more than one thing, you know. We're not, you know, "Oh you're Mexican," and it's like,

[00:40:00]

MG: when it comes to your mind, what is that? You know, you know, you, like, I'm—I'm kind of confused about that. You know, the whole thing with races is a construct, it really is. We're not different races, we're not like different species or something like that. We're all human beings. And, uh, we—we need to see each other as human beings to be able to—to—uh, value the differences that we have instead of trying to make everybody *beige*. We're not all beige. We're a lot of different things. And it's the differences that make us so beautiful. When somebody has long legs, when somebody is short and small and cute, and somebody is tall and handsome, and, you know, somebody else is fair, and somebody is black as night, and—oh my God—the colors that—that vibrate, radiate—radiate off of their skin. How boring would it be if everybody looked the same? How boring would it be if everybody liked the same thing? I mean, to me, it's just boredom, you know. I would want—I want my color. I want, you know, a spicy, tasty, you know, in-your-face perspective, you know. That's what I want. That's what I want. (pauses) Did I answer your question?

HY: Mm-hm.

MG: Did I? Oh.

HY: Um, do you consider yourself a political artist and an activist?

MG: Good question. (laughs) (rattles) Mm, you know, this last election season, I pissed off a lot of people. People attacked me because I was not supporting Hillary.⁶⁶ Um, and I don't like Trump⁶⁷ any more than anybody else. I tried to paint Trump and do something very political, but it's not my nature. It's just not my nature. The same way that someone who does cartoons—but, I'll say this, I was painting—I just did a painting a few days ago, about the Atchafalaya Basin.⁶⁸ The Atchafalaya Basin is in Louisiana, and it's where the end of the DAPL⁶⁹ pipeline flows. My work is political because I am political, because I care about those things. And, in—ina—ina—inasmuch as my existence is political, my work is political. And I care that we're screwing up the Atchafalaya Basin by laying a pipeline when you have all

⁶⁶ Hillary R. Clinton (born 1947); American politician, 2016 presidential candidate.

⁶⁷ Donald J. Trump (born 1946); 45th President of the United States.

⁶⁸ Wetland/swamp in south central Louisiana.

⁶⁹ Abbreviation for "Dakota Access Pipeline;" an oil pipeline that extends from northwest North Dakota, through South Dakota, to a terminal in central Illinois.

this crawfish and you have food, and you have wetlands, and birds, and things that are going to be at risk for being eliminated. And every Cypress tree that comes down in the Atchafalaya Basin is never replaced. We can't replant it. Those wetlands are lost. They're gone. We are destroying this paradise. So I painted it. Is that political? When I'm telling people, "This is what we're losing." Some people would say, "No, that's not political," because there are no slogans, there's no — there's nobody telling you who to vote for — there's none of that. But it — I'm asking people to be conscious of it. The act of painting it — is what I'm trying to do is, I'm trying to make people aware with the beauty of that place. And at least put it in somebody's mind because nobody is talking about the Atchafalaya Basin. So, does that answer your question?

HY: Mm-hm.

MG: Okay. (pauses) Do you wanna see that painting?

HY: Yeah. That'd be great.

MG: I posted it on Facebook.⁷⁰ I also posted Glacier Park⁷¹ — which has burnt down. (rustling) (long pause)

NN: (sneezes)

MG: This is the Atchafalaya Basin. (pauses)

HY: It's so vibrant.

MG: Isn't it beautiful?

HY: Yeah.

MG: That's the Atchafalaya Basin. I was there — earlier this year.

HY: Mm.

MG: And then, uh, I went to Standing Rock.⁷²

HY: Mm.

MG: So. Mm. Standing Rock is near and dear to my heart. (pauses) Do you want to put a little honey in your — (taps) @@@

HY: Oh, yeah.

MG: Yeah, try that. — Let me show you Glacier Park. Just did that one too. I'm going to get sticky honey all over me.

HY: It's two-thirty.

MG: Yeah, I'm gonna have to go.

HY: Yeah.

MG: Here. I don't know if you wanna — this is Glacier Park.

HY: Wow.

MG: So, in some ways, no, it's not political, but, yes, it is. I don't sit down and try to do political art. I just try to be aware, to be mindful. Being mindful can be political. Does that — does that kind of answer that?

⁷⁰ Social media platform (also known as "Meta"); established 2004.

⁷¹ Glacier National Park (Rocky Mountains), Montana.

⁷² Standing Rock Indian Reservation, on the border between North and South Dakota.

HY: (laughs) Yeah, it does.
MG: Isn't it?
HY: Yeah.
MG: You know. (pauses) So they're coming in the studio to shoot those paintings for the show.
HY: Oh, okay.
MG: And, so, the other paintings I'm trying to do are about the water. I like painting water. (pauses)
HY: Okay. (rattling sound)
MG: Goat cheese and honey is one of my favorite things.
HY: (laughs)
MG: Mm. He doesn't like honey. I'm the only one who likes honey (inaudible) licking my fingers. Mm. Terrible. (inaudible) Bad manners.
HY: (laughs)
MG: So, that's kind of where I'm at right now. So, I can't paint Trump. I can't stand his face—can't stand to look at him.
HY: Mm.
MG: I don't have the capacity to do that kind of thing and then let it go. I— I— I—if I—if I do something like that—I—it's like I—it comes into my body, into my being, and I'm like living too much hate. I can't deal with it, you know. And—and I've worked really hard to get to where I'm at to let go of all the things that have hurt me in the past, and that hate brings everything up. So, it's better, you know, they—yeah, it's better to push it away from me. And, uh—and not allow him to be successful and turning me into what they are. You know, um, there—there is the idea that instead of spending my energy trying to, you know, be against something, even to resist something, to—it is better—more, uh, productive to be in favor of something. I'm in favor of Glacier Park. I'm in favor of the Atchafalaya Basin. I'm in favor of certain things. You know, it's like—instead of being against the war, I am in favor of peace. And—and, to that, I—I kinda embrace that philosophy—

[00:50:00]

MG: —you're more effective by—by, uh, by being in favor of positive action than being against something. Being against drugs and saying “no” doesn't do anything, but being in favor of sobriety and embracing what *that* means is different. And—and I think more effective and fruitful—better use of energy. (rustling) (pauses) I hope that makes sense to you.

HY: It does.

MG: Yeah. My hands are such—(inaudible) Ouch. (inaudible). Um, (inaudible).

[00:50:55]

END OF INTERVIEW

Reviews (Books)

Anderson, Arthur J. O., and Susan Schroeder, trans. and eds.
Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahuatl Altepetl in Central Mexico, Volume 2.
By Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin.

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2021.
258 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9780806169187.

Ancient Mexico and its precious history is still a mystery to many. However, around 400 years ago, the Nahuatl chronicler Chimalpahin (1579-1660)—also known as Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin—recorded the history of his people, dating back long before the arrival of the Europeans, in his native Nahuatl language. Due to his education, Chimalpahin was able to document what was going on around him and investigate on his own. A second volume of his extensive work has now been edited and translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder who both have experience with translating from the Nahuatl language and have written books on Chimalpahin's *Codex* and the Mesoamerican way of life, allowing historians to expand their understanding of what Nahuatl culture was like. Chimalpahin's documentation sheds light on what Nahuatl rulers were like in times of war; how they reacted to the arrival of the Spaniards; how the calendar of the Mexica worked; what was expected of the people when they were forced to convert to Christianity; and what kind of life the upper class enjoyed.

The portion of the *Codex Chimalpahin* presented here consists of four primary sections featuring different styles of writing. The first, annalistic part reads like a timeline with some scattered stories, some of which are quite funny, while others have a much darker tone. The second part contains various lists and shows examples of the calendar. The third part addresses the question of "how to be a good Christian." And the last section features a letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco.

From the first, annalistic part, we learn how the Mexica—the people who would one day establish Tenochtitlán—became an empire. The text addresses how long the people moved around Mexico and how long they stayed in one place until they either decided to move or were forced out, or until their god of war, Huitzilopochtli, told them to leave their current location. The text also hints at how the Spanish conquistador Hernando Cortes ruthlessly killed rulers even after they had done what they had been ordered to do, because Cortes knew that he would not be challenged. Chimalpahin's text records when rulers died and who succeeded them, and in some cases the author is able to provide details on certain lineages. Gaps in the dynastic information can be explained by the fact that, when the Spaniards came, rulers were dying so quickly—due to disease—they would not have the time to name a replacement or their lineage would become extinct and a new ruler would have to be found from a different family. Such succession

crises occurred repeatedly in different parts of Mesoamerica that came into contact with the Spaniards. They did not just affect the ruling class, as commoners, too, fell victim to imported diseases. For recent scholarship on how the Spaniards defeated the Indigenous, readers may wish to consult *Ancient Mexico and Central America: Archaeology and Culture History*, 3rd edition (2013), by Susan Toby Evans. Evans's work explains in more depth what kind of tactics the Spaniards used to gain the upper hand, even though they were facing a much larger population of Indigenous people. This included using disease and causing disruption among the indigenous people by pitting them against each other.

The second part of the present edition deals with the calendar and dating system, and it is the shortest portion of the text. It is explained here that the calendar consisted of eighteen months, that each month consisted of twenty days, and that each week consisted of thirteen days, each with its own day sign. Eighteen multiplied by twenty equals 360, equal to the number of days we use today. This system enabled parents to foretell their children's future based on their date of birth. The day signs were derived from the animal kingdom and from nature. For example, the sixteenth day of September (in our modern calendar) was "Nine Rain" and the seventeenth day of September was "Ten Flower." There were nineteen rotations of what each date represented, and as the days were counted, their names were recycled with a different number. This almanac represented "the ancient Mexica day count." (119) Readers interested in learning more may wish to turn to *The Art of Mesoamerica: From Olmec to Aztec*, 6th edition (2019), by Mary Ellen Miller, which provides excellent background information on the calendar systems of the Aztec and the Maya and offers more key details. The almanac was important to the Mexica because they were superstitious and held tightly to their beliefs and culture until the Spaniards came. Once the Spaniards were able to control the culture, they were able to control the people.

The third part of the present edition shows readers what was expected of the Mexica when they had to convert from polytheism to monotheism. The respective text is called the *Exercicio quotidiano*, and it is Chimalpahin's translation of a text by the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún that was given to the Mexicas. At its core, it reads like a manual on how to be a good Christian. It introduces the Ten Commandments, and the entire "manual" is written in the second person ("you") so that it would have a bigger impact on the target audience. The story of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and God is explained in the *Exercicio*, and the original author separates the various sections of the story with daily prayers and indicates what each day should be dedicated to. Monday introduces the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Tuesday relates where Jesus was born and how perfect he is. Wednesday addresses the three wise men who brought frankincense, myrrh, and gold to Jesus. Thursday features an "us versus them" type of text, referring to "idolaters" as "them," and to "us" as "those who believe in God." Thursday moves away from learning about the Trinity and becomes very forceful in tone as it

indicates the punishment for sin. Friday and Saturday reiterate that the Trinity is “one;” therefore, it is not polytheism, and there is still only one God.

The present edition’s final section contains different unsigned Nahuatl writings, as well as a letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco. Chimalpahin was able to gather data and compile various accounts; however, the accounts were out of order, and Anderson and Schroeder had to reorganize Juan’s notes. The Nahuatl writings address different subjects, such as gossip and even political agendas that led to a ruler’s death. One example of gossip pertains to a noble woman who loved to live a life of pleasure and was not tied to any one man. Another text is much darker and details betrayal and killing the betrayed: Hernan Cortes used other Mexica to kill those he did not like or those who did not fall in line, or just because he felt like it. One of the accounts of the Mexica bluntly states that Hernando Cortes truly did not know that he was mistreating the people of the land. (195) Cortes was delusional and stuck in his world, thinking that he was right and was doing no harm.

The letter by Juan de San Antonio of Texcoco provides insight into how the nephew of Cortes spoke about his confusion when he was as a child and questioned his family’s love. There are accounts that Juan would get physically abused by his other uncle, Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, and when Juan was a child, he understood that he was a scapegoat of his uncle’s anger. Not only was he abused, but he was ignored to the point that he was not given anything. His cousins, sisters, and brothers would receive gifts from Pedro, and he was given nothing. Juan only received his uncle’s rage. After speaking about his abuse, Juan talks about property and how it was distributed among his family. What makes this letter interesting is that Juan explains how property was measured, how it was used, and what was done to the land that either destroyed it or made it flourish.

Since this book is an edited historical primary source that is 400 years old, it is not an easy read. I definitely recommend *Codex Chimalpahin* to those who have experience and background in Mesoamerican history, because this book already expects the reader to be familiar with the region’s various civilizations.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Sandra Alvarado of Artesia, California, completed her A.A. in Art History at Cypress College (2020). She is currently pursuing her B.A. in Art History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), and she is a first-generation college student.*

Bevins, Vincent.

The Jakarta Method:

Washington’s Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program

That Shaped Our World.

New York: PublicAffairs, 2020.

320 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781541724013.

The world we live in has been shaped by the events of the Cold War. Often taught and thought of as simply a great power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War had profoundly far-reaching effects politically and

economically, and it exacted a monumental human cost. In *The Jakarta Method: Washington's Anticommunist Crusade and the Mass Murder Program That Shaped Our World*, journalist Vincent Bevins uncovers the anticommunist extermination program carried out throughout the Third World during the Cold War. Bevins argues that this mass murder program, which targeted anyone who could even vaguely be construed as a communist, leftist, left leaning, or otherwise subversive, reshaped global power and radically altered the world we live in.

The Jakarta Method tells the largely forgotten history of the Indonesian anticommunist massacres which were undertaken with the aid of the United States in 1965-1966. What transpired in Indonesia was subsequently replicated in U.S.-backed Latin American campaigns against leftism throughout Central and South America. To tell this story, Bevins employs a wide range of sources, including declassified CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and State Department documents, other archival materials, and interviews with historians and survivors of the mass murder programs in Indonesia and Latin America. Drawing from these sources gives his work a detailed and precise, yet personal and intimate quality, making for not only a valuable source of information but also an accessible one. Indeed, Bevin's use of interviews with survivors enhances the book's readability and provides the human connection that is often lost when discussing instances of mass murder.

Throughout *The Jakarta Method*, Bevins is careful to situate the events in the broader context of the Cold War. Thus, even though the historical events chronicled here took place in Indonesia and Latin America, the book is more of a global history of anticommunist violence carried out in collaboration with the U.S. government and the CIA. Indeed, one of the most powerful takeaways from *The Jakarta Method* is the profound extent to which the U.S. government was complicit in and drove this mass murder program. The commitment to anticommunism on the part of the U.S. was not simply fostered by conflict with the Soviet Union, which is commonly offered as a mainstream interpretation of American anticommunism, but rather had deeper roots in American political and economic thought. As Bevins indicates in Chapter 1 ("A New American Age"), the United States already had robust anticommunist sentiments throughout its highest and most powerful offices at the start of the Cold War. Bevins explains the post-1945 stratification of nations into First, Second, and Third-World powers. He also discusses the 1947 establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency which would seek to fight the battle against communism in the Third World.

Chapter 2 ("Independent Indonesia") recounts the story of the Indonesian path to independence from Dutch colonialism. Bevins artfully accomplishes this by telling much of this history through the life of Francisa Pattipihoy who was a supporter of Indonesian independence and held leftist political views. Throughout *The Jakarta Method*, Bevins weaves into the narrative the first-hand experiences of those present during the historical events he covers. Also covered in Chapter 2 are the early covert operations of the CIA and the 1955 Bandung Conference.

Beginning in 1953 in Iran with Operation Ajax, the CIA undertook a series of coups by both covert and overt means. This usually included supporting and funding “rebel” groups, providing arms and intelligence, and creating and disseminating propaganda. Following its activities in Iran where the democratically elected National Front and communist Tudeh Party were overthrown, the CIA turned to Guatemala in 1954 with the goal of regime change because of perceived Soviet influence. In Indonesia, President Sukarno’s vision of an inclusive and syncretic left-leaning Third World nationalism drew the negative attention of the U.S. following the Bandung Conference. This conference brought together the nations of the Third World and created the Non-Aligned Movement. But such Cold War neutrality would not be tolerated by the United States.

As it became apparent that the U.S. could do little to increase its influence over President Sukarno by diplomatic efforts, more covert methods were employed. Chapter 3 discusses the CIA’s activities to either shift Sukarno’s stance or facilitate his removal from power, including bombing campaigns, funding rebels from 1957 on, as well as planning and filming, though never releasing, a sex tape made with a Sukarno look-alike in hopes of tarnishing his image. Ultimately, these efforts failed, and Sukarno launched his vision of “Guided Democracy” in 1959. CIA tactics then shifted to building a “state within a state” made up of the Indonesian Armed Forces. (89) Elsewhere in the Third World, the CIA continued its fight against leftism by assisting with the arrest of Nelson Mandela in 1962 and the Iraqi coup of 1963, which led to the rise of the Baath Party and the massacre of thousands of communists. In Brazil, the U.S. government and the CIA worked to undermine the left-leaning president Joao “Jango” Goulart by capitalizing on deeply rooted anticommunist sentiment, as detailed in Chapter 5 (“To Brazil and Back”). Brazil subsequently became a crucial player in the Cold War as it waged its own war against leftists in Latin America.

Chapter 6 (“The September 30th Movement”) and Chapter 7 (“Extermination”) present the “Jakarta Method” for which the book is named. Years of fostering and empowering a right-leaning Indonesian army corps that would be “friendly” toward the U.S. finally came into play with the formation of the *Gerakan 30 September* or September 30th Movement. This group, composed of Indonesian army officers, staged a night raid, kidnapping and killing six high-ranking generals whom they accused of planning a coup against President Sukarno. Bevins points out that the details of the night raid and how the September 30th Movement was formed remain unclear. Acclaimed scholar Benedict Anderson, who was living in Indonesia at the time, provided evidence in 1987 that the Indonesian communist party was not involved in this plan, which runs counter to the narrative embraced by the current Indonesian government. Nearly immediately after the raid, General Suharto, who had ties to the CIA, rose to power and gained command of all media outlets. The story surrounding the night raid came to accuse the *Gewani*, a leftist feminist political movement, of performing a demonic ritual in which so-called witches who made up the movement killed the generals and ritualistically

removed their genitalia. A wave of mass murders targeting communists, suspected communists, and leftists quickly followed.

In describing the events of the massacres, Bevins slows down the book's pace and provides a clear timeline. He uses the experiences of those who survived these events as a means to illustrate the brutality that ensued. Those suspected of being communists were quickly rounded up and subjected to interrogation, torture, rape, and often extrajudicial execution. Historians believe this was the first time that forced disappearances were used as means of exercising state terror. Those who were not killed were often kept in concentration camps and subjected to further torture, sexual slavery, and reeducation. The estimated death toll of these massacres is between five hundred thousand and one million. As Bevins points out in Chapter 7, while the massacres were being carried out, the White House approved the sale of small arms to Central Java via the Bangkok CIA station. The U.S. also worked to intentionally destabilize Indonesia's economy, thereby aiding Sukarno's eventual removal from power. Following its "success" in Indonesia, this method of Washington and CIA-backed murder and destabilization would be brought to Latin America.

In Chapter 9 ("Jakarta is Coming"), Bevins describes how this process came to be replicated in Latin America, and how the name "Jakarta" came to be synonymous with the mass extermination of leftists. Salvador Allende's rise to political prominence in Chile ignited the next use of the "Jakarta Method." During Allende's presidential campaign, the CIA poured money into propaganda campaigns to undermine the candidate. Nevertheless, Allende gained the nomination in 1970. Soon after, threats were made in the form of graffiti on the homes of Allende supporters and other leftists which promised that "Jakarta is coming." (193) Those responsible for these threats turned out to be Chilean right-wing paramilitaries aided by the Brazilian government, which was revealed by Brazil's Truth Commission. This created a state of terror among Chileans. When Allende was removed from power by a CIA-backed coup and committed suicide on September 11, 1973, General Augusto Pinochet assumed the role of the Washington-aligned dictator. In 1975, the U.S.-supported "Operation Condor" launched a systematic program of murder and kidnapping of leftists throughout South America, creating an "anticommunist killing zone." (215)

Central America was also forced to face the terror and brutality of this mass murder program as Bevins describes in Chapter 10 ("Back Up North"). Guatemalan Indigenous communities, particularly in the Ixil region, were systematically extirpated in a genocide that targeted not only their Indigenous heritage but also their perceived irreligiosity and sympathy for communism. Following the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution in which the Sandinista government rose to power, the U.S. funded the right-wing reactionary Contra death squads which terrorized the country with U.S. weapons and support. During the Salvadoran Civil War, 900 civilians, many of them women and children, were killed in the 1981 El Mozote Massacre by the Salvadoran army using U.S.-made

assault rifles and having received training at the U.S. School of the Americas. In each of these locations, the U.S. provided aid in some form in an effort to “combat” leftism. The impact of such actions is immeasurable.

Bevins concludes that the mass murder program first put in place in Indonesia and then replicated throughout Latin America helped ensure that the victors of the Cold War would be the U.S. and the First World. This mass extermination program radically shifted the political and economic makeup of the globe by eliminating any left-oriented opposition to Western capitalism. Dreams of a liberal international order in which countries would have the right to self-determination were dashed in pursuit of global political, military, and economic hegemony. In *The Jakarta Method*’s final chapter (“Where Are They Now? And Where Are We?”), Bevins again turns the storytelling back to those who experienced the events firsthand.

With its careful consideration of the broad context of the Cold War and its focused attention to the forgotten history of the U.S.-backed Indonesian coup and mass murders, Vincent Bevins’s work, *The Jakarta Method*, forces readers to challenge their ideas surrounding the conflict. Because of the author’s careful research, journalistic impulses, and moving integration of life stories, *The Jakarta Method* provides an illuminating and highly readable contribution to the existing historiographies of the Cold War, Third World, and CIA.

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Brown, Nancy Marie.

The Real Valkyrie:

The Hidden History of Viking Warrior Women.

New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2021.

320 pages. E-book. ISBN: 9781250200839.

What is a myth, if not a combination of legends and facts? Valkyries were elite fighters, respected, feared, and, most importantly, based on real female warriors. *The Real Valkyrie: The Hidden History of Viking Warrior Women* by Nancy Marie Brown explores the fictionalized life of Hervor, a woman whose story is inspired by a variety of medieval primary sources. Hervor’s story is used as a framework to discuss and detail the Viking age with an emphasis on the role of women. *The Real Valkyrie* covers numerous topics, all of which are interesting in their own right. Brown has also written several books covering individuals and/or stories from the Viking era, such as *Song of the Vikings: Snorri and the Making of Norse Myths* and *The Saga of Gudrid the Far-Traveler*.

The Real Valkyrie’s primary purpose is to challenge the historical notion that Viking society was dominated by men; women were vital participants in all facets of Norse society. The book begins with Brown’s inspiration for Hervor, a grave which was long believed to belong to a male Viking, despite objections by

osteologists, before DNA testing proved that it was, in fact, the burial site of a female. This revelation is only the beginning of Brown's attempt to break apart stereotypes. *The Real Valkyrie's* argument is built on several pieces of evidence. Firstly, scholars tend to dismiss information regarding warrior women, the Valkyries, and typically place them in the fantasy category along with trolls and giant wolves. However, Brown points out that there are numerous medieval Norse accounts which reference Valkyries, along with warrior men, and these accounts are similar in nature (e.g., Valkyries are strong, skilled in combat, etc.). Secondly, with regard to some of these texts, *The Real Valkyrie* explores the change in tone over time when discussing female warriors and leaders. Brown draws attention to the spread of Christianity and later Victorian ideals coinciding with the growing criticism and contempt for the success of women. Lastly, Brown utilizes archaeological discoveries to reinforce her argument. For example, she discusses how certain graves were, once again, considered to be those of male warriors or war leaders due to the belongings buried with them (e.g., weapons, horses, etc.), while other graves found with jewelry were thought to be female. It was only when DNA testing became common and accurate that archaeologists realized that men and women were buried in both types of graves, and scholars could not deny this concrete evidence.

Another focus of *The Real Valkyrie* is the importance of tradition in Viking society, which is shown through various topics. For example, Chapter 7 is primarily centered around the importance of beer and alcohol consumption during feasts. The narrative at this point has a young Hervor as a beer runner during a celebration. Brown includes this event in the story to showcase the role beer and alcohol (e.g., wine or mead) played in showing respect between hosts and their guests. Hosts were expected to provide enough of any drink to allow their guests to become inebriated: "No one goes clearheaded to bed. It's a matter of pride." (88) This was the proper way to honor a guest. On the other hand, if a guest commented or complained about being sober, despite heavy drinking, it would be taken as an insult by the host for serving weak drinks. Furthermore, the order in which drinks were served dictated the status of the guests. Brown cites the *Beowulf* epic to expand on this point. Essentially, the king was served first, in order to show his superiority, and his warriors and companions would subsequently be served in accordance with their perceived status. Accepting the cup and taking a drink symbolically signified their acceptance of their given rank.

The Real Valkyrie also explores the Vikings from the perspective of politics and love, or, rather, a lack of love. Political marriages between Viking leaders were similar to those that typically occurred in Europe during this time. Brown mentions the alliance of Thorfinn Skull-Splitter and Eirik Bloodaxe who agreed to ally with one another on two conditions: firstly, that Thorfinn's brothers would accompany Eirik on raids; and secondly, that Gunnhild, Eirik's wife, would stay with Thorfinn. This agreement was sealed by marrying off Eirik's only daughter to Thorfinn's eldest son. In addition, Brown mentions a scene from *Njal's Saga*

which takes place after the region's conversion to Christianity: in this case, a son agrees to marry whoever his father deems an appropriate match for him. At the time of this agreement, Brown states, "the idea of marriage as a lifelong vow of sexual fidelity would have seemed absurd." (117) Brown uses these examples to make a comparison between Viking Age and Christian Age marriages: both accepted the idea of arranged marriages. This comparison frames Viking society in a way that becomes more relatable since it shares certain aspects with a better known society (i.e., Christian society).

Brown heavily relies on sagas, chronicles, and other written accounts to explain the Viking world, but there are issues with her use of these texts. Firstly, the narrative and time period she describes primarily take place in the tenth century, but some of the referenced sagas were not recorded in writing until the thirteenth century (albeit usually based on much older oral tradition). Brown herself admits this fact: "Snorri wrote both texts [*Egil's Saga* and *Heimskringla*] in the mid-thirteenth century. He does not number the years in either one." (110) Secondly, some of these authors already had an inherently distorted view of what was considered a normal or typical society, especially with regard to women: "By 1200, however, when most accounts of the Viking Age were being written, army training camps had been removed from the domestic sphere—and officially closed to women. A woman's world, in general, had shrunk, thanks to the Christian Church's new focus on defining and enforcing social roles." (145) Although these accounts may be, to a certain extent, anachronistic, Brown acknowledges this weakness and attempts to portray a relatively accurate picture of the time period by using several of these sources, taken together, as a means of verifying one another (i.e., if a person or event is mentioned in more than one source and by more than one author, it is likely that a version of that particular story is true). However, this is not to say there are no direct primary sources.

The Real Valkyrie's protagonist is based on unearthed remains found in modern-day Sweden, and the narrative is influenced by items found inside the grave, such as weapons, game pieces, horse remains, etc. Brown also uses both original and recreated tapestries to tell her story, since tapestries were typically woven with images to express a saga or local history in their fabric. Throughout the book, there are images and references to figurines, coins, and jewelry. These items are all used to determine which regions and societies were in contact with the Viking world, thereby influencing the events of the narrative. One of Brown's most intriguing primary sources is an eleventh-century boat (*Viks Boat*) unearthed in 1898 and reconstructed in 1996, with a replica created soon after (*Talja*). Unlike previous replicas based on different Viking boats, the *Talja* was successfully tested on traditional Viking routes and passageways. Brown uses this unique source to create a chapter dedicated to advancing Hervor's story by including a new route for trade (or raid) and travel, the importance of having a properly built boat to endure such a voyage, and the prestige associated with owning and being buried with a boat.

Brown uses written accounts and archeological findings to the best of her abilities to create a cohesive narrative and well-informed historical account of Viking life. However, the organization of the story may be a bit off-putting to some readers. Throughout the book, the author alternates between the expository narrative she has created and information concerning the individuals, writings, and artifacts. Brown does a phenomenal job of expanding on the historical background of her story, typically explaining which of these specific written accounts or artifacts were used by her to create the narrative. Although this information teaches the reader about the Vikings' way of life and their society, it does detract from the story at times due to the length of the background information, and, as a result, creates gaps between the narrative sections of the book. That said, for some readers, such a plethora of details can be a preferable alternative to receiving limited background information via footnotes or endnotes.

The Real Valkyrie is certainly not what I expected (namely, a captivating work of historical fiction, based on artifacts and writing), but it still makes for an enjoyable read. The story of Hervor is, to an extent, lackluster. It is informative and straightforward, but brief and not particularly exciting. The strength of this book lies in its extensive amount of detailed research. Those who enjoy *The Real Valkyrie* will most likely also appreciate *The Far Traveler: Voyages of a Viking Woman* (2007); it is another of Brown's works and appears to have a similar structure (i.e., a narrative intertwined with historical background). In addition, *The Age of The Vikings* by Anders Winroth covers similar topics to *The Real Valkyrie*, but forgoes the use of a single character, such as Hervor, to connect the material. *The Real Valkyrie* is well assembled, but it is not an easy book to recommend for most readers. It would be best suited for those who are looking to learn more about Viking society, with a focus on women, rather than readers looking for a compelling story. However, Brown excels at using her story as a vehicle to introduce the reader to the Viking world and explore its intricacies. The author's passion for the subject matter comes through in her writing and facilitates an overall enjoyable read.

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Burrough, Bryan, Chris Tomlinson, and Jason Stanford.

Forget The Alamo:

The Rise and Fall of an American Myth.

New York: Penguin Press, 2021.

416 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781984880093.

In Texas, there is perhaps no other place as revered and treasured as the Alamo. Its name alone conjures up tales of heroism and a sense of fortitude among Texans. It is these tales and the historiography of the Alamo that authors Bryan Burrough,

Chris Tomlinson, and James Stanford seek to revise. Burrough, Tomlinson, and Stanford intend their book, *Forget The Alamo: The Rise and Fall of An American Myth*, to be a hard look at the Alamo legend. As reporters who love facts (xxiv), the authors introduce the two schools of thought on the Alamo by juxtaposing two rock stars: Ozzy Osborne and Phil Collins. One school of thought (and rock star – hint: the one who is a collector of Alamo artifacts) is “traditionalist” and believes in the enduring Alamo legend and what the authors call the “Heroic Anglo Narrative.” (xxv) The second school of thought is “revisionist,” and the authors add to it by “highlight[ing] the often-overlooked contributions of Mexican-Americans during Texas’s early years, and the awful price they paid for them.” (xxv) Arguably even more controversial to Texas and the present-day way in which this state wants to have its history narrated, the authors blatantly state that the Texas Revolt (and therefore the Battle of the Alamo) was not a fight for heroism and democratic ideals but, rather, a fight to preserve slavery.

While there have been many battles in the history of man, there are not many like the 1836 Battle of the Alamo—a battle that captures the mind, spirit, and soul not just of men but of a nation and even the world. Countless books and several films have told and retold the story of the Alamo. In the first half of their book, the authors reconstruct the world of nineteenth-century Texas, the events that led to Americans migrating to Texas, and eventually the Texas Revolt, all while chipping away at the Alamo legend. With regard to the enduring myth that the Mexican government was tyrannical and oppressive toward the freedom-loving Americans, the authors counter, “Santa Anna was not some blood-thirsty tyrant; in fact, he had given the colonists almost everything they wanted short of guaranteeing the sanctity of their slaves.” (70) Time and time again, Mexico had turned a blind eye toward the slaves being imported to Texas. Thus, the underlying cause for the Texas Revolt, the authors state, was “Santa Anna’s abolition of federalism which became official in October 1835” (71) and the fear that slavery would no longer exist in Texas.

Secondly, the authors turn to the beloved Alamo defenders and martyrs and their way of life. Davy Crockett, William B. Travis, and Jim Bowie have become untouchable vehicles for American values and patriotism. From the moment they fell, their story would be that of the victors, and they emerged as the courageous patriots of the newly independent Republic of Texas. The authors do not shy away from describing the Alamo defenders as flawed people. Jim Bowie is referred to as a “seasoned swindler” (52), a slave trader, and someone who “fled to Texas rather than face the consequences of a series of land frauds attempted in Arkansas and Louisiana.” (52-53) Davy Crockett was a “Tennessee congressman” with a “penchant for tall tales,” and before the Alamo, he had been considered by the Whigs for a potential presidential run. (89-91) William B. Travis was a lawyer and slave owner who, due to his debts, left his young family (a wife and two children) and went to Texas. (56-57) The authors unravel the Alamo myth by unraveling the legends of its defenders. In reality, Bowie, Crockett, and Travis, were all too

human. However, they were reborn in the story of the Alamo, the one that Sam Houston used to inspire confidence and purpose. (134)

Over time, the gallantry and legend of the Alamo became cemented by various means. The actions of the Alamo defenders were described as valiant, all meeting a glorious death while fighting against Santa Anna's tyranny and his treacherous army. Early publications in newspapers helped spread the legend. The first publication came just a few weeks after the Battle of the Alamo in what the authors describe as "Texians' reliable propaganda arm," (134) the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, and featured accounts from two eyewitnesses, namely, Joe, Travis's slave, and Susanna Dickinson, a widow who survived the battle. However, the stories told by both changed over time and had already been "massaged to inject more heroism" (133) before publication in the *Telegraph*. Countless books were written by countless amateurs in the years after the Battle of the Alamo. The authors emphasize repeatedly that there was no historical research and scholarly writing on the Alamo until the late twentieth century. (182) Amateur writers effectively fictionalized and perpetuated the long-believed legends of the Alamo. One of the definitive works on Texas history, Henderson K. Yoakum's *History of Texas* published in 1855, invokes the Alamo myth. Early attempts to include important Tejano figures present at the Alamo and active during the Texas Revolt failed to take off. The first Tejano historian, Jose Antonio Navarro (1795-1871), would try in vain. (155) The Alamo myth did more than canonize the Alamo defenders: it actively promoted Anglo-centric views. Many amateur writers cited the eventual Texan victory over Mexico as evidence of Anglo dominion and Manifest Destiny. The Alamo became so deeply embedded in Texas history that it is unimaginable without it. The new medium of film would further perpetuate the Alamo myth and catapult it to international fame.

True to their background as reporters, Burrough, Tomlinson, and Stanford prove to be incredible fact checkers. They chronicle the history that led to the Battle of the Alamo, the event's (amateur) historiography, the impact it has had on Texas, and the emergence of the two schools of thought on the Alamo. They effectively utilize accounts from the time and analyze primary documents to dispel the Alamo myth. There is no evidence that before he was captured at the Battle of San Jacinto, Santa Anna was distracted by Emily Morgan, Texas's Yellow Rose, nor is it true that the Battle of the Alamo gave precious time to Sam Houston's army by keeping the Mexican army busy.

Alamo revisionism is not unique to this book. As the authors themselves admit, they stand on the shoulders of Mexican-American writers and oral histories, as well as Anglo-American writers like Carey McWilliams (1905-1980). The second half of their book gives a voice to Alamo revisionism and how it has lived in academic circles but failed to take off in mainstream circles. The remembrance of the Alamo is not just important to Anglos and Latinos in the state of Texas, but it is contested by other people of color. The Spanish mission is a Native American "Coahuiltecan burial ground, a segregated lunch counter," and the site of

“countless other battles.” (340) The book argues that leaving out this history is forgetting a past that is just as interesting and “equally important, if not more so,” (341) than one battle. Knowing that so much of what has been written about the Alamo and still believed to be true is not based on any historical fact, it is important to revise what one remembers and what one categorizes as history. This is especially important considering the level of control that the state of Texas wants to exert over the teaching of “history” and “critical race theory” in its schools. Considering what George P. Bush is planning to do with the site itself. Infighting among top government officials, city government, and activists, has prolonged the renovations planned to the site. They ask whether renovations should include other cultural and historical perspectives, or remain focused on one solitary battle from 1836. Even as renovations have restarted, these questions remain. New questions arise, as the redevelopment unearthed a burial ground, largely consisting of buried Native American converts. Demands from Native American leaders to tell the entire history of the site, including that of a historically significant cemetery are met with resistance. This book paints a picture of what happens when historiography is filled with aggrandizement and folklore. Those who chant, “Remember the Alamo,” should be interested in the ongoing scholarly conversations on how it must be remembered. To reduce the site’s history to just one event is unfair when its history is so rich and holds so much potential to include different communities. To reduce the site’s history to a mere one-sided traditionalist view is to forget the Alamo. The authors rightfully argue that the young, diverse population of Texas is not eager for such histories. They conclude their book with a sentiment of unity, namely, that we “need to forget what we learned about the Alamo, embrace the truth, and celebrate all Texans.” (343) Anyone interested in the historiography of the Alamo, how legends are created, and the way time changes the way history is interpreted can gain much insight from reading this work. This book is not just for Texas; it is a book for all readers interested in a more expansive, inclusive, and transparent history.

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Gladwell, Malcolm.

The Bomber Mafia:

A Dream, a Temptation, and the Longest Night of the Second World War.

New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2021.

256 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780316296618.

Malcolm Gladwell is not a historian. He has written a history book—well, he has written a history audiobook, but I will return to that later. Suffice it to say that Malcolm Gladwell, journalist and author of such works as *Outliers* (2008) and

David and Goliath (2013), has written a book about the American bomber commands during World War II, calling it *The Bomber Mafia*.

My first impression of *The Bomber Mafia* was that it is short, especially for a book about a subject as contentious and expansive as the bombing campaigns of World War II. The print copy tops out at just over 250 pages, and the amount of text on each page is rather small. The audiobook version is only 5 hours and 14 minutes long, short enough to listen to in an afternoon. This is certainly not an encyclopedic history of World War II in the vein of Allan Millett and Williamson Murray's *A War to be Won* (2001), nor an argument-driven historical analysis like Phillips Payson O'Brien's more recent *How the War was Won: Air-Sea Power and Allied Victory in World War II* (2019). Rather, this is a story that revolves around the intellectual question of how wars are fought, and the human cost that war necessitates.

Gladwell begins his story at the end—not at the Japanese surrender or the dropping of the atomic bombs, but on a small island in the middle of the Pacific on January 6, 1945. The introduction, titled “This isn’t working. You’re out,” recounts a change in the leadership of the United States’ 21st Bomber Command based in Guam. Haywood Hansell, a “brilliant young general” and a member of the eponymous Bomber Mafia, was replaced by the intrepid Curtis LeMay. (5) Gladwell comments that this was not a simple swap in the command structure, but a repudiation of all the ideas Hansell had espoused and popularized in the Army Air Corps (which will be addressed later in this review). The important thing to note here is that this moment—not the signing of a peace treaty or any of the infamous bombing attacks during the war—represents the climax of Gladwell’s story, because *The Bomber Mafia* is, predominantly, a story about ideas and the people who carried them.

But, for now, let us return to Gladwell’s narrative and its first part, “The Dream.” The first chapter turns from that small island in the middle of the Pacific to New York City and a quirky Dutch inventor by the name of Carl L. Norden. Carl Norden was an engineer, and his brainchild was the Norden bombsight, an analog computer that could (allegedly) drop a bomb from 30,000 feet into a pickle barrel. To drop a bomb accurately from 20,000-30,000 feet requires calculation of altitude, airspeed, windspeed, temperature, etc.—even the rotation of the earth. But, if an accurate bombsight could be invented, suddenly “precision bombing” would become a viable option. High altitude bombers with massive payloads could fly high above enemy defenses and hit targets that appeared as big as a postage stamp.

In the next chapter, Gladwell moves on from Norden and his bombsight to a small airfield in Montgomery, Alabama, the home of the Army Air Corps Tactical School, where a small number of officers had begun to formulate the principles that would require the use of Norden’s bombsight. Prior to World War II, the Air Force was not a separate branch of the military, but rather a combat division of the Army. Military officers and theorists at the time could only envision the primitive

flying machines supporting the operations of the Army. However, the staff of the Army Air Corps Tactical School flew in the face of this intellectual trend. They envisioned heavy bombers that could hit targets with pinpoint accuracy, crippling an opponent's armed forces before they even reached the battlefield. Nations would no longer have to sacrifice millions of young men in the trenches to decide their differences. But, of course, this could only be achieved if the bombers could actually hit their targets. And this theory could only truly be tested in an actual war. Enter: World War II and the Norden bombsight.

Chapter 3 jumps to 1943 and introduces two new figures into Gladwell's narrative: Ira Eaker, commander of the 8th Air Force and a member of the innovative Bomber Mafia, and Marshal Arthur "Bomber" Harris, commander of the Royal Air Force. They are each other's antithesis. Eaker is a firm believer in the doctrine of the Bomber Mafia, but Harris is a proponent of British "area bombing", or "morale bombing." In Gladwell's words, Harris is a "psychopath." Essentially, he believed that if the RAF could bring enough destruction and ruin to German cities, the Germans would lose their stomach for the war. Gladwell remarks that this is quite ironic given the British imperturbability in the face of the German Blitz of London. Nevertheless, the British persisted because of the influence of the eccentric Frederick Lindemann, statistician and advisor to Winston Churchill. Lindemann fervently believed that area bombing could win the war for England, and he had Churchill's ear. So, Harris was put in command of the RAF, and the Americans would have to prove that precision bombing was viable. So, who would Eaker turn to in order to convince Churchill of his cause?

Haywood Hansell was, of course – "The truest of true believers," according to Gladwell. That is the title of Chapter 4 of *The Bomber Mafia*, which draws a much clearer picture of our "brilliant young general," the rising star of the Bomber Mafia. It would be Hansell who planned the operation that revealed the wisdom behind precision bombing. To achieve this goal, the target he chose was a series of ball bearing factories in Schweinfurt, Bavaria, where the great majority of Germany's ball bearings were produced. Ball bearings are crucial components in any mechanical device. Ergo, if the ball bearing factory could be destroyed, German production of planes, tanks, artillery, ships, etc. would be compromised. To accomplish this, Hansell also decided that a second, diversionary raid would take place against an aircraft production facility in Regensburg, a town to the southeast of Schweinfurt. This raid would distract the German air defenses, allowing the second wave of B-17 bombers to level the ball bearing factories with minimal resistance. This raid was going to be so dangerous that it would be led by the best combat commander in the Army Air Corps, Colonel Curtis LeMay.

Chapter 5 of Gladwell's work describes the events and effects of the Schweinfurt and Regensburg raids. The Bomber Mafia's ideas would finally be put into practice. Hansell's B-17s would obliterate the factories, crippling the German war effort and vindicating all of the ideas of the Army Air Force Tactical School. But they did not. The factories were not levelled. Ball bearing production was

delayed, but not halted. The war went on as it had been for years. And Hansell's B-17s were massacred. 24 of LeMay's 125 bombers were shot down. Hansell lost 50 or 60 of his 230 bombers. Those losses were unsustainable. So, Ira Eaker was reassigned, and the Bomber Mafia would have to wait for their victory a little while longer.

Part II, "The Temptation," shifts the focus to the war's Pacific Theater. Chapter 6 describes how Hansell and LeMay were both reassigned to commands in Asia, Hansell to Guam and LeMay to India. Hansell's ideas had failed to deliver in Europe, but he would get a second chance on Guam, a tiny rock outcrop barely within bombing range of Japan's home islands. Meanwhile, LeMay was faced with the challenge of leapfrogging B-29 Superfortresses over the Himalayas before launching raids against Japanese factories in Kyushu. Both were ineffective. LeMay got his bombers to Kyushu, but they could not destroy the factories. Hansell was beset with problems from day one. His bombers could hardly get off the island, and his bombardiers could not hit their targets. Japan would not be brought down by precision bombing.

Chapter 7 of Gladwell's book is all about napalm, a gelatinous substance created by American chemists that burns fiercely upon ignition. It is easily spread, sticks to everything, and, most importantly, is incredibly difficult to extinguish. In other words, it is the perfect ingredient for incendiary bombs, and Japanese cities were considered ideal targets for incendiary bombs. They were densely built and constructed primarily of wood and rice paper. If one house was lit, entire blocks would burn. Napalm was the temptation that gives the book's second part its name. If Haywood Hansell would just use napalm in his attacks on Tokyo, the city would be reduced to ash. However, he refused, so he was replaced by Curtis LeMay.

LeMay takes center stage during the final two chapters of Gladwell's work. He was the ultimate problem solver of the Army Air Corps. He could overcome any challenge and beat out the slimmest odds. When LeMay arrived in Guam, he was open to any option that would help the Americans defeat Japan. After much deliberation, he came to the conclusion that precision bombing just would not work. So, he put napalm in his B-29s and sent them to Tokyo in one of World War II's most ferocious attacks. LeMay's raid burnt down 16 square miles of the imperial city and killed up to 100,000 people. Compared to the ineffectiveness of Hansell's raids, LeMay surpassed all expectations.

LeMay then attacked another Japanese city, and another, and another, and another. Over the course of 1945, LeMay's bomber command burned down 67 Japanese cities using napalm. It was this onslaught, followed by the atomic detonations over Nagasaki and Hiroshima, that brought Japan to its knees. The land invasion of Japan, dreaded by American leaders, never had to be realized, and the war was brought to an end by bombers, although certainly not in the way imagined at the Army Air Corps Tactical School by Haywood Hansell and the Bomber Mafia.

So, is Gladwell's book worth reading? I would say so. Actually, I would say that it is worth listening to. *The Bomber Mafia* was written as an audiobook and then adapted into a print book, and it really does feel like a longform podcast more than anything else. Gladwell's narration and storytelling is magnificent, and he uses recordings and interviews to great effect. One of the most striking moments in the entire work is the personal account of a survivor of the American incendiary raid on Tokyo, which loses something in its print form.

So, *The Bomber Mafia* is a worthwhile "read," but is it good? At its heart, Gladwell's book is a story about ideas and the people who embody them, and it reads like a truly engaging story. The reader encounters memorable characters like a quirky inventor, an eccentric statistician, a British psychopath, and pyromaniacal chemists. Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt make cameo appearances. The narrative builds toward the final showdown of Curtis LeMay and Haywood Hansell on the island of Guam, and the reader cannot help but wait with baited breath (despite already knowing the outcome). It is genuinely fun to read, and on top of that, Gladwell's portrayal of figures such as Hansell and LeMay touches on a simple but essential historical fact. Every historical event is defined by human motivations, beliefs, and actions. It is easy in historical research to overlook the human element in favor of greater societal trends and considerations, but these men left an indelible mark on one of the most cataclysmic events in world history, and to reduce them to footnotes would be folly.

However, the simplicity of Gladwell's narrative comes at the relatively high cost of historical context. The story of the Bomber Mafia is just one of many that must be welded together to begin to understand World War II. Alone, it can be taken to mean almost anything. I think Gladwell's use of religious language is emblematic of my problem with *The Bomber Mafia*. Haywood Hansell is the "truest of true believers" who keeps the faith in the face of temptation. Curtis LeMay gives in to temptation, making a pact with the devil in pursuit of a greater good. Gladwell literally compares their conundrum to Jesus's 40 days of temptation in the desert. Hansell stands firm, but "LeMay would have thought long and hard about going with Satan." (179) Hansell's B-29s are shining angels ushering in a new era of war that does all it can to remove the cost in human lives. The same machines in LeMay's hands are shrieking demons that burn and obliterate all in their path. It is the historian's job to make subjective judgments about the actions of historical figures, but I find this kind of language to be indicative of a misuse of the story of the Bomber Mafia. Subjective judgment is difficult at the best of times, nearly impossible without adequate context, and easily morphs into condemnation. This is what I fear has happened in *The Bomber Mafia*. Haywood Hansell is the tragic visionary whose brilliance came too early to be recognized; Curtis LeMay, the pragmatist who signed a Faustian bargain to win a war, but lost his humanity. It really is a spectacular story, but maybe that is all it has become here: a story.

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Grandin, Greg.

The End of the Myth:

From the Frontier to the Border Wall in the Mind of America.

New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2019.

384 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781250179821.

At the core of American exceptionalism lies the persistent belief that the United States is uniquely unbound to its history. This detached and unshackled relationship to the past is what has given the impression to Americans that the United States could undertake a path of limitless forward progress both at home and abroad. Greg Grandin, a professor of History at Yale University, makes the case in *The End of the Myth* that it is the frontier that has epitomized and shaped the American worldview of exceptionalism and expansion. Frontier has enabled an American ahistorical mindset which assumes that the past does not matter. Grandin argues that the frontier has also served as a “safety valve” through which built-up societal and economic pressure, particularly racial animus, could be vented. As the United States empire declines and the frontier is closed, the nation will finally have to reckon with centuries of displaced and unprocessed societal issues.

The End of the Myth retells the history of the United States from its colonial origins to the presidency of Donald Trump while tracing the evolution of the concept of the frontier. Grandin centers the frontier as the linchpin of American ideology illustrating its origins first as a physical marker of delineation, subsequently as the abstracted concept of the “Frontier Thesis” proposed by Frederick Jackson Turner at the 1893 Chicago World Fair, and ultimately as an omnipresent militarized, yet fragile border. While it is not uncommon for discussions of American empire to pick up at the close of World War II (and arguably for good reason as this was a pivotal turning point in the scope and reach of U.S. military, political, and economic power), Grandin roots the American world view of expansion—as a societal cure-all and mode of securing capital that has permeated U.S. foreign and domestic policy—early in the country’s origins and formative psyche. In a manner similar to Daniel Immerwahr’s *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (2019), which explains how the origins of the U.S. empire extend further back into the past, Grandin’s work also provides a more comprehensive examination of U.S. imperial history.

Grandin begins with the nation’s British colonial past which was grounded in expansion and violence. Chapter 1 (“All That Space”) highlights the ideological underpinnings of the early settlement of North America, the “problem” of the Native Americans, and James Madison’s political theory of expansion which would become foundational to the idea of the frontier. The North American continent presented promises of boundless opportunity in the minds of many

American settlers and later citizens, particularly after the American Revolution. But, of course, the continent was not empty. The land was at once ready for settlement and development, yet also populated by peoples who the settlers felt could not be assimilated into their growing vision of the country. To solve this issue was to solve the “problem” of the Native Americans. Grandin details some of the extreme violence inflicted on the native populations of North America and how this violence became infused into the concept of the frontier through the example of Frederick Stump (1723-1820). Stump was an American frontiersman who, following the killing of his child and wife by Native Americans after having settled in their territory, went on a rampage of revenge against any and all Indigenous peoples he could find. Stump and his companions were never charged for their crimes, and Stump eventually rose to the rank of captain in a Tennessee militia tasked with clearing tribes from lands desired for settlement. Violence, cruelty, and brutality constitute a line running through the frontier.

In this first chapter, Grandin references Cormac McCarthy’s 1985 novel *Blood Meridian (or The Evening Redness in the West)*. At relevant points throughout *The End of the Myth*, Grandin refers back to *Blood Meridian*, which serves as a powerful touchstone for readers familiar with McCarthy’s work. *Blood Meridian* is a work of historical fiction centering on the violence and depravity of the American West by following a gang of Indian scalp hunters as they brutalize and terrorize the Indigenous and Mexicans. The “blood meridian” itself is the red line that appears on the horizon at sunset and serves as a powerful metaphor for the both the frontier and the border.

Chapters 2 and 3 of *The End of the Myth* address the ever-moving national border of the United States during the period of continental expansion and the rise and incorporation of Jacksonian ideology. U.S. continental expansion over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in the sense that there was no limit to both space and opportunity for Americans. Of course, this opportunity was limited to White, natural-born American citizens. White supremacy undergirded much of the vision of expansion and the opportunities it promised as detailed in Chapter 3 (“A Caucasian Democracy”), which examines the person and presidency of Andrew Jackson and the worldview and political ideology that he espoused. In essence, Jacksonianism stands for the prioritization of individual rights above all else, a minimalist federal government, and racial domination by Whites. It was Jackson’s Indian Removal Act of 1830 that “cleared” Native tribes from their land in the states of Georgia and Florida, thus driving Native Americans westward and creating a clearer border-frontier zone.

As Grandin carefully explains in Chapter 4 (“The Safety Valve”), expansion is viewed as a means through which stability can be gained. This idea is presented by James Madison in the *Federalist Paper* No. 10, in which he calls to “extend the sphere” as a means by which to ensure the stability of the nation. (29) The extent to which the frontier can be used as a safety valve was called into question by those who recognized the limits to expansion. In Chapter 5 (“Are You Ready for All

These Wars?"), Grandin discusses pushback against the idea of constant expansion, particularly by John Quincy Adams. In a speech to the House of Representatives, Adams expressed his concerns of "recoil" as it pertained to expansion. His concerns largely pertained to Native American retribution for the violence enacted upon them. He concluded that wars and expansion would only result in more war and discontent at home. It could be argued that Adam's concerns of recoil in some ways manifested themselves during the Civil War and Reconstruction which are the subjects of Chapter 6.

The greatest turning point in the evolution of the concept of the frontier came from Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932). Chapter 7 provides a deep examination of Turner's 1893 "Frontier Thesis." Replacing the "germ theory," which posits that the exceptional nature of America emanates from the genealogical origins of the Anglo-Saxon race, the Frontier Thesis claims that it is the very nature of the land itself that makes America exceptional. This interpretation changed the frontier from a physical space to an abstraction. The frontier became whatever and wherever it needed it to be for the sake of expediency. This new idea of the frontier became deeply embedded in the American worldview.

Additionally, the frontier became a useful tool for the reintegration of the South through imperial wars in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Cuba, and Guam. As Grandin describes in Chapter 8, North and South became re-unified by undertaking imperialist wars, during which Confederate flags were proudly displayed, and through the "pacification" of Native Americans. In both cases, North and South were united in causes which allowed them to reestablish a connection with the United States. Additionally, the wars had a reciprocal effect in which the trauma of war was brought back home. This is a pattern that, as Grandin explains, has been replicated time and again. The U.S.-Mexico border became a locus of "racism and brutality" as documented in Chapter 9 ("A Fortress on the Frontier"). In the name of national security, the Texas Rangers had been formed in 1835 and had promptly carried out brutal massacres and mass terror against the Mexican population.

In Chapter 10 ("A Psychological Twist"), Turner's thesis undergoes inversion and sees new, yet short-lived applications. Walter Weyl and Lewis Mumford saw the application of the Frontier Thesis as a source of the issues that the U.S. was experiencing in the 1920s and 1930s. They argued that the expansion called for in Turner's thesis had to end if the U.S. endeavored to be a just and peaceful nation. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his New Deal cabinet also augmented the meaning of Turner's thesis, albeit much less critically. They proposed that a new "social frontier" could be established as a means to deal with society's ills. This application of the frontier to the social sphere ended with the U.S. victory in World War II. The Cold War presented an opportunity for yet a new frontier. Chapter 11 illuminates this new iteration of the frontier as a border between the "civilization" of the West and the "slavery" of the Soviet Union. (186)

Between 1960 and 1990, the concept of the frontier was first regarded critically and then reembraced. Chapter 12 shows that the failure of the Vietnam War presented an uncomfortable break in the vision concerning the overseas frontier. No longer was the U.S. quite so exceptional in the minds of many Americans. Additionally, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. highlighted the reciprocal nature of war. In his "Beyond Vietnam" speech, he warned that the events that took place abroad would inevitably be felt back home. In Chapter 13 ("More, More, More"), Grandin explains how Ronald Reagan's presidency reenergized the promise of the frontier through its promises of plenty, the revival of the Cold War, and the further fetishization of individual rights.

As the United States seemingly ran out of new overseas frontiers at the close of the Cold War, more attention was paid to the U.S.-Mexico border. In Chapter 14, Grandin explains how the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came to be a new manifestation of expansion. While "sold" by proponents as a means to blur border lines through globalization, Grandin explains that NAFTA had an inverse effect. Following its implementation in 1994, NAFTA hardened the divide between the two nations. Not only was there a simultaneous debasement of small-scale agriculture in both countries as a result of the trade agreement, but there was also a revival of nativist rhetoric, draconian immigration laws, and increasing vigilantism, which inflicted terror and violence on Mexican populations throughout the country.

In Chapter 15 ("Crossing the Blood Meridian"), Grandin describes the violence inflicted at the border by state officials as well as so-called militia groups. Often these groups were populated by veterans of American wars, continuing the pattern that Grandin has established: societal pressure is vented through frontier-expanding military missions. Then, those traumatized and alienated by their military services, as well as the lack of resources upon their return, engaged in revanchism. The growing tide of civilian vigilantism slowed with the events of 9/11. Following the attacks, there was a sense of new national purpose, as the "Global War on Terror" opened new frontiers along which the United States could exercise its demons while also enriching its economy through military spending. Grandin argues that the rapid failure of the War on Terror caused the new frontier opportunity to close, drawing attention once again back to the border. Grandin concludes in his epilogue that both the frontier and the border, along with calls to "build the wall," have been means to legitimize cruelty and serve as a societal safety valve.

The End of the Myth tells a clear and unflinching history of American expansionist ideology. It is essential reading for both students of American empire as well as the American population at large as it demands that readers do what generations of Americans have time and again turned away from, namely, confront a painful, unjust, and profoundly violent national past. Whether or not Americans read Grandin's work, they will still be tasked with confronting the past as Grandin's thesis is borne out. Now that all possible frontiers have been

exploited and borders are omnipresent, societal ills once vented will translate into violence, nativism, and cruelty.

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Harkins, Anthony, and Meredith McCarroll, eds.

Appalachian Reckoning:

A Region Responds to Hillbilly Elegy.

Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2019.

432 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9781946684790.

When I was growing up in small-town Ohio in the 1990s, a favorite playground barb was, “Why don’t you go home and f*** your cousin.” A lunchtime favorite was, “What’s wrong with your sandwich? Oh, I see – it’s inbred.” I admit these do not carry the same roll-off-the-tongue feel I remember from my youth, now that I am aware just how many “wrong” things are wrapped into these single sentences. Essentially, though, we were accusing each other of being Hillbillies. If you were the child of farmers, you descended from Rednecks; if you lived in town, you were forever a townie; and if you lived in a trailer, you were trailer trash. There was no escaping your label because you, as a child, had no control over it. Universally, none of us wanted to be a Hillbilly.

Hillbillies are considered the blackest White people. A Hillbilly is the White woman who keeps having kids to live off welfare. A Hillbilly has lost all but three teeth. Hillbillies smell, they are stupid, and they are the lowest of the low. The existence of the Hillbilly makes all other White lifestyles bearable. The Hillbilly is the trump card (pun intended) to White privilege, for, how can White privilege be real when all you need to do is look at the Hillbilly to see that there is no privilege there? They are the American untouchables. These are the very sentiments Anthony Harkins, Meredith McCarroll and the 39 other contributors in *Appalachian Reckoning: A Region Responds to Hillbilly Elegy*, are hoping to address. Ultimately, their goal is to offer “ideas through the voices of many who have deep, if varied, lived experiences in and of Appalachia.” (1)

The editors of *Appalachian Reckoning*, Anthony Harkins and Meredith McCarroll champion this book as a response “to those who have felt they understand Appalachia ‘now that they have read [J. D. Vance’s 2016 memoir] *Hillbilly Elegy*’.” (1) Harkins, a professor of history at Western Kentucky University has been working to change the public persona of the Appalachia region for over 17 years. His first book, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (Oxford University Press, 2004), is an analysis of how the term Hillbilly has survived and evolved in the American social and political landscapes through the lens of popular media. Meredith McCarroll is the director of Writing and Rhetoric at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. She earned her Ph.D. in English from the University of Tennessee, and her first book, *Unwhite: Appalachia, Race, and Film*

(University of Georgia Press, 2018), analyzes “the intersection of race and regional studies, with a focus on cinematic representations of this intersection.” (407) McCarroll and Harkins met while attending the “2017 Appalachian Studies Association conference in Blacksburg.” (ix) From there, they reached out to 39 other authors, artists, poets, scholars, and students, to provide a varied and diverse body of work.

I am ashamed I did not even know conferences like this existed. That is not quite the right sentiment: I am ashamed I could not even imagine a conference like this taking place, but I think that also proves how deep the hillbilly bias is ingrained. I am from the area, and I cannot imagine a group like this existing. Honestly, I had to read the line a few times before it lost all sense of being an oxymoron, but at least I started learning something right from the first page.

The book is arranged in two parts, “Considering *Hillbilly Elegy*” and “Beyond *Hillbilly Elegy*.” Part 1, “Considering *Hillbilly Elegy*,” consists of two sections. The first section, “Interrogating,” is a scholarly response to the claims and accusations that J. D. Vance, in the authors’/editors’ opinion, passes off as fact without any scholarly or living proof to back his claims. But it is not just a page-after-page onslaught of primary and secondary sources used to discredit Vance’s claims about the people of Appalachia. In a poem, titled “Panning For Gold: A Reflection of Life from Appalachia,” poet, educator, and Marine veteran Ricardo Nazario y Colón challenges Vance’s conclusions that all the people there are of ignorant Scots-Irish descent, writing, “The truth in the story of a boy from a sunken place is that the lives of mountain folk are more than just Scots-Irish. They are a mix of Cherokee defiance and forgotten African voices. Of thin air rich and sea level poor. Of new accents thick as southern humidity, who declare their existence.” (84) Until I read *Appalachian Reckoning*, my idea of an Appalachian poet would not be without a banjo and jug playing along—let alone someone who is not White and a veteran.

The second section, “Responding,” is full of articles, poems, and pictures that represent the “personal and autobiographical reflections on the book” [i.e., Vance’s *Hillbilly Elegy*] that are meant to “fight against gross simplifications and stereotypes” that plague the Appalachia region. (3) In this section, there is a beautiful poem, titled “He Said/She Said,” (169) by Crystal Good, African American poet and activist, exploring what it is means to be “Affrilachian.” (170) The most striking article comes from Kelli Hansel Haywood, titled “In Defense of J. D. Vance;” (189) its main point is that Vance’s story is true to Vance, and as much as his story has become the unofficial voice of the entire region, Vance, in turn, has become the unofficial voice of all that people dislike about the media. It is not his fault Ron Howard wanted to make a movie demonizing an entire population of Americans. Haywood asks people to stop wasting so much energy on criticizing J. D. Vance and apply that energy to “highlight examples that might educate a national audience about the day-to-day realities of these issues.” (195)

In Part 2, “Beyond *Hillbilly Elegy*,” the editors use “narratives and images” to construct “a snapshot of a place that is at once progressive, haunted, depressed, beautiful, and culturally and spiritually rich.” (4) The most impactful and complete representation of the “snapshot” the editors were cultivating lies in Author Kristin L. Squint’s story of her family’s origins in Appalachia. Her grandmothers, Grace and Hazel, were child brides who were expected to avoid being a “Jezebel in the eyes of God” (258), to obey their husbands, and to never leave their children, even under constant spousal abuse. Kristin’s father dropped out of school and married her mother at 16 because they were already expecting a child. With few prospects and a growing family, the only way to escape “working in a chicken slaughterhouse” (258) was to join the military and make it a career. She became the first in her family to attend college, and while her family wanted to support her, “they didn’t always know how to help when it was time to navigate the rapids,” especially the women in her life, whose choices mostly consisted of struggling with their own lives. Leaving Appalachia meant disconnecting from her “family and home community,” but sometimes breaking the cycle and “leaving might actually be an act of love” (266) and provide a new perspective of the world and, as a result, the ability to look at your family and self differently.

At the time of writing this review, director Ron Howard, “Opie” of *Andy Griffith-Show* fame, has partnered with the streaming platform Netflix and released a movie rendition of *Hillbilly Elegy*. This movie will surely be popular because it lets everyone outside of Appalachia blame everyone inside Appalachia for the problems of the entire country – along the lines of: “There is no reason to feel bad for them because they choose this life for themselves.” It is a full-circle moment for Howard, as the *Andy Griffith Show* was the first major television show to visually portray the Hill people of the Carolinas in the manner we are used to today. Now Howard has solidified for another generation the continuation of awful stereotypes and the oppression of a people for a few more coins in his pocket.

I was given J. D. Vance’s *Hillbilly Elegy* in December 2016 by my aunt and uncle who I would describe as members of the aristocratic branch of the Republican Party. Like Vance, they were able to find their way out of poverty and work their way into extremely successful careers. They told me to read it, for then I would understand why this place I love, full of people I have the most respect for, would vote to elect Donald Trump, even though Trump may well be the posterchild for not working hard a day in one’s life and falling backwards into money; but according to Vance this is the Appalachian dream. Like the rest of my sphere of influence, I could not understand how people could vote against their own interests. Were their interests not mine? Did I not grow up with the same values these people did?

If *Hillbilly Elegy* is the Rosetta Stone for understanding the Rust Belt, then *Appalachian Reckoning* is the Dead Sea Scrolls for mountain folk. I used to feel ashamed about my origins. I am steeped in imposter syndrome and afraid that, at any moment, people are going to be able to tell. Maybe I will get excited, and my

accent will start to reemerge, maybe they will find out my High School was surrounded on three sides by corn fields. Worst of all, maybe they will find out I am the descendent of Hillbillies. Reading J. D. Vance's book only made me depressed and more ashamed of who I was, but it also helped me to justify to myself to never work toward my goals. If everyone says we are worthless there must be some truth to it. Right? Wrong. *Appalachian Reckoning* should be read as the elegy (literally, a "lament") to J. D. Vance's *Hillbilly Elegy*. This book was intended by the authors to address the naysayer, but I think it is even more important for people like me who grew up thinking the best they could do is survive. *Appalachian Reckoning* is an intellectual treasure chest for people who know better but have never had anywhere to point to prove it. To the authors and editors of *Appalachian Reckoning*: Thank you from the bottom of my heart. This book has restored a sense of pride in me that I was severely lacking.

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Keefe, Patrick Radden.

Empire of Pain:

The Secret History of the Sackler Dynasty.

New York: Penguin Random House LLC, 2021.
535 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9780385545686.

In 2018, Stephen Colbert of the *Late Show* quipped that the Hippocratic Oath according to the Sacklers and Purdue Pharma might read something like this: "First, do no harm, unless it's extremely profitable. Then, harm! Harm! Harm!" In the past, the Sacklers have been known as one of the most generous philanthropic families in America. If one walks through Harvard University or the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, one can see the vast galleries of art that the family has donated. However, they are also known as the creators of a painkiller that most Americans are familiar with, namely, OxyContin. Once widely distributed across America as a cure-all for pain patients, it started with the intention of being a "good" medicine. It appears that employees at Purdue Pharma and the Sacklers genuinely believed their product would help others ease their pains. Meanwhile, OxyContin left many patients addicted or, in worst cases, dead from overdosing. Today, most Americans look to the makers of OxyContin, the Sackler family, and Purdue Pharma with disdain. But, one might ask, how did the Sacklers attain their status and wealth? Patrick Keefe seeks to answer this question in a detailed narrative that follows three generations of Sacklers from 1913 to 2020 and beyond.

The author, Patrick Keefe, is currently a staff writer for the *New York Times* and known for his 2019 monograph, *Say Nothing: A True Story of Murder and Memory in Northern Ireland*, which covers the sectarian violence in Ireland between Catholics and Protestants over nearly 40 years. His latest work (reviewed here), *Empire of*

Pain, is the expansion of his 2017 *New Yorker* article, "The Family that Built an Empire of Pain." At first, Keefe believed that it was not possible to write a book about the Sacklers. They were a secretive family who stayed behind the scenes. After the article's publication, Keefe received a wave of emails from people with firsthand knowledge of the opioid crisis. This ultimately pushed him to write this book. While conducting research and interviews, Keefe admits in his Afterword, he faced stiff resistance from the Sackler family. At some point, his wife remarked, someone was stalking both Keefe and his family. (435) While never confirmed, Keefe saw this as an informal confirmation that the Sacklers were watching him. On a more overt note, he was told to cease and desist lest the Sackler family consider "potential litigation" against him. Undeterred, Keefe pushed on to create his book, hoping to help his audience learn about and understand the Sacklers' history.

The book consists of a prologue (Taproot) and three "books," titled "Patriarch," "Dynasty," and "Legacy." However, *Empire of Pain* is written on multiple narrative levels. There are chapters dedicated to different subjects or people, but this is done on purpose as they played a major role in the Sackler family's success. The first book, "Patriarch," in ten chapters covers the history of the Sackler brothers Arthur (1913-1987), Mortimer (1916-2010), and Raymond (1920-2017) and their slow transformation from caring doctors into calculating businessmen. The second book, "Dynasty," in another ten chapters explores how the Sacklers' business thrived by using shady means; this included manipulating the FDA and regulators, offsetting labor to companies who were not equipped for drug making, and finally the rise of their miracle drug OxyContin. The final book, "Legacy," in nine chapters addresses the impact of OxyContin on the American public. The Sacklers did whatever it took to bury the growing number of lawsuits they were facing with money. Even though this worked for a while, by the 2000s, U.S. states and their attorneys became involved as the opioid crisis was spreading almost unchecked.

Keefe's *Empire of Pain* is based on firsthand accounts, memoirs, leaked documents, archival material, and interviews with ex-Purdue Pharma employees. It is a nonfictional narrative, according to Keefe, as there are instances when thoughts or feelings of certain characters were described to the author by the characters themselves or their peers. For the first book, "Patriarch," Keefe relied on a memoir by Arthur's second wife Marietta and on Arthur's own biography. For the second book, "Dynasty," he was able to connect with Richard Kapit, a former roommate of Raymond Sackler's son Richard (b. 1945). He also conducted interviews with ex-employees of Purdue Pharma who had been working there since the 1960s. The third book, "Legacy," was constructed on the basis of many sources that were close to the Sacklers. Keefe found out that those who were "invisible" to the family were often able to provide new insights to him.

The prologue of *Empire of Pain* opens with a legal deposition, where Kathe Sackler (Mortimer's daughter) is being examined for evidence by lawyer Paul

Hanly who works for the New York Attorney General. Here, the reader is provided with some background on the Sackler family's various involvements. Publicly, they were a rich family who generously donated their money to museums and schools while also owning the pharmaceutical company (Purdue Pharma) that makes OxyContin. This product was created as a blanket solution to many types of pain affecting people. However, the drug was too effective. Their product was known to be a highly addictive opioid, but they (the family and the Pharma company) sought to keep this information hidden. Instead, they pushed aggressively to sell this drug to patients through direct contact and incentive offers with doctors. The prologue itself offers a good synopsis for those who are not familiar with the Sackler family's ventures.

Book I, "Patriarch," covers the early history of the three Sackler brothers—Arthur, Mortimer, and Raymond—between the years 1913 and 1986. Starting with Arthur in 1913, he was born into an upper-class family who later lost their fortune to failed business ventures and the Great Depression. Partly because of these misfortunes, Arthur Sackler was pushed by his parents to become a physician, and growing up, he took up many odd jobs to help his family stay out of poverty. He was essentially forced to be a young adult in his years leading up to college. By the 1940s, Arthur achieved his dream of becoming a medical practitioner. We do not know much about the brothers (i.e., Mortimer's and Raymond's) childhoods, but Keefe mentions that, as adults, they also became medical practitioners. During their employment at Creedmoor Hospital in 1944, Arthur along with his brothers were disgusted at the usage of electroshock therapy and lobotomy on medical patients. These two methods were accepted as a viable solution in the medical world for unruly patients at the time, but many did not understand why it worked. Exploring more into electroshock therapy, the Sackler Brothers discovered that histamine was the primary cause of relief in the patients' brain. After administering histamine to forty patients diagnosed with schizophrenia, nearly a third of them improved and were able to return home. This experiment helped pave the way for the Sackler's thirst for a universal cure, one where the cure for insanity could be as simple as taking a pill.

By the 1950s, the Sackler trio was still seeking that universal cure, but they were increasingly becoming more like businessmen than doctors. Starting with their partnership at Pfizer, the eldest brother Arthur was tasked with marketing the antibiotic Terramycin. At the time, medical drugs were difficult to market as they were not appealing to the American public compared to say cigarettes or cars. As a response, Arthur pioneered a marketing campaign where he used splashy graphics and catchy phrases. One such ad involved a common optometrist's vision test where it was ordered downwards with increasing letters and claimed that ocular infections could be treated with terramycin. A majority of these ads were laser-focused on the prescribers. One of Arthur's subordinates, John Kalir, commented that these ads "had a very serious, clinical look ... [like] a physician talking to a physician. But it was advertising." (37) To create additional hype for

drugs, “detailed men” (young sales representatives) were tasked with visiting doctors’ offices and directly advertising the drug to them through direct mail or bribery of sorts. The same tactic would later be used for OxyContin. For now, the drug itself was not groundbreaking, but the shrewd advertisement made up for this, and the brothers amassed a small fortune that later got them the rights to buy out the pharmaceutical company Purdue Frederick.

Book II, “Dynasty,” focuses on how the Sacklers built their dynasty of wealth after Arthur’s passing. While Arthur is the “main character” in Book I, Mortimer’s and Raymond’s part in the business takes center stage in Book II. In addition, readers are introduced to the second generation of Sacklers and their efforts to expand Purdue Frederick. Raymond handled the business affairs for Purdue Frederick in the U.S., and Mortimer was expanding its ventures overseas, focusing on Napp Laboratories in England, where the company produced MS Contin. This drug came in a pill format, with the morphine contents inside slowly released into the patient’s system over an extended period. While popular in England, it was tough for the family to bring it over to the United States due to regulations set by the FDA. However, the family was able to bypass this by appealing directly to the Reagan administration. And the Sacklers were not done yet, as they sought to have a successor to MS Contin which, as we know now, would be OxyContin.

Book III, “Legacy,” addresses the impact of OxyContin and how the public reacted as more info about the drug’s effects became known. Even though the family went through a lawsuit that cost them \$600 million, opioid sales soon tripled from \$1 billion to \$3 billion. The increased attention did not help with the Sacklers’ decision-making for their company, though. At this point in time, Purdue Pharma and its higher-ups were divided into two camps: those who were loyal to the Sacklers and those who were newly hired and sought to change the company. The latter lost as the former were more focused on opioid sales than public sentiment. By this point, the family had split up and were at odds with each other. The offspring of Raymond and Mortimer fought for control of Purdue Pharma and what its next product should be. In times of agreement, the Sackler Family would grant themselves bonuses.

Empire of Pain is the perfect title for a family focused more on profits than the lives of others. Despite starting with good intentions, the family has become a name that is inextricably linked to the drug epidemic. Published in 2021, this book is the latest in a series of works looking into OxyContin and the Sackler family. Other books, such as *Pain Killer: An Empire of Deceit and the Origin of America’s Opioid Epidemic* by Barry Meier (2018) and *Dream Land: The True Tale of America’s Opiate Epidemic* by Sam Quinones (2015), are similar to *Empire of Pain*. The former focuses on OxyContin’s effects on Mexico while the latter is a faster read into OxyContin’s origins. I highly recommend *Empire of Pain* to those who want to study the history of the opioid crisis in America or who want to learn more about the family behind it.

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Kobes Du Mez, Kristin.

Jesus and John Wayne:

How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation.

New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2020.

384 pages. Paperback. ISBN: 9781631499050.

One is known as the Good Shepherd and the other as the consummate American warrior. One is known for His overwhelming love of mankind and advocacy of forgiveness; the other was known, by his masculine nickname, the “Duke” and gave quotes such as “Never apologize and never explain-it’s a sign of weakness.” Jesus Christ and John Wayne could not be farther apart in their ideologies, moral compass or message, yet these two men, with differing views on their image, have been used as ideal role models in the world of American Evangelical Christianity. The itinerant preacher who His followers believe to be the Savior of Mankind is described throughout the Bible in loving terms, as a counselor and a Prince of Peace, and as one who sacrificed his life to save the world. John Wayne’s name is synonymous with rugged masculinity, the type of guy who is tough as nails, speaks his mind with little regard for others, and shoots first and asks questions later. In her book, *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*, Kristin Kobes Du Mez explores how Evangelical Christianity has been transformed and forever changed by those who advocate for the rise of Christian nationalism, and she analyzes this struggle between the Christian ideal and American Evangelicals today.

Kristin Kobes Du Mez is currently a History, Gender and Urban Studies professor at Calvin University (Michigan) and earned her Ph.D. in Women’s and Religious History at Notre Dame University. This book was born out of a class she was teaching on Gender and Religious Studies, and the students recommended that she read *Wild at Heart*, a 2001 book by John Eldredge that encouraged Christian men to become warriors of their families, and she began to be intrigued by the history of gender in the Evangelical Christian church as a whole. This book is written from the perspective of someone who is a person of faith and knows the prominent individuals in American Christianity, and it is a thorough history of masculinity in White Evangelical culture.

Chapter One lays the groundwork to understand the Evangelical movement that grew exponentially in the twentieth century. Early in the century, most Americans had a problem with the feminized Christianity that had taken over in previous decades. White men, most famous among them Theodore Roosevelt, began to assert the need for a new masculinity that would infuse the country with a rugged bravery. This shift in American Christianity also gave Christ a new look – masculine, sword-wielding, and ready for battle, and it gave the ordinary

man a leader to follow in a larger cause. This notion of masculine Christianity continued, bolstered by the militarism that naturally followed with the advent of the First and then the Second World War.

Kobes Du Mez introduces Billy Graham, a young fiery Christian preacher who became the face of modern Evangelical Christianity in the post-World War II era. His combination of Bible preaching and athletic and military metaphors showed that faith does not conflict with athleticism and heroics, which translated into Christian nationalism. His influence created a Christian media network with books being published, radio and eventually television shows being aired, and colleges campuses hosting speakers, all with the goal of winning souls for Christ. At the same time that Billy Graham's star was rising, the nation was generally moving toward the right during the Cold War. Chapter Two details the manner in which President Eisenhower expanded the military complex, the justification being that the only way to preserve the freedom to worship God was to maintain a strong military. Conservative Evangelicals had the support of the White House, but challenges to their authority were beginning to arise as feminism, the Civil Rights movement, and the Vietnam War took center stage in the 1960s began.

Kobes Du Mez continues through the 1960s, and she recounts the rise of Richard Nixon and his appeal to the so-called "Silent Majority." Reverend Graham was instrumental in working with Nixon in his appeal to Evangelicals, encouraging the leader to identify with born-again Christianity and speak the language that had become unique to Evangelicals. Under Nixon's leadership, the militarization of America continued as the war in Vietnam—and the divide it was encouraging among the American population—seemed to be unending. The fears over Communism started to become irrational, driving conservative Americans to support the war without question, while youth on the other side supported Civil Rights legislation and protested the Vietnam War. This war proved to be pivotal for Americans: Evangelical support for the military continued in its growth, but a sizable portion of the American populace began to see the myth of consummate American greatness rattled and challenged.

Kobes Du Mez then discusses the rise and popularity of John Wayne, the American movie actor who embodied the persona of the rugged Western man, unafraid of anything that might come his way, who had become more than a movie star to the public. Many of his films had a political message and charge behind them, such as *The Green Berets* (1968), which continued to perpetuate the myth of American greatness and the need for a strong military. These movies constructed an alternate reality and encouraged young men to dream of "killing a Commie for Jesus Christ and John Wayne." (55)

Chapter Three delves into the roles of women in the Evangelical Christian world and the fight for gender equality and women's rights. Conservative critics felt that women's "libbers" were out to offer free sex and abortion on demand, and Christians were intent on defending the Judeo-Christian traditions upon which America had been founded. In Chapter Four, the topic of public schooling and its

impact on society is analyzed, along with the role of James Dobson, initially a little-known child psychologist whose book *Dare to Discipline* (1970) urged parents to restore authoritarian family structure in order to turn back the tide of youth uprisings and protests that were occurring frequently. Dobson became a trusted voice in Evangelical subculture and his organization, *Focus on the Family*, provided Christians with practical guidance on raising children with strict discipline and rules. The growing economic independence of women, rising divorce rates, the *Roe v. Wade* decision (1973), and the push for the ratification of the *Equal Rights Amendment* (ERA) all served to reinforce the notion that there was an assault being waged on traditional, “God-given” gender roles, and Dobson’s voice gathered the Religious Right under one umbrella. He initially chose to stay out of the political arena, working with community churches and providing them with resources, books and newsletters. By the mid-1980s, however, *Focus on the Family* had become a media empire with millions of dollars in its budget and a political influence that could not be denied.

Kobes Du Mez covers the power of patriarchal authority and the rise of family value politics in Chapter Five. Authors such as Tim LaHaye, known for the *Left Behind* book series (1995-2007), and Jerry Falwell worked to promote the prevalence of issues that Christians were facing, which in turn gave the American Christian the sense of a looming battle that had become a common theme in churches. This theme of embattlement continued to feed into the narrative that connected strong Christian manhood to a national defense that was powerful and ready. Falwell offered solutions to the problems of the day: patriotism, turning to God instead of government, taking a stand against progressive issues such as the ERA, feminism, and the rise of homosexuality. His prime motivating force was the defense of the family, and he argued that Conservatives wanted traditional family roles, while Liberals wanted single parenthood and gay parents to be the norm of society. Ronald Reagan’s presidency is introduced in Chapter Six, along with another look at John Wayne and the similarities between the two men. While campaigning, Reagan promised peace through strength, spoke the language of the Religious Right, and fit into the role of the American hero easily. Wayne had given an interview in the 1970s with *Playboy*, revealing his displeasure with the current permissive culture and the method of raising children that implied “anything goes.” Both men exuded a strong, silent type of image that recalled an old-school masculinity that appealed to the public. With Reagan’s electoral victory, the country took a large step toward the Right, rejecting the politics of Jimmy Carter and embracing the rugged manhood that Reagan offered. Kobes Du Mez introduces Oliver North, a common household name in the late 1980s, as he testified regarding his role in the Iran-Contra weapons scandal (1985-1987) that rocked Reagan’s administration. In Chapter Seven, Kobes Du Mez demonstrates the manner in which North mixed church and state constantly during his testimony and viewed his religion, his flag, and his family with the same love and fervor. During this same period, several Evangelical Christian leaders became

embroiled in scandals of their own, usually involving sex and money, and Oliver North, American hero, would be the perfect person to rehabilitate the Christian image following these scandals.

Chapter Eight discusses the dichotomy of the 1980s for Evangelicals: they had their president in office and held power in several key administrative appointments. This, however, left them with nothing to fight against, which hampered recruitment and fundraising efforts tremendously. As Reagan's second term was ending, the power that Evangelicals had wielded for a decade seemed to be slipping away, as there was no clear successor to Reagan who could motivate the voters. George H. W. Bush was supported by Evangelicals, but only just. The election of Bill Clinton then gave the Religious Right the villain they needed once again, an enemy to be used to rally the faithful. Clinton and his wife, hated for her feminism, were everything that the Evangelical community decried, and Clinton's administration ushered in an era of progress. This era also witnessed the rise of talk radio and news that blurred the lines between journalism and entertainment. Communism had disappeared as a common enemy, and Evangelicals now shifted their focus to what they saw as the other side's war on masculinity.

Chapters Nine and Ten delve into the world of Evangelical masculinity and the progression from men as *Promise Keepers*, charged with the care of their families, to warrior-like men who were *Wild at Heart*. *Promise Keepers* became a national movement that encouraged a renewal of Christian manhood, filling stadiums around the country with men who pledged to lead their families in a Godly manner, while justifying traditional roles of men and women in the church and family. Sports analogies were used to encourage men to be champions while maintaining the patriarchal roles, which then led to a rise in the interest in Christian masculinity. Men were now encouraged to be "warriors," and Evangelical leaders warned against the influence of gays, porn, and gender-role confusion, and the image of Jesus as a tender-hearted shepherd faded away. Jesus was now transformed into a sword-wielding warrior, with fire in his eyes, ready for battle. Kobes Du Mez also discusses what became known as "Purity Culture," the movement that upheld strict standards of sexual modesty and propriety for girls, while simultaneously holding girls and women responsible for leading men into temptation, and the negative impact that this viewpoint has had on girls for years. The look at Christian masculinity continues in Chapter Ten, as Kobes Du Mez analyzes the popularity of John Eldredge's book *Wild at Heart* (2001) and the influence it had on men in the church. Eldredge claimed that, for decades, men in the church had displayed a soft, sensitive side that had led to the emasculation of America's men, arguing that this needed to change so that men would once again be seen as heroes and dangerous warriors who protected their families. When terrorists attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, the battle that Evangelicals looked for was on their doorstep. Joining the military to fight the terrorists was the ultimate in manly behavior, and those on the Right continued to support the military without fail. The "War on Terror" brought the anger of White

Christian men to the surface and gave them an outlet to express their anger against culture, society, and anyone who believed differently than they did.

Chapters Eleven through Thirteen discuss the role of increasing masculinity in the church and the change in evangelizing that many groups underwent. Activities such as mixed-martial arts, car chases, and other testosterone-injecting opportunities were given to men to help keep them “warrior ready” and not contribute to the feminization of America, as some saw it. Church leaders were apt to advise their congregation to resist turning the other cheek and to follow the warrior Jesus that they promoted. Patriotism and patriarchy became further entwined as Evangelicals continued to embrace the military and traditional gender roles in the church, and believed that God endorsed the way they lived, with women assuming a submissive role. Kobes Du Mez also covers the role of various megachurch leaders who embraced a theology of denigration and crudeness. One such example is *Mars Hill*, a megachurch in Seattle that imploded after its leader became known for using bullying tactics, vulgarity, and other methods that were contrary to biblical teachings to control his congregation. Such leaders preferred to focus their preaching on a violent, vengeful God instead of the loving, gentle Savior Jesus. Many of these pastors espoused previously fringe views that were now becoming more widely accepted: extreme views on marriage and childrearing, racist views on immigration, denigrating the homosexual lifestyle, and others. Now, with a new view on how men were to act, these views were articulated aloud and acted upon. Some of these views included varying degrees of Islamophobia, which had gained traction in the aftermath of 9/11. The lines were very clearly drawn that there was a battle between good and evil, and American Evangelicals voiced their support for being the good guys loudly. Islam was vilified as being a religion of violence, and various Evangelical members of the George W. Bush administration used their positions of power to advance not just the agenda of their administration, but also the agenda of their churches.

In the early 2000s, Evangelicals identified two enemies to rally their congregants: Islam and Barack Obama. While Evangelicals initially backed different candidates for the 2008 presidential election, the candidacy of Barack Obama caused the bulk of the Right to come together against him. Chapters Fourteen through Sixteen deal with the historical nomination and election of President Obama, the birther campaign, and the rise of the Tea Party movement, which later gave rise to the respective segment of the Republican Party. Although Obama professed to be a Christian, he was depicted as a Muslim, and this issue of a supposed Muslim in the White House fueled the fire of the Religious Right even further. Any issues that could be used to enflame Evangelicals were used, which gave them the sense of battle that many wanted. They expressed fears of Obama’s presidency being the end of White, Christian America and thus paved the way for the election of Donald Trump. Evangelicals were not initially drawn to Trump, as there was a slew of candidates who better fit the Evangelical vision of a president, but as the campaign went on, Trump began to speak the language of the

Evangelicals and began to woo them to his side. For many Evangelicals, Trump became the perfect masculine candidate: his anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, pro-American nationalist agenda appealed to a growing number of Evangelicals. The “Make American Great Again” campaign message gave Americans permission to bring Christian nationalism to the forefront of the political arena and, after a brief period, the encouragement of their pastors to follow Trump. With the endorsement of several prominent Evangelical leaders, the sins of Trump’s past, multiple wives, affairs, and questionable business dealings, were swept aside in their embrace of a candidate who promised to protect Christianity. White Evangelical Christians overwhelmingly voted for Trump, with 82% reporting that they had voted for him. During Trump’s time in office, mainstream Evangelical support only somewhat waned. Despite various scandals, it seemed that President Trump would maintain the support of his base. Kobes Du Mez concludes her book by reiterating her belief that, while the brand of militant Christianity that has overtaken the Evangelical church over the last decades has been dominant, it is not the only form of Evangelical Christianity that can be followed. She reinforces that it is imperative to look at how these ideologies in American religion formed historically so that those who want to dismantle them have a road map. Ultimately, Kobes Du Mez shares that what was created and distorted can be amended, altered, and made to work once again. Ultimately, she believes that there is a Christian faith that does not look like what the church has become, and that redemption is possible.

Kobes Du Mez’ writing style and the book’s layout make it easy to read, follow, and comprehend. She cohesively lays out the history of the Evangelical movement, the influential members of the various denominations, and the impact they had on the movement, along with the connections to our current political system and how these factors influenced the election of Donald Trump. She convincingly shows how Christian leaders craved and received power, wielded it to advance their own agendas, and entered into a transactional relationship with Trump to further that agenda.

I recommend this book to anyone who is interested in the history of the Christian church. The Evangelical movement has been a major component of the American Christian church, and one could argue that their influence over social culture, government, and politics over the past 50 years has been underexamined. This book is an important informational text for anyone raised in the Evangelical Christian culture, who is interested in the history of how the church got to where it currently stands: disillusionment with the current model of the church is causing the faithful to leave and not return. According to recent polling, the share of practicing Christians has dropped by nearly half since 2000, and Gallup recently reported that church attendance has fallen below 50% for the first time in eight decades. For someone who grew up in the church culture, learning about how intertwined those who run churches are with those in power in this country is an eye-opening experience.

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Kupperman, Karen Ordahl.

Pocahontas and the English Boys:

Caught Between Cultures in Early Virginia.

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240 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781479825820.

The young, beautiful, and intelligent Pocahontas played a vital role in relationship-building between the Powhatans and European colonists arriving in Jamestown in the early seventeenth century. From film biographies and theatrical presentations to Disney's well-known 1995 animated adaptation, Pocahontas remains a historical figure who is even known to children. Cultural representations, including history lessons, teach us about her and her people – the Powhatans of North America's mid-Atlantic region, and how the English colonist John Smith and his men forced themselves upon them in early seventeenth-century Virginia. We are well acquainted with the classic moment when Pocahontas throws herself protectively over John Smith, ultimately saving his life and creating a relationship between the Colonists and the Native tribe. Karen Ordahl Kupperman, author of *Pocahontas and the English Boys* and Silver Professor of History at New York University, retells the story of the young Pocahontas, but in a way that may not seem familiar to most. The "English Boys" in her book's title are Thomas Savage, Henry Spelman, and Robert Poole. While they are from different backgrounds, Kupperman's narrative focuses on the four youths and their growing personal relationships.

Kupperman's first chapter ("Settling In") explains the origins of Jamestown, Virginia, where the Powhatans resided, and the English settled in 1607. When Captain John Smith and his men arrived, they encountered difficulties with poor soil and did not know how to utilize the food sources available to them in the region. Months later, Smith and his men set out to explore, but were met by the Powhatans. Many of Smith's men died, and Smith's death was only averted by Pocahontas's intervention. This was just the beginning of Pocahontas's relationship with the English men, as she later started accompanying them. According to Kupperman, Pocahontas frequently visited Jamestown because she enjoyed the place and having female representation was important to the Natives. Thomas Savage became acquainted with her early on, namely, when Pocahontas approached him with a message from her father. Pocahontas and the other boys established relationships through constant communication between both cultures. As Kupperman points out, these relationships did not remain mere diplomatic exchanges as "both the English and Powhatans characterized them as parent-child relationships." (33) However comfortable these relationships may have been, it

appears that Thomas Savage continued to struggle with adjusting to his new life and a culture utterly alien to him.

The following chapter ("New Realities") introduces Henry Spelman, an unfortunate young man shipped off to Virginia. Kupperman here proceeds to compare the two groups. For instance, she mentions that Thomas Savage and Henry Spelman did men's work just like the Powhatan boys, which meant a variety of tasks. One thing that Thomas and Henry would not have been used to was the power and authority wielded by Powhatan women. Because Indigenous women participated in agricultural activities, they played a crucial role in their tribe's decision-making. The two boys, along with Pocahontas, lived in the Orapax area during the winter of 1609-1610, where they most likely familiarized themselves with each other and their contrasting cultures. Shortly thereafter, Henry actually had the opportunity to temporarily return to London, England, where he shared the cultural values and behaviors of the Powhatans. This became crucial information to European scholars who wanted to learn about the development of human behavior and culture, especially by examining societies considered "primitive." The Powhatans' lives and "primitive" behavior seemed to differ drastically from the lives of Europeans; thus, we can imagine how life in Virginia must have affected Thomas Savage and Henry Spelman. Robert Poole entered this new world a short time later and faced a similarly difficult situation.

In time, Henry, Thomas and Pocahontas resumed their friendship and cultural interaction. As Pocahontas and the boys grow, the process of assimilation became evident. Pocahontas interacted with the Europeans and listened to their Christian beliefs as explained by theologian Alexander Whitaker. Conversion to Christianity appealed to Pocahontas since it allowed for women's participation in worship. To the English, converting Pocahontas was the next big step to having Jamestown recognized and supported. To them, conversion of one person (Pocahontas) would ultimately pave the way to the conversion of all people in their colony.

The chapter ("Pocahontas Becomes Rebecca Rolfe") suggests that Pocahontas viewed the introduction of Europeans into her society not as a threat, but as an opportunity. As a relationship formed between planter John Rolfe and her, she converted to Christianity and changed her name to Rebecca. After her marriage to Rolfe, she visited London where she encountered a wide range of cultural differences, such as the long and elaborate dresses of women, as well as the strange custom of drinking alcohol with every meal and eating white bread as a status of wealth. Indigenous women were accustomed to freedom and power in their society; Pocahontas evidently faced a dramatic status change. Her conversion and visit to London strengthened the colonists as it potentially meant the conversion of all the Indigenous, which would ultimately lead to a successful colony. Though it seems that her integration into a new society was relatively smooth sailing, Kupperman explains that Pocahontas did not consider herself an English gentlewoman. Despite her new marriage, child, and life in London, when speaking with Captain John Smith years later, she did not refer to the English colonists as

“her” countrymen but, rather, as “his.” (174) It is noteworthy that Pocahontas adopted a new lifestyle yet knew her identity was not English.

Following Pocahontas’s marriage, according to the chapter (“Virginia’s Transformation”), the colony seemed to improve with more feasible crops and especially a growing market for tobacco. Kupperman explains tobacco’s popularity in Europe as its “first huge consumer craze.” (131) While tobacco’s popularity is credited to John Rolfe, it was, in fact, Pocahontas who aided in this, based on her role as an Indigenous woman in agriculture. Virginia continued to improve and progress, as the colonists saw it, with the addition of children from London. While Pocahontas was enjoying married life, the three English boys faced difficulties in defining their roles as young adults. As children, they had maintained relationships with the Powhatans. Yet, by the time they reached adulthood, the Indigenous were being pushed out, and the boys were facing tensions between the two groups and struggling to exchange messages and remain on good terms. In 1622, the Powhatans set out to attack the plantations and remove the English from their land. In retaliation, the colonists set out to make life impossible for the Indigenous by wiping out their food crops. By 1632, the colonists greatly outnumbered the Indigenous in Virginia, and Thomas Rolfe, the son of Pocahontas and John Rolfe, had lost any ties to his Indigenous background, especially after the death his mother. The struggle of identity when biologically belonging to two cultures is not often considered when discussing the time of Pocahontas. As the colonies became more established, the Indigenous lifestyle practically vanished, leaving some identities changed forever.

Kupperman describes relations between the two cultures and shows how the English intended to change the Indigenous, gathering children from both sides in hopes of creating a new society, one that was dominated by English Christianity. Although some Indigenous converted to Christianity and adopted English customs, like Pocahontas, the allegiance was not entirely there. This phenomenon, as Kupperman states, reflected Nabil Matar’s “distinction of inner faith and outer dissimulation.” (183) As stated in the chapter “Atlantic Identities,” the English also did not anticipate an identity change within the colonists themselves. According to Kupperman, the English “were extremely disturbed as they considered whether Thomas, Henry, and Robert had been so radically changed by their experiences” (189) with the Indigenous. The colonists did not consider that adolescents going through their youth development might be influenced by their surroundings, something modern psychology and sociology now take for granted. The colonists, with their superiority complex, could not imagine an Indigenous people influencing them, however, the three English boys of the Pocahontas narrative did, in fact, spend all their lives between the English and the Indigenous cultures, struggling to keep the peace between both societies and figuring out their own identity.

Pocahontas and the English Boys shares a fresh perspective on Pocahontas and her time. Historians do not much dwell on how children “between cultures” are

affected, though the monograph demonstrates the importance of childhood development and psychology. Kupperman argues that Pocahontas, Thomas, Henry, and Robert formed a bond together, while they were surrounded by people who sought to separate their cultures. Kupperman asks: Who do these English boys become after experiencing a different lifestyle? She explains her answer throughout the 240 pages and also tells the story of their relations. Kupperman does well in creating an accurate and appealing narrative. Readers will find themselves learning new information in every chapter while not being able to put the book down. Those intrigued by Kupperman's writing and *Pocahontas and the English Boys* may want to consider Kupperman's other monographs, namely, *Indians and English* (2000), or – for more depth on Jamestown itself – *The Jamestown Project* (2007).

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Moore, Kate.

*The Woman They Could Not Silence:
One Woman, Her Incredible Fight for Freedom,
and the Men Who Tried to Make Her Disappear.*

Naperville: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2021.
560 pages. Hardcover. ISBN: 9781492696722.

A mere century and a half ago, a woman in the United States could be imprisoned against her will and committed to an asylum on the word of her husband (or father) for reasons of insanity. Such was the case for Elizabeth Packard (1816-1897), when her husband Theophilus Packard had her institutionalized in 1860 at the Illinois State Hospital in Jacksonville, Illinois. In her book, *The Woman They Could Not Silence: One Woman, Her Incredible Fight for Freedom, and the Men Who Tried to Make Her Disappear* (2021), American author Kate Moore utilizes the story of Elizabeth Packard as a means of examining the ways in which mental health was weaponized against women and how it was fought against, combated by its very victims. This is not Kate Moore's first foray into the largely unknown story of an injustice committed against women and the subsequent battle to effect lasting change in American society. Her previous book, *The Radium Girls: The Dark Story of America's Shining Women* (2017), relates the true story of the women exposed to radium in factories across the United States in the early twentieth century, who then fought tirelessly to strengthen workers' rights, protecting future generations from the conditions they had faced. In *The Woman They Could Not Silence*, Moore recounts the account of "one woman who fought back against a tyrannical husband, a complicit doctor, and nineteenth century laws that gave men shocking power to silence and confine their wives." (book jacket)

Moore's book is not the first to touch on women's legal status or the commitment of those deemed mentally ill to asylums in the nineteenth century. In her seminal 1972 work, *Women and Madness*, feminist Phyllis Chesler tackles the double standards in the field of women's psychology. Combining patient interviews with a more encompassing analysis of the role women have played in history and society, Chesler seeks to address critical questions surrounding women and mental health. Moore investigates such issues through the case of Elizabeth Packard; however, she is not the first author to put pen to paper about Mrs. Packard and her journey from minister's wife via asylum prisoner to reformer and activist. Three decades ago, Barbara Sapinsley published *The Private War of Mrs. Packard* (1991), the first biography of Elizabeth Packard, who was characterized in the text as a pioneering feminist. Ultimately, Sapinsley's text falls short of examining Packard in the context of the time, preventing the audience from understanding the gravity of her choices. The next biography, *Elizabeth Packard: A Noble Fight* (2010) by Linda V. Carlisle, studies her life more closely within the historical context, providing a far more comprehensive, nuanced depiction. While Kate Moore also takes great care to situate Elizabeth Packard within her time period, she takes her analysis a step further in addressing the larger implications at play, such as psychology and mental hospitals as means of social control to keep women in their prescribed domestic sphere.

The Woman They Could Not Silence consists of six distinct parts with an epilogue and postscript. Each part encapsulates a pivotal period of time during Elizabeth Packard's journey, from her admission to and time imprisoned at the Illinois State Hospital to the winning of her freedom and highly publicized trial. Everything in Moore's monograph is the product of careful historic research, "every line of dialogue comes from a memoir, letter, trial transcript, or some other record made by someone who was present at the time." (xvi) An abundance of primary source evidence forms the book's foundation, much of it stemming from Elizabeth Packard's published writings. (The only unfortunate element is that due to the style of the endnotes, it is at times difficult to track sources and in what year they were written.) Integrating Elizabeth Packard's own words directly into the narrative creates a style that is particularly compelling, smoothly laying out the story as if told by the heroine herself.

Entitled "Brave New World," part one traces the story from the developing conflict between Elizabeth and her husband Theophilus of 21 years to her admission and time at the Illinois State Hospital. The book begins with the ongoing clash between husband and wife: "Elizabeth had a fiercely inquiring mind, and once she began to pull at the threads of their misogynistic society, the whole tapestry of their lives started to unravel [...] Theophilus made it plain he wanted her gone. He could not cope with his newly outspoken wife, with her independent mind and her independent spirit." (12) Unable to suppress his wife's opinions and way of thinking (particularly concerning religion), Theophilus determines that the only way he can exert control is to institutionalize her, having her declared

mentally deranged. He has her physically removed from their home in Manteno, Illinois, and officially admitted to an asylum. It is here that the reader first is introduced to Superintendent Dr. Andrew McFarland, the man responsible for overseeing the treatment of patients as well as the general operation of the Illinois State Hospital. It is he who will determine that Elizabeth is insane and thus needs to be confined in the asylum.

As the reader progresses through part one, Moore periodically pauses to provide further context and information surrounding asylums and the (then) burgeoning field of psychology. These brief asides from the main story continue throughout the text. Upon her arrival, Elizabeth is admitted to the Seventh Ward, where she is surprised to discover the other patients are women very much like herself, "well educated, middle-class, middle-aged, and married." (46) Moore is quick to comment on the composition of the ward, explaining the segregation and racial disparity of patients. Throughout this section, Moore also expounds on how asylums were used to police women (and men) who did not conform to society's standards: "superintendents [...] acted not only as doctors but as society's paternal police, ever ready to step in to dissuade people [...] from deviating from the social standards [...] [such as] women who were assertive or ambitious." (74) Elizabeth Packard was the perfect candidate for confinement, an independent thinker who refuses to be silenced by male authority.

Parts two through four, "Dark Before the Dawn," "My Pen Shall Rage," and "Deal with the Devil," examine in exhaustive detail Elizabeth's time at the asylum. Initially, she is granted great privileges, but one misstep results in the complete revocation of any freedoms she may have enjoyed, leading to her relocation from the Seventh to the Eighth Ward. It is while she is in the Eighth Ward, which is characterized as the "maniac ward [...] the abode of the filthy, the suicidal, the raving and the furious," that she makes the decision to expose to the world the inhumanity and injustice of the asylum. (122) For three years, Elizabeth is imprisoned, kept away from her children, and unable to truly contact those outside the hospital walls. As a means of advocating for her freedom and for change within the institution, Elizabeth writes prolifically, which only reinforces McFarland's conviction that she is delusional and insane. She refuses to accept the fate Theophilus has intended for her, which ultimately pays off. Tired of the trouble she causes and determining that her insanity is incurable, Dr. McFarland eventually discharges Elizabeth, allowing her to leave the institution.

Upon her release, Elizabeth is taken to stay with her cousins and barred from seeing her children. And "though no longer resident in the asylum, she found its shadow stitched to her. She was still bound by the ties of her lost reputation, caged by the stigma of her supposedly lost mind." (272) She continued writing, working to publish her manuscripts in hopes that the government would change the laws discriminating against women. Part five, "Turning Points," focuses on Elizabeth's return to Manteno, to her home and children, and to the trial that soon follows. In an effort to control her, Theophilus once more imprisons her, locking her up in

their home while he configures his plan to admit her to a new asylum. However, Elizabeth is prepared this time and readies her own counterplan, namely, to have friends file a writ of *Habeas Corpus* and force a legal trial where she can be declared sane. And she was ultimately “deemed sane [...] innocent of any crime. Yet, regardless, she had been robbed of everything she held most dear. She was now homeless. Penniless. Childless.” (339)

To win recognition of her sanity, but lose that which she held dearest, launches Elizabeth from housewife and mother into reformer and activist. Part six, “She Will Rise,” follows her political campaigns for changes in legislation concerning women and the mentally ill. Her work to reform asylums, particularly the Illinois State Hospital, brought her to stand before countless assemblies of men, advocating for the rights of the interned. And she was successful, deftly navigating through a society dominated by men and their beliefs. Each triumph only motivated her more to seek reform and change the world around her.

Individuals who are invested in women’s history will find *The Woman They Could Not Silence* of particular interest. However, the compelling style in which it is written also lends itself to a broader audience of those intrigued by the stories of heroes who overcome all obstacles in their path. It is a captivating and eye-opening story of why women’s rights and the fight for them was and still remains so critical. Elizabeth Packard’s story as seen through the eyes of a twenty-first-century audience evokes frustration and anger at the societal rejection of women as individuals deserving of rights. It is easy to see the connections to how women are still dismissed and silenced in modern times, their ideas and opinions discredited by labeling the speaker as crazy. It must be acknowledged, though, that the book is very much meant to be an inspirational story, and thus, it paints Elizabeth Packard in a very flattering light. She is a heroine fighting against the cruel injustices of the world as represented by her husband and Dr. McFarland as well as the laws that empower them. She is portrayed as a savior for her fellow women, a caretaker of those unable to help themselves, a selfless saint. Moore clearly admires Elizabeth Packard, and the strength and perseverance she showed in the face of strong opposition is indeed commendable and inspiring. But there are no real flaws presented in Elizabeth, barely a hint that she is anything but altruistic and compassionate in all her dealings. The cynic in me finds this difficult to believe. But this is a minor criticism. It does not make the story any less intriguing. Thus, I recommend it. Should you choose to pick up a copy, a decision I highly endorse, be prepared to feel exasperated at men who have been dead for over a century.

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Pollack, Kenneth M.

Armies of Sand:

The Past, Present, and Future of Arab Military Effectiveness.

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On June 10, 1967, the state of Israel signed a ceasefire with Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Six days earlier, the three Arab nations had launched a combined attack against the Israelis with the intent of wiping their country off the map. At the time of the ceasefire, 776 Israelis had been killed, while 20,000 Arabs lay dead and a further 5,000 had been captured by the Israeli Defense Force. The Israelis had beaten the three nations so decisively that they had not only turned back the Arab offensives but actually captured the Sinai, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights in the face of what should have been overwhelming Arab military superiority.

This was not an isolated event. Since 1945, the military forces of Arab nations (defined by the author as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, North Sudan, the Palestinians, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Yemen) have punched well below their weight time and time again. So, the obvious question is: what is the root of such tremendous and ubiquitous Arab military ineffectiveness? This is the question that scholar Kenneth Pollack attempts to answer in his work, *Armies of Sand: The Past, Present, and Future of Arab Military Effectiveness*. Pollack is currently a senior research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., specializing in the Persian Gulf. He has previously served at the Brookings Institute, the National Security Council, and the Central Intelligence Agency, and this book represents over 30 years of experience working in the region.

Pollack introduces this book with an account of the aforementioned Six-Day War, one of the better known and more egregious examples of Arab military ineffectiveness in recent history. Beyond its engaging nature, this choice serves a twofold purpose. First, it allows the author to demonstrate how he is going to treat military conflicts throughout the rest of the book. He begins with a highly detailed account of the sequence of events, which is then followed by an in-depth analysis of why each particular conflict played out the way it did. Each larger section of the work is composed of multiple comparative examples constructed in this same way. The second function of this work is to introduce the existing discussion and underlying questions that frame this topic. The poor performance of the Arab militaries in the Six-Day War was not an isolated event; it reflects a pattern repeated over decades of military history. Naturally, this has sparked a considerable amount of debate in the academic community. Pollack notes that there are, generally speaking, four main theories that seek to explain the ineffectiveness of Arab militaries: Soviet military doctrine, politicization, economic underdevelopment, and cultural patterns of behavior. These four main thrusts serve as the basic structure of this book, as Pollack tackles each in turn before giving his verdict on its impact on Arab military effectiveness.

Before getting into this larger structure, however, Pollack breaks down consistent patterns of Arab military performance since 1945. He notes that these are not hard and fast rules; there are exceptions and variation, but patterns nevertheless do exist. To begin, Arab militaries are generally quite effective at logistics, and their soldiers are often quite brave. In addition to this, the morale of Arab armies can be very good. However, Arab militaries tend to perform quite poorly in terms of maintenance, technical skills and weapons handling, tactical information management, tactical leadership, and tactical air operations. No clear pattern exists for training, strategic leadership, strategic information management, unit cohesion, or strategic air operations. This introductory chapter is particularly crucial for the effectiveness of this book, as it both presents key concepts that are continually referred to throughout the work while also establishing an objective tone when dealing with the region's military history. Any presuppositions or assumptions that the reader might have about Arab militaries are summarily swept aside. In addition, the author very clearly maintains that, despite these definable patterns, the militaries of the region vary constantly in a myriad of ways, and to assume that they can be dealt with as a monolith is foolish.

Following the introduction, Pollack turns to the first of the four theories behind Arab military ineffectiveness: Soviet military doctrine. He starts by laying out several key tenets of Soviet military theory, such as the emphasis on offensive operations, maneuver, operational control of tactical formations, and a "push" system of logistics (a system in which supplies are continuously "pushed" to the operational front without the need for requests from field units, rather than being "pulled" (requested) by those units; it is not perfectly efficient, but does ensure that supplies are readily available when needed). The author acknowledges that he is not convinced that this theory can adequately explain the poor performance of Arab militaries, but he treats it nonetheless because a number of people support this theory, and therefore it should not be dismissed out of hand. To analyze this theory, Pollack studies the performance of several Arab militaries influenced by Soviet doctrine, as well as a comparative example in the form of the Egyptian armed forces in the Gulf War, which were supported by the Americans. Pollack concludes that Arab armed forces performed poorly whether they were influenced by the Soviets or not. The Egyptians were just as ineffective in 1991 as they were in 1967, despite the influence of the Americans. Pollack then discusses the performance of the Cuban military in Angola and Ethiopia and the North Korean military in the Korean War. Both of these nations were also heavily influenced by Soviet doctrine, but performed markedly better than any of their Arab counterparts. Moreover, some of the areas in which the Cuban and North Korean militaries excelled, such as aggressiveness, innovation, tactical flexibility, and maintenance (in the case of the Cubans), were areas in which Arab militaries consistently underperformed. For these reasons, Soviet doctrine cannot be deemed a determining factor in Arab military ineffectiveness.

Pollack then addresses the second theory behind poor Arab military performance: politicization. This term refers to circumstances in which civil-military relations become particularly bad, which then affects the ability of the armed forces to succeed in their prescribed role. Pollack distinguishes between three main forms of politicization: commissarism, praetorianism, and the awkwardly named palace guardism. Essentially, commissarism refers to overt civilian control of the military, often in the form of political commissars; praetorianism refers to a military takeover of civilian responsibilities; and palace guardism refers to a military which is primarily concerned with internal security and control rather than external geopolitical threats. These three forms are distinct from one another but also inevitably connected. Pollack makes the important point that militaries are inevitably politicized from the top down. The greatest symptoms of politicization are seen in lieutenant generals and major generals, while colonels and majors might only exhibit a few effects, and NCOs (non-commissioned officers) and enlisted personnel are effectively immune. This is an important distinction because it reflects the areas of operations that are typically influenced by politicization, namely, strategic operations and strategic information management.

In order to demonstrate the impact of politicization on Arab militaries, Pollack focuses on the *depoliticization* of the Egyptian military after its defeat in the Six-Day War and of the Iraqi military after its disastrous invasion of Iran in 1981/1982. After their respective military debacles, these militaries both installed effective strategic commanders who were able to reform many of the problems in the upper echelons of command. However, they were still unable to find solutions to the tactical problems that continually plague Arab militaries. These problems were so pronounced that the strategic commanders were forced to script operations so that their tactical units would perform even remotely effectively. Yet, once the scripted operations were outrun, both Egyptian and Iraqi tactical formations reverted to incompetence. These militaries are compared to the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) in the Korean War and the Argentine armed forces in the Falklands War of 1982. Both of these armies were heavily politicized but were still able to fight effectively, particularly when effective strategic commanders were put in place. The tactical problems constantly faced by Arab militaries were only evident in the South Korean and Argentine forces when inept strategic commanders were directing operations. Pollack concludes that "politicization has clearly contributed to the poor performance of Arab armed forces over time, but it is not the only factor, and not even the most important factor in their ineffectiveness." (171)

Part III deals with economic underdevelopment, the third theory behind Arab military ineffectiveness. There are multiple reasons why economic development can hinder a nation's military functions, from reduced literacy to physical malnutrition to a lack of education. Pollack notes that Arab nations tend to be economically underdeveloped when compared to similar Western nations by a variety of metrics. To judge the effect of this underdevelopment on military

effectiveness, Pollack focuses on the performance of Syrian armed forces in 1948 and 1982 and Libya's conflict with Chad in the 1980s, the latter of which provides a convenient comparison as Chad was even more underdeveloped than Libya at the time of the war. Pollack also offers China as a comparative example for this particular theory. He concludes that, similar to politicization, underdevelopment contributed to some issues in Arab nations but does not account for the persistent and underlying problems that repeatedly cripple their militaries. Syria did not perform better in 1982 compared to 1948, despite significant economic growth. Chad soundly defeated Libya despite not being nearly as economically developed. China's involvement in Korea was somewhat hamstrung by its severe economic underdevelopment, but it primarily suffered problems in terms of supply and maintenance, not tactical operations and information management.

This leads to the final theory: cultural patterns of behavior. To quote Pollack, "by now you have probably guessed that I believe that the most important problems that the Arab militaries have experienced in battle since 1945 derive from behavioral patterns associated with Arab culture." (343) Pollack goes to great lengths to say that he is not making qualitative judgments about Arab culture, nor is he relying on anecdotal experience and supposition to determine cultural patterns of behavior. Instead, he relies exclusively on sociologists and cultural scholars and only presents the patterns that are universally acknowledged by the academic community. He also notes that these patterns cannot be used to generalize the behavior of every member of a cultural group, only that they mark common behaviors, which often manifest themselves more predominantly in large groups (like armies).

After making these qualifications, Pollack describes the cultural patterns that affect military performance. He identifies conformity, centralization of authority, deference to authority, group loyalty, manipulation of information, atomization of knowledge, personal courage, and ambivalence toward manual labor and technical work as cultural patterns that map almost perfectly onto the military patterns that he has been describing throughout the book. Arab militaries are often tactically inept because authority is heavily centralized, and junior officers are not expected or prepared to make innovative or aggressive decisions. Knowledge about different subjects is seen as unrelated, so information is not shared between different groups. Technical skills are generally looked down upon, so weapons handling is generally poor. This lack of technical ability and aggressive decision-making basically dooms any Arab fighter pilot before he even gets into the cockpit. Education often consists of rote memorization, so military training is frequently heavily scripted and does not encourage creative thinking. All of the consistent problems Pollack points out can be at least partially explained by cultural patterns.

This thesis revolving around culture may seem easy to critique at first, but Pollack's excellent argumentation and logical structure, which is one of the strongest aspects of his writing, defies any simple criticism that may come his way. By the time he reveals his argument, the reader is already nearly convinced that

he is right. By presenting and summarily dismissing every other option, the author makes his case remarkably convincing before he even lays it out.

The book itself is, well, intimidating. The text itself is 524 pages long, not to mention the 90 pages of endnotes and the mammoth bibliography. Accessible, it is not. The book is laden with terminology and argumentation that would be difficult to understand without at least a cursory knowledge of military history and theory, or of the region. However, the research is first class, the writing is engaging and informative, and the scope of the information covered is almost scary. Over the course of the book, Pollack addresses countless conflicts in the Middle East as well as wars in South America, Africa, Vietnam, and Korea with clarity and precision. *Armies of Sand* represents a major step forward in the field of Middle Eastern military history, as most existing works focus on specific conflicts, such as Chaim Herzog's *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, not the region as a whole. Even Pollack's earlier work *Arabs at War* lacks the critical analysis and sociological angle taken by *Armies of Sand*, instead focusing on the histories of specific nations in the region. Overall, it is a landmark work on the subject of Arab military history that offers a deep and thorough understanding to the reader from the knowledge and ability of an experienced professional in the field.

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Winchester, Simon.

Land:

How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World.

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The earth we stand on is bought and sold in pieces. In his book, *Land: How the Hunger for Ownership Shaped the Modern World*, journalist Simon Winchester calculates how much of the earth he "owns." He concludes that, out of the planet's total land surface of 36,652,096,000 acres, he owns 123 acres. (4) Yet, he argues that land "cannot possibly be owned, by anyone, ever." (34) Winchester does not deny that the concept of land ownership has shaped society as we know it. People have gone to great lengths for it. So, since land cannot be owned, what do these owners have? They have the rights to the land, writes Winchester. They have the right to possess and control "their" land, the right to exclude anyone from their property, and the right to enjoy their land. (35)

Divided into five parts ("Borderlines," "Annals of Acquisition," "Stewardship," "Battlegrounds," and "Annals of Restoration"), in addition to a prologue and epilogue, Winchester's book investigates how land ownership has shaped the modern world. The concept of ownership emerged with farming. When farmers decided to create furrows on the land, they "informally demarcated" the land. (46) These informal demarcations became border markings

for towns and nations. The desire for expansion led empires to new frontiers. The desire for land led to displacement. The ceaseless need for land, for example, dramatically affected the Indigenous communities of the Americas. Focusing on the British Empire's seizure of North America, Winchester reintroduces us to the horrors of colonialism—from the initial mutual admiration by both parties, in this case the Puritans and the Wampanoag people, to the latter's puzzlement over the issue of land ownership. Winchester is, of course, not the first author to describe the ways in which Indigenous communities in North America handled their land. They did so with care, and it was a community effort. Daniel Richter's *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (2001) also addresses the Indigenous communities' handling of land. Both Richter and Winchester agree that Indigenous communities had no concept of land ownership. Land was to be used for the benefit of everyone, and no one person could claim ownership over it. Then what was the justification of the White man who came to take and own these lands? It was not just belief in his own supremacy or domination. His other justification for land seizure was that it was sanctioned by "international law, by the Bible, and by simple need." (131) The removal of Indigenous communities and the promise of land to Europeans fed the craving for ownership. Winchester observes that, while the world may have forgotten the atrocities committed for land, the Indigenous communities have not, but their anger "just simmers in the far background." (158) Winchester shows that the belief, however ridiculous, that the British Empire and others like it could dominate the peoples and territories of the world has led to the way the world looks today.

Once man became convinced that one could own the land, the problems multiplied. Many of the issues faced by the world today are rooted in the lust for land. Winchester turns to this in the fourth part of his book, astutely titled, "Battlegrounds." For example, the Protestant and Catholic battles in Ireland had more to do with land—and who would control it—than religion. (266) The fight over borders and over ancestral claims of lands, as well as conquests and assassinations, are often based in people's perceived entitlement to land. The solution is also found in the land, namely, by distancing "people from the land." (266) This distance helps to put problems and arguments, such as the Protestant and Catholic argument in Ireland, in the rearview mirror. Winchester tackles Palestine, guiding the reader through the history of the region and the history of the ancient claims over Palestine by Jews and Arabs. In this context, he alludes to the power of land itself. Land has an undeniable appeal to people. They like to control it, possess it, and exclude people from it, and they will do so by any means necessary. The great human suffering in Palestine, which continues today, arose out of the question over the possession of land. There are plenty of examples of displacement, cruelty, and theft of land in the world. Stalin's ethnic cleansing of Ukrainian villagers was intended to amass land. Americans stole the land and homes of Japanese-Americans while the latter were imprisoned in internment camps. All the while the land was a silent witness. As Winchester puts it poetically,

land placidly accepts its role as “an entity to be fought over endlessly, enduring it all because it endures alone.” (284)

From the start, Winchester focuses on the environmental and geological beauty of the earth and how careless humans are with it. As with anything that people want to possess and purchase, land is regarded as a commodity. It “belongs” to people who can do with it what they like, thinking that it belongs to us and that we do not belong to it. But we do belong to it: land is what remains after we perish, land is what sustains our descendants, and land is what maintained our ancestors. With climate change, people (at least some) are realizing that land is not immune to humanity’s capriciousness. It is changing, and it is at risk of “shrinking away.” (398) Because of its impassioned epilogue, in which it alerts readers to climate change, Winchester’s book is more than a chronicle of land ownership. Having started with the geological formation of the earth as we know it today and commenting on its formation throughout, Winchester employs geology and archeology in his work on environmental history. What is more, *Land* is a book written out of love for the earth. When reading the epilogue, one senses the grief, and one can picture the shrunken earth of the near future. Ownership of land has led us here and has shaped our modern world.

Winchester’s observations and arguments are interspersed by his own thoughts. Each section starts with a personal anecdote, and these are also scattered throughout the chapters. They can be slightly distracting, especially when Winchester is discussing land disputes in Palestine. However, once the reader gets used to these personal anecdotes, they simply become part of the narrative. Winchester also focuses on what people have done and continue to do to one another, as they try to take hold of land in their hope to own permanent and unmovable territory. But, as Winchester mentions, land may not be as permanent or unmovable as previously thought. Land is no longer a neutral agent that bears all atrocities committed on its soil; it is at risk of withering away or of being drowned by the sea. Winchester wonders if shared communal usage of the land would be so difficult. He gives examples of this “kindly, philosophical approach to the world’s surface.” (402) Indigenous groups in Australia see the earth as “their mother, in constant need of care, admiration and gratitude, and respect.” (403) In west Africa, as well as regions of Russia, similar sentiments and treatments of land are found. (403) The Indigenous communities in the United States of America, too, recognize the “true value of land—of its spiritual value, well beyond its mere monetary worth.” (403) Time will tell whether humanity will continue on its destructive path or whether people will begin to see the earth as their nurturer who is now in need of nurturing.

The concept of land ownership—what belongs to one and not to another—has been a driving force in history without a doubt. From Manifest Destiny to countless wars, much of the blood absorbed by the earth has been shed over the right to own it. This exemplary work, tying together environmental, economic, and diplomatic history, chronicles it all. Anyone interested in the concept of land

ownership, the modern world, and the present-day environmental condition of the earth will find this book an interesting and informative read.

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Reviews (Exhibitions)

Calle Principal: Mi México en Los Ángeles [exhibition].

LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes.

Los Angeles, California. Permanent exhibition.

For generations, Mexican culture has exerted widespread influence across the United States through its contributions to food, music, history, and popular culture. The state of California is replete with ties to Mexican culture, with many of its city and street names deriving from the Spanish language or prominent Hispanic figures, such as Alvarado Street, named after the Mexican-era California Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado (1809-1882). The city of Los Angeles is rich in Mexican culture, and for anyone wondering why that is, *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes* staff and their senior curator Karen Crews Hendon provide detailed exhibitions, such as *Calle Principal: Mi México en Los Ángeles*, which seeks to provide a meaningful understanding for the city's history and its deep Mexican roots.

Calle Principal: Mi México en Los Ángeles is a permanent exhibition located on the second floor of *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes*. The exhibition is primarily geared toward families and the youth, aiming to provide an interactive educational experience. It recreates *Calle Principal* (Main Street) which is the city's location where *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes* can be found, and which was a significant enclave of Mexican and Mexican American communities during the 1920s. The exhibition features models of both imagined and real locations, including a train station, *La Plaza Olvera*, and some colorful storefronts. Likely due to its status as a permanent exhibition, *Calle Principal: Mi México en Los Ángeles* features a thoughtful and logical layout, and its content is accessible to visitors of all ages. Visitors are able to navigate the space quite freely without any particular markers telling you where to start, continue, or finish.

Making connections is a prominent theme in this exhibition. The entrance features the image of a train station, and directly to the left of this, visitors find a corner space titled "My Origins" where they are invited to answer the question "Where do you come from?" A colorful map of all seven continents is presented, each equipped with blank tags for visitors to write on and share their individual or family origin story with others who visit the exhibition after them. Proceeding to the right side of the entrance, visitors encounter the "Plaza Olvera" setup, which features a brief description of what this particular plaza was used for during the early 1900s. Suspended directly above the description are clean-cut rectangular pieces of acrylic with individual illuminated words that describe various topics that Mexican and Mexican Americans would discuss in the plaza during this time period. The words are featured in both English and Spanish, and they include: *libertad* (liberty), *discriminación* (discrimination), *comunidad* (community), *identidad* (identity), *justicia* (justice), *igualdad* (equality), *lucha* (struggle), and *inmigración* (immigration). Visitors facing this setup notice a message to the right, asking: "What is important to you? Choose a word from the signs above and share out

loud why this word matters to you.” Push-buttons below this provide an additional experience. Once pushed, one word lights up as the others dim, and audio describes the highlighted topic that was important to these communities in the 1920s. Connections can easily be made through the option to participate in these welcoming activities.

The concept of assimilation is also touched upon in this exhibition. The first storefront is that of a “Department Store,” featuring common articles of clothing worn by American men and women during this time in history. The walls are covered with a period-appropriate olive-colored, small geometrically patterned wall paper, and dark walnut shelves showcase some neutral-colored hats worn by women and men back then. A description of this display indicates how common it was for Mexicans who were new to the city to try to fit in by simply wearing trendy American clothing after relocating to the area. Doing so helped them to have better luck when searching for jobs. Right outside the storefront window, visitors encounter a life-sized black-and-white cardboard cut-out of young Mexican boys sitting on wooden crates with “five cents” written on them. The cut-out represents Mexican and Mexican American boys shining shoes on Main Street and throughout the city to help provide money for their families prior to a law passed in 1938 which banned children from working during school hours. A question written on this set-up asks: “How do you help your family?” This is a further attempt to build connections between visitors and the content presented in this exhibition.

In addition to assimilating to American culture through its fashion trends, Mexicans who were making changes and adjusting to their new lives in America wanted to share these experiences with their loved ones. “Plaza Studio” is another storefront featured in this exhibition. It is designed as a classic photo studio that features the beautiful and traditionally styled oil-painted backdrop of an outdoor landscape with an antique wooden chair and stool, a burgundy Persian rug laid out in front of the backdrop, and what resembles a vintage Kodak Anastigmat f.7.7 camera. The setup demonstrates and explains the rather limited types of technology available at this time to share a visual representation of one’s life. The question written on this installation asks: “How do you keep in touch with family and friends when you move away from home?” While visitors who answer this question reflect on how they keep in touch with family and friends in today’s world, they are essentially building more connections with the exhibition.

Preserving and maintaining Mexican culture and identity despite assimilation is another idea explored in this exhibition. Across the way, tucked in a corner, is a storefront called “Music Store.” This part of the exhibition highlights a popular style of songs in Mexican music known as *corridos*. In Mexican culture, this style of song has been used to tell stories for centuries. Songs range from happy experiences to sad experiences and to everything in between. This setup highlights the musical elements to look for in a *corrido*, such as rhyme schemes and verses. Additionally, there is a table with push-buttons and headphones. When pushing

these buttons, one can listen to different audio clips that represent the many styles of songs within the *corrido* genre. Mexicans and Mexican Americans continued to value this music even after moving to the United States because it helped them feel more in touch with their culture.

Librería Lozano is a setup featuring a book store. In this part of the exhibition, the types of media sources available to Mexican and Mexican Americans during the 1920s are explored. Newspapers like *El Herald de México* and *La Opinión* were very popular for keeping up with topics that affected the Mexican and Mexican American communities. Also featured in this setup is a beautiful traditional dark walnut-shelved wall with children's books on display, including *Pedro: The Angel of Olvera Street* by Leo Politi (first published 1946) and *Separate is Never Equal: Sylvia Mendez and Her Family's Fight for Desegregation* by Duncan Tonatiuh (first published 2014). These books, too, serve as a connection between present-day visitors and the city's and region's history.

Much like the culturally rich exhibitions on display at *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes*, the Los Angeles Area is also home to the *Museum of Latin American Art*, which focuses more on art itself and prides itself on displaying more than 1,300 works of art. In contrast to *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes*, which focuses on Mexican and Mexican American history in the Los Angeles area, the *Museum of Latin American Art* showcases a large body of modern and contemporary art from Latinx American artists. Both the *Museum of Latin American Art* and *LA Plaza de Cultura y Artes* have recently featured temporary exhibitions on Afro Latinx culture and artists, and both museums proudly support and provide insight into Latinx culture, offer educational services such as guided school tours and workshops, and feature some wonderful online exhibitions (especially important in a world affected by the COVID-19 pandemic).

Calle Principal: Mi México en Los Ángeles is highly effective in building connections for audiences of all ages with the evolving history of Mexican and Mexican American communities in the Los Angeles area. It definitely is more of a light-hearted representation of the historical events that took place in this region during the earlier part of the twentieth century, but one that can be enjoyed by families and youth. The exhibition's interactive nature with its thoughtful images, purposeful furniture, meaningful books, and detailed audio, as well as the creative connection notes provided at the very beginning set the tone for an experience that is nothing less than satisfying. I believe that the exhibition would be most enjoyed by families with school-aged children, anyone with an interest in Mexican American or Chicana/Chicano history, those interested in the history of Los Angeles, and individuals who are possibly seeking answers to questions about their Mexican American identity.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Eric Morales of Anaheim, California, earned his B.A. in Communication Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2015). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.

Dimensions in Testimony [exhibition]

Curated by the USC [University of Southern California] Shoah Foundation.
Holocaust Museum LA, Los Angeles, California. July/ August 2021 to present.

Sitting in a small, darkened room, I pressed the button on the microphone and asked my first question, “What happened the day the Nazis sent you to the ghetto?” The person in front of me began to answer my question, telling her audience about the day her world changed forever. She shifted in her seat, adjusted her blouse, and shared the memories of her lost family and homeland, and of the events she had never dreamed would occur. Incredibly, this was not an exchange with a person—in the flesh—with me in the same room. The image on the screen was able to answer any of my questions about her experiences during World War II, deciphering the various wording and phrases to share the information, using pre-recorded interviews and the latest technology to find the correct keyword and enable the image to tell her story, all within seconds. Renee Firestone is one of the more than two dozen Holocaust survivors who agreed to be interviewed for the *Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center’s Dimensions in Testimony* project, conducted in partnership with the University of Southern California’s *Shoah Foundation*. This project, using technology from the *USC Institute for Creative Technologies*, allows anyone to hear a survivor’s testimony, see their reactions in the storytelling, and feel the emotion that is shared. The *Holocaust Museum Los Angeles* is the latest museum to acquire this permanent exhibition, becoming the eighth such museum to host this important means of maintaining the historical record of the genocide of the Jews. The words of the very people who survived and thrived thwart the goal of the Nazi regime, namely, the annihilation of the Jewish people.

The *Dimensions in Testimony* exhibition opened in July of 2021 in conjunction with the museum’s reopening after its forced closure due to the Coronavirus pandemic. The exhibition is a “collection of interactive biographies” that uses natural language technology to transform a one-way recording into a conversation-like experience. To create these biographies, interviewees were recorded in a green screen environment and asked up to 2,000 questions about their lives, while dozens of cameras recorded every word and movement, from multiple angles. During the filming, interviewees were expected to sit for multiple days of questions, wearing the same clothes (for continuity), and asked to share personal memories about their lives before Hitler’s Nazi regime took power. In these interviews, they talk about daily life in their communities, what happened when their country or area was invaded, and the treatment they received under Nazi rule. They share the stories that have become synonymous with the Holocaust: Jews forced into cattle cars, abused, and sent to their deaths in camps designed for murder, medical experimentation at the hands of Nazi “doctors,” and forced labor. Survivors remember and mourn their murdered family members. For the filming, survivors were invited to bring their families and support systems with them because of the nature of the remembered trauma. The survivors’ mental

and physical health was the top priority, and every effort was made to support them during the filming.

Every person involved with the filming of *Dimensions in Testimony* shares the desire for the experience to be educational and beneficial for both the viewer and the survivor. Each question was coded for search terms, and the team painstakingly matched every word and phrase to a corresponding answer or video clip. In the exhibition, once participants ask their questions using a specialized microphone, the technology finds the most appropriate answer from the bank of video clips and plays the respective video clip. As seen on an interview with CBS newsmagazine *60 Minutes*, the quality control for the initial interviews primarily fell to school children of the Los Angeles Unified School District as they were the first individuals to interact with the images – on their computers – in a supervised setting. Students of appropriate ages were able to ask questions in various manners and verbiage to test out the accuracy of the software that finds the corresponding response, as well as providing numerous examples of how questions could be phrased, and from there adjustments were made as needed.

Because the staff at the *Shoah Foundation* are committed to providing the most accurate information about Holocaust survivors, they periodically review the recording logs that are generated with each visit to a *Dimensions in Testimony* exhibition and make improvements to the search-term matches. This ensures that, with each question asked, the experience can be improved for subsequent visitors. The images created are two-dimensional video images that generate the experience of a back-and-forth conversation, which encourages participants to take an active role in the learning. It also allows viewers to hear the details of a survivor's life in the individual's own words and helps to document the horrors of the genocide experience for use in educational settings. The reality is that there is only a small percentage of Holocaust survivors still living today, and the need to record their eyewitness testimony has never been more acute. Attacks on Jews and synagogues, as well as anti-Semitic epithets and tropes, are still common throughout society, reinforcing the need to make Holocaust education a priority. This use of technology gives future generations the opportunity to interact with someone who witnessed a level of evil beyond what anyone believed could be possible.

The project commenced in 2012 and began interviewing survivors in 2014, and there is now a diverse group of survivors' experiences represented: concentration camp survivors, those who stayed alive in hiding, children, religious and non-religious Jews alike, and camp liberators. Over twenty-five interviews have been conducted so far, and they continue today with funding for the project provided by generous donors to the *USC Shoah Foundation*.

The *Holocaust Museum of Los Angeles* sits atop the Pan Pacific Park, enabling visitors to take in the expansive views of Southern California. At the time of writing this review, due to COVID-19 protocols, visitors need to make a reservation for the museum itself, as well as for a time slot for the *Dimensions in*

Testimony exhibition, on the museum's website (<https://www.holocaustmuseumla.org/>). Situated just next to the museum is an interactive memorial to the more than 1.2 million children who were murdered during the Holocaust that is incredibly impactful. Upon entering the museum, visitors immediately notice the starkness of the interior. Bare concrete floors, industrial lighting, and an overall feeling of coldness prepare visitors for the journey upon which they are about to embark. As one moves through the exhibits on the history of the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, rectangular metallic plates with *Los Angeles Times* stories line the walls, providing a storyline of the persecution of the Jews of Europe, which helps the viewer understand the exhibits by offering context. These newspaper pages, each with the news of the respective day, feature a yellow triangle highlighting a story about the persecution of Jews in Germany or a story related to Hitler's rule. Visitors are able to discern that the stories of the United States not knowing about what the Jews were undergoing in Germany are simply false. One after another, these metallic plates tell the story that no one wants to tell or hear, that the world was informed as to what was happening to the Jews and chose to do nothing about it. These objects make a powerful statement about what was happening in the world at that time and causes one to think about parallels in the present.

The museum's lighting and design enhance the visitor's experience and encourage a sense of being in the spot where these moments in history took place. Brightly lit at the beginning, the museum becomes dimmer the further one progresses, and there is an almost imperceptible narrowing of the halls and building, giving the impression of being closed in. The museum tour begins with the history of the Jewish people in Europe, with religious and cultural artifacts that show the rich heritage that the Jews created throughout Europe over hundreds of years. Visitors see a Torah that belonged to generations of observant Jews across from a display of handmade dolls that were typical of a certain region. The diversity of the Jewish people and their families across Europe is evident. From there, visitors witness Hitler's rise to power and the accompanying persecutions and violent attacks to which the Jews were subjected. The construction of the first labor camp is documented as well as the invasion of Poland, the ghettoization of the Jews, and the German invasion of Russia. Visitors are then presented with the initial mass murder perpetrated by the Nazis, namely, the Tiergartenstrasse 4 (T4) Program, which murdered those who were considered undesirable by the state, primarily those with physical or mental disabilities. Visitors also are educated on the "Einsatzgruppen," the mobile killing units that are responsible for more than 2 million deaths with their "Holocaust of Bullets." Visitors witness the United States' entry into the war, the reality of the Wannsee Conference, where the Nazis' "Final Solution" to the Jewish question was discussed, and the resulting construction of death camps. Visitors can access several stations that give shocking information, video footage, and documentation of each of the death camps that were constructed. Artifacts in this area include two concentration camp uniforms

as well as a model of the camp at Sobibor (east Poland) built by a prisoner who was involved in the revolt against the Nazis at the camp.

The museum then focuses on those who documented the persecution, resisted, worked to save Jews, and bravely stood up to the authorities and even sacrificed their own lives to save others. Here is information on well-known heroes such as Oskar Schindler, but also on lesser-known individuals who risked it all to protest atrocities and to save Jews: the White Rose student group (at the University of Munich) who were executed for treason; Sempo Sugihara, the Japanese diplomat who issued thousands of transit visas to Jews to save them; and the thousands of partisans who disrupted anything the Nazis were trying to do. The next area covers the liberation of the camps, the end of the war, and the subsequent war-crimes trials, and provides artifacts related to life in Displaced Persons camps. Visitors are next shown large, detailed photographs of artifacts that are housed at other Holocaust museums, such as shoes, hairbrushes, and other items of daily life. The museum eventually comes full circle, and visitors are faced with a bank of television monitors, arranged as though they are leaves on a large tree, that play testimonies of the survivors of Nazi persecution and their families.

The *Dimensions in Testimony* exhibition is placed near the aforementioned model of the camp at Sobibor and housed in an enclosed room. Entering the darkened room, one notices that there are sample questions on a sign on the wall to help participants who may have trouble thinking of what to ask. The instructions are simple: while holding the button down, speak your question clearly into the microphone, and Renee will answer the questions. Renee Firestone (née Weinfeld, b. 1924) tells the story of her upbringing in Czechoslovakia under Hungarian occupation; her parents, brother and sister, and the town they lived in; and their forced placement in a ghetto. Renee and her family were part of the mass deportations in the summer of 1944 that overtook all parts of Hungary and the areas it occupied, and her family was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau where her mother was murdered upon arrival. Renee and her sister became part of the forced-labor detail. Her sister was murdered there, and Renee was sent on a death march as the Red Army got closer to the camp. She was liberated by the Russians in January of 1945 and returned to Prague to find her brother and father, who had tuberculosis and died within months of liberation. Renee met her husband in Prague, and they emigrated to the United States in 1948, where Renee found success as a fashion designer.

The exhibition is curated by the *USC Shoah Foundation*, and the *Dimensions in Testimony* project was conceptualized by Heather Maio of *Conscience Display*. Pinchas Gutter, a survivor of six concentration camps, was the subject of the pilot testimony, and his interview was the start of a project that has encompassed 27 interviews with placements at eight museums around the United States. The first of these permanent exhibitions was at the *Illinois Holocaust Museum and Education Center*, which has been an important partner alongside the Shoah Foundation in getting this project off the ground. With 27 survivor interviews and only eight

museums currently housing a *Dimensions in Testimony* exhibition, there is certainly room for growth in adding more locations where it can be viewed.

I recommend anyone spending time in the Los Angeles area visit the *Holocaust Museum Los Angeles* and specifically the *Dimensions in Testimony* exhibition. The museum itself is small but provides a good introduction to the history of the Holocaust for the visitor who is not well acquainted with it. Several artifacts from various camps offer visitors the chance to see what camp inmates were forced to wear, letters written to the resistance, and items that were sent to camps and never used because their owner had been murdered on arrival. The museum boasts a great deal of interactive stations, making it easy for visitors to navigate the museum on their own, without the need for a guide. *Dimensions in Testimony* is an exciting addition to the museum and one that should not be missed. Being able to have a conversation with someone who witnessed such a turbulent, violent time in history is something that is indescribable, and the interview/conversation format is an exceptional way to learn more about one of the worst genocides in history.

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Stories of Cinema [exhibition].

Organized/curated by Bill Kramer, Doris Berger, Jenny He, J. Raúl Guzmán, Dara Jaffe, Ana Santiago, and Sophia Serrano, with support from Esme Douglas and Manouchka Kelly Labouba, the Academy Museum Inclusion Advisory Committee, and the Academy Branch Task Forces.

Academy Museum of Motion Pictures, Los Angeles, California.

September 30, 2021, to present.

Hollywood: the central destination for movies, celebrities, fame, and fortune, and for those lucky enough to “make it there.” The possibilities of what can happen captures the attention of many who try their hand in the entertainment industry. Beyond the hopeful faces of those trying to succeed, we have the faces of those who are more recognizable due to their work, who are honored with fame and with the awards that their talent has earned them. It is strange then that, for the longest time, there was no specific place focusing on this form of entertainment that is a hallmark of Los Angeles culture. Recently opened (on September 30, 2021), the *Academy Museum of Motion Pictures* fills this void. Located on the corner of Wilshire and Fairfax, a neighbor of LACMA and the La Brea Tar Pits, this new museum now invites curious patrons to its newly completed building. At the time of writing this review, due to COVID-19 protocols, masks are required to enter, as well as proof of vaccination upon entrance, which is explained when you purchase tickets on the museum's website. Tickets are timed for entrance.

Upon entering the modern building's lobby, you have *Fanny's Café* to your right, in case you find yourself hungry for more than just the knowledge provided. The floor-to-ceiling glass windows allow you to watch people coming and going. On the right, just before the café, there are stairs that lead down to the atrium of the museum's theatre. On the far left, one can find the gift shop. Closer to the entrance, on the left, you can find the first portion of the *Stories of Cinema*, named the Spielberg Family Gallery, where you can find a multitude of screens featuring movie clips that one might recognize. An assortment of films from *Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory* (1895) to *The Nightmare before Christmas* (1993) offer a cinematic representation from the beginning of this entertainment format to modern films. In the vicinity of these screens, there are a few scattered seats that allow visitors to watch multiple screens at once. The movie display constantly changes on the different screens, giving an idea of how diverse and varied the cinematic world can be. Right before the first section of the *Stories of Cinema* exhibition, there is a staircase covered in red carpet that leads to the second floor. For anyone who may struggle with stairs, there are also elevators behind the red-carpet stairs that can be used. Between the first and second floor, accessible via the elevators, is the *Barbra Streisand Bridge* which connects the museum portion to a second building with a greater theatre. *Stories of Cinema* continues on the second and third floor of the museum, and houses exhibits from a wide range of aspects pertaining to movie production throughout film's illustrious history.

In the second portion of *Stories of Cinema*, we get the first glimpse of social issues that are prevalent in our time. The entryway highlights issues like "Black Lives Matter," the "#MeToo" movement, climate change, racism, and workers' rights. The descriptions and carefully selected portions of films that are used here engage patrons in topics that are very important to consider and also cater to a wide range of patrons.

Beyond the entryway, visitors encounter an element that is used in every movie: costumes. While very subtle in some cases, like a wig, there is a lot more to the art of costuming.. The displays feature the head plaster casts of various actors (from Clark Gable to Charlize Theron) that served as medium for various applications of prosthetics (like bigger ears, nose plugs, etc.), makeup, and headpieces that could potentially be used in a film production. There are multiple interviews with various professionals who had a hand in costuming, and they are all diverse—from the male Asian makeup specialist of *Bombshell* (2019) to the two Black women who co-directed the costumes department for the film *Dolemite Is My Name* (2019). In the same sense, the curators demonstrate the awareness of Hollywood's unfortunate history by offering disclaimers concerning the racism that can be seen in some of the pieces on display. These are part of the history of film, and even if they reflect an unfortunate reality, the museum curators did not shy away from explaining things like "blackface" or "minstrel" shows. In the same room, there are costumes on display that were worn by actors in various films.. Following this room of costumes, visitors are treated to the various steps that have

to be taken to make a movie. *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) is used as the primary example for the various techniques used to shoot a film, from the painted scenery for cinematography to the incorporation of music. Original set pieces from the film are used in this portion of the exhibition.

There are a few more rooms where various elements of movie production come to life, including the “live” sound effects and music used in *Jaws* (1975) to generate a feeling of suspense. Patrons can also learn about the developments in techniques and the various photos and storyboards that outline a film. Part of the appeal of films are the actors who give life to their characters on screen. The exhibition explains how they are chosen, and how connections are established between actors and casting directors. The person responsible for bringing together the efforts of a film’s various departments is the director. At present, the museum’s focus is on director Spike Lee, on the works he has created, and on his impact on the industry. The exhibition’s “director” portion will rotate to include other exemplary individuals at different times.

On the third floor of *Stories of Cinema*, patrons are introduced to additional aspects in the evolution of film. Here, they can learn about the extent to which animation is used, and how far it has come along, from the first Walt Disney animations to more complex works like *Frozen* (2013) and *Moana* (2016) to name but a few. Beyond such animated movies, there is also a description of the animation used for James Cameron’s *Avatar* (2009).

On this floor, there is an even greater collection of costumes than on the second floor. You can find yourself looking at R2-D2 from *Star Wars* (1977) to the costumes of the Dora Milaje (Wakanda’s women special forces) from *Black Panther* (2018). An interesting addition to the third floor is the Pedro Almodovar exhibit, which focuses on this revolutionary Spanish director (b. 1949) who has transformed the Spanish film scene from female leads to LGBTQ+ aspects. You can find the posters of his films along the walls, and inside this section there are several screens that show clips from his movies that are selected to correspond to the emotions that are referenced before each clip.

On the fourth floor, visitors enter the world of famed Japanese filmmaker Hayao Miyazaki (b. 1941) and his creations. Along the wall that holds this exhibit, there are various patches of (artificial) greenery and some of his titular characters. Entering through a tunnel that looks like a forest, visitors encounter the story of Miyazaki’s inspiration and the original storyboards of some of his beloved films, such as *My Neighbor Totoro* (1988). Following the screens and story boards, there is a hallway featuring a willow tree with lights that makes it seem as if you have stepped into one of Miyazaki’s films.

All in all, the *Academy Museum of Motion Pictures* is the answer to the previous lack of historical presentation in a city that is the epicenter of the film industry – a suitable parallel to L.A.’s *Grammy Museum*, which opened in 2008 and focuses on the history of Grammy-winning music. The *Stories of Cinema* exhibition offers a wealth of information, but it is manageable and appealing to visitors. Its various

levels and the division into sub-exhibitions means that there is considerable flexibility to present various aspects of the subject matter, and since the films and artists that are showcased here will change over time, the museum is sure to find an audience among the different age groups. A place that can be explored with the family or alone, there is much to enjoy at the *Academy Museum*. I found that the seats available in various portions of the exhibition are a good addition to watch the material that is shown. It gives patrons, like me, the opportunity to rest and enjoy the various clips that are shown at different points. It also allows for a more interactive experience for more pronounced progress in film, such as music effects that could be seen in *Indiana Jones: Raiders of the Lost Ark*'s scene with the boulder. Problematic issues in the history of film, such as the lack of diversity and racism, are acknowledged in this museum, which adds to its didactic appeal. The *Academy Museum of Motion Pictures* is a place I recommend for its wide range of subject matters, which will intrigue anyone, as well as its wide-ranging clips and visuals, which will attract and hold the attention of its visitors. The great thing about this exhibition is that it is not constrained to a single genre but includes a wide range of movies that many can recognize through a multitude of movie eras. Rejoice movie fanatics and everyday purveyors of film, for this place will get you excited.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Mercy Reyes of Los Angeles, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Reviews (Films / Documentaries / TV Shows / Podcasts)

1917 [film].

Directed by Sam Mendes. 2019.

Dreamworks Pictures; Reliance Entertainment; New Republic Pictures. 119 minutes.

1917 is a harrowing story about two soldiers who try to prevent a suicidal attack by delivering an order by hand to a headstrong colonel. It takes place during World War I in 1917 as the Germans are nearly defeated and the Allied armies are ready to drive them out of France and Belgium. This film is director Sam Mendes's twelfth motion picture and perhaps one of his best. Mendes, along with the film's director of cinematography, Roger Deakins, have crafted a haunting, yet beautiful film that will have a lasting impact on audiences. Their decision to shoot the film in a way that makes it appear as if there are no cuts from editing works flawlessly. The story of Lance Corporal Thomas Blake (played by Dean-Charles Chapman) and Lance Corporal William Schofield (played by George MacKay), the film's protagonists, follows their journey across a wide range of different environments along the frontlines. From the muddy trenches to a ruined city to pristine woods with a raging river, the locations' production quality is impeccable. This helps to set the atmosphere of two contrasting worlds: one utterly consumed by war and the other left untouched by its destructive tendrils. Thanks to the work of Mendes and Deakins, beauty can be found in both worlds of this depiction of World War I.

The film opens with a shot of Tom Blake and Will Schofield sitting in what appears to be a field of flowers and grass, a stark contrast to what one imagines when thinking of World War I. They are suddenly summoned by the general to deliver a message to the Devonshire Regiment, a unit in which Blake's brother Joseph is enlisted, to stop an offensive they are scheduled to launch the following morning. Blake and Schofield immediately set off, though Schofield—after his combat experience at the Somme—has reservations about going on such a dangerous operation as a runner. As they cross "No Man's Land," we are reminded of the war's true destructiveness. Bodies litter the landscape, mud and flesh melding into a never-ending quagmire that is nearly impossible for Schofield and Blake to navigate. This landscape is reminiscent of Mordor from J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*, which was likely inspired by his time serving in World War I. Once they have crossed "No Man's Land," they stumble upon an abandoned German trench network. These trenches are much deeper and more fortified than the seemingly rudimentary ones that the British have constructed. In one of the dugouts, the two men walk into booby-trapped barracks and are nearly killed by a cave-in.

After narrowly escaping the dugout, Schofield and Blake make their way to a farmhouse to catch their breath. Their walk through the unblemished land behind the trenches stands in stark contrast to where they have just been. Just as they seem to be getting ready to move on from the farmhouse, a German plane is shot down

and crashes into the stable where Blake and Schofield are standing. The surviving pilot fatally stabs Blake, forcing the disillusioned Schofield, hesitant from the beginning, to continue without his friend Blake. Schofield then hitches a ride on a truck with another British company that had stumbled upon him after the airplane crash. He discovers that these men are passing through the town that is on the way to his destination. Schofield, hell-bent on arriving with his message for the Devonshires on time, soon has to get off at the destroyed bridge that leads into the town of Écoust-Saint-Mein and go on foot. As he is crossing the destroyed bridge, a German sniper engages and nearly kills him. Schofield is ultimately able to kill the sniper, but not without being knocked down the stairs and hitting his head, rendering him unconscious.

When he finally comes to, Schofield realizes it is nearly morning, and he needs to hurry to deliver the message to the Devonshires. Flares light the ruins of the town, and the film's score takes the audience into a dreamlike haze of wonder and awe. As he slowly makes his way through the town, Schofield is spotted and chased through the streets by a group of isolated Germans who were making camp in the ruins of the city. After finding a place to hide from the Germans, he stumbles upon a French woman and a baby. The film slows down for a brief moment as it shows the devastation that the war has inflicted upon the populace of this town. Though he is disillusioned from the fighting, Schofield maintains his humanity as he gives the French woman and baby some food to eat. Against the advice of the French woman to stay, he knows that he must leave to deliver his important message. As he slips away, Schofield is spotted again and nearly killed. To escape, he jumps into a raging river to flee the pursuing Germans. When he finally reaches the shore after navigating rough waters, he notices that dawn has come, and he breaks down, thinking he is too late. Then, out of nowhere, he hears singing and is drawn to the luring call. As he gets closer, he realizes that this is another British unit, and he eventually discovers that these are the Devonshires, prepping for their push over the top. Schofield, exhausted from everything he has been through, rushes to Colonel Mackenzie's headquarters, determined to stop the suicidal attack by any means necessary.

As Schofield makes his way through the trenches, he stumbles through the chaos of men moving about and preparing for their assault. During his navigation of the labyrinth of trenches, the Germans begin to shell the mustering British force. Men are thrown about as debris and shrapnel make Schofield's monumental task of delivering the message to Colonel Mackenzie's dugout alive seemingly impossible. As the trenches are clogged with men prepared to go over the top, Schofield risks everything by climbing up the ladders in the trenches to avoid the massed troops and make it to his journey's ever-so-close end. Schofield rushes along the lip of the trench and sets off for the headquarters, exhausted and bloodied, yet ever determined to finish his mission. Men begin to pour out from the trenches as the first wave starts their assault. Schofield, realizing that his time is nearly up, picks up speed and, after dodging bullets and shells, finally makes it

to the colonel's bunker. This scene highlights Schofield's determination to complete the mission for his friend Blake, who could not make it this far to save his brother Joseph. Schofield has a hard time entering the colonel's room, though he will not take "no" for an answer and forces his way into the room to read the message. Colonel Mackenzie (played by Benedict Cumberbatch) is reluctant to call off the attack, but finally obeys the order, and the following waves of men are ordered to stand down. With his mission over, Schofield wants to see if he has been able to save Blake's brother.

After delivering his message to the colonel, Schofield visits the hospital because he has heard that Blake's brother Joseph was part of the first wave. As Schofield makes his way to the back, he encounters many casualties being taken to triage and the medical tents. This disheartens him because he cannot find Joseph in any tent he goes to. With Schofield ready to give up hope that Joseph is alive, he asks one last person on the off chance that he may know where Blake's brother is located. This last man turns out to be Blake's brother Joseph. After they talk for a little while about Tom, Schofield walks to a tree in a field, pulls out a picture of his family, and finally rests.

While *1917* may technically be a war film, it does not play out like many other in the genre such as Steven Spielberg's *War Horse* (2011) or the same director's renowned World-War-II film *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). Mendes's *1917* is a "smaller," more personal story that does not include any major action set pieces like the opening to the aforementioned *Saving Private Ryan*. *1917* takes the audience on a tense journey from the wasteland known as "No Man's Land" to the ruins of a shelled-out city to a forest untouched by the war. The lack of cutting helps engage the audience even more than a traditionally shot film. While it may seem like a gimmick meant to wow critics and film enthusiasts, the lack of cuts puts one on edge because anything can happen at any second. The planning and coordination of such a feat will astonish even the most casual moviegoer as the camera follows our protagonists through thick and thin, all without cutting away from what is going on. The film, though it is a fictional story, is inspired by the men who served in World War I, including director Sam Mendes's grandfather. This includes the often-overlooked men of colonial territories as well such as Indians and Africans. *1917* depicts World War I in a unique way as it does not focus on trench warfare and massive battles. It depicts a beautifully shot personal story of perseverance through adversity that all audiences will enjoy, regardless of their knowledge of World-War-I history.

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Barbarians: Season 1 [TV series].

Directed by Barbara Eder and Steve St. Leger. 2020.

Gaumont; Netflix. 6 episodes (42-52 minutes).

During the age of Augustus, Rome enjoyed great stability and strength, which makes the defeat of three of its legions in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest (9 AD) an awe-inspiring feat to this day. Although there have been many recreations of this event, the TV series *Barbarians* is in a league of its own, as the actors playing the Romans speak classical Latin, those playing the Germans speak German, and the actor portraying Arminius speaks in both languages. Based on true events and shot in Hungary, the first season of *Barbarians* recounts the life of Arminius, a Roman-raised German who is credited as the first person to unite the tribes of Germania to defeat the thought-to-be unstoppable legions of Rome. Released on October 23, 2020, for viewing on Netflix, the series is directed by Barbara Eder, who is known for *Thank You for Bombing* (2015) and *West of Liberty* (2019), and Steve St. Leger who is known for *Vikings* (2013) and *Vikings: Valhalla* (2022).

Episode 1 begins with a scene of Cherusci villagers (a Germanic tribe in the first century) carrying out daily tasks while children run and play. The camera follows one of the children as he runs into his family's dwelling and plays with his older sister, Thusnelda. It is apparent they are of higher status, as their parents negotiate with the *reik* (chief) of another tribe who wishes to marry Thusnelda. Shortly after this exchange, a Roman force arrives to announce the election of Publius Quinctilius Varus as military governor and to demand tribute in three days' time, which violates a previous agreement between the Cherusci and Rome. After this humiliating exchange, the Cheruscan leader, Segimer, calls a meeting of the tribes in an attempt to unite and fight against the Romans. This fails, however, as many believe that even a united Germania cannot stand against Rome.

The episode continues to introduce characters as a Roman officer enters Varus's camp and is greeted as his son; another member of the village, Folkwin Wolfspear, emerges as Thusnelda's love interest. Three days later, the Romans return to collect tribute and forcefully seize livestock and grain. In retaliation, Thusnelda attacks a Roman officer and is assaulted. The boy from the first scene, Ansgar, is struck in the head after rushing to her aid and is brought to the seers to remedy his crippling brain damage. Back at Varus's camp, the newly arrived officer is ordered to execute a Germanic noble. Despite his insistence that German law prohibits a man taking another man's life, the officer has no choice but to behead the prisoner. The first episode ends things on a thrilling note as Thusnelda and Folkwin deal a symbolic blow to Rome by stealing the legion's eagle standard. However, Varus's son finds a necklace that Folkwin has left behind and appears to recognize it. To add to the confusion, this man also speaks German and has a German auxiliary whipped after listening to him defame Rome. With the dissident dealt with, the officer then heads to the Cherusci village and greets Segimer with the words, "hello, father."

Episode 2 provides additional context on Arminius, the Roman officer who confusingly speaks both German and Latin. A flashback shows young Thusnelda, Folkwin, and Ari (Arminius) hunting a wolf and making necklaces out of its teeth. But this time of comradery ends as Roman soldiers take Ari away as part of an alliance and peace agreement with Rome, which explains why and how he came to learn Latin and attained the rank of a Roman officer. Returning to the “present,” acts of subterfuge occur as Thusnelda’s father, Segestes, tells Varus that Folkwin had taken the eagle standard and Segestes expresses his desire to become chief of the Cherusci. Outside the village, Ari visits the grave of his late mother, reunites with his childhood friends, and they all go to visit Segimer. However, Ari is confronted by Berulf, who had witnessed his uncle’s execution while working in Varus’s camp, and challenged to single combat. Because Berulf is much larger, Ari is overpowered and faces death before being saved by Folkwin. Despite being severely wounded, Arminius retrieves the eagle standard and returns to the Roman camp. Meanwhile, Varus gathers a force with Segestes, heads to the village, and demands that Folkwin Wolfspear be brought to him. When Segimer refuses, the fugitive’s family is rounded up and crucified. Varus then returns to camp and tasks Arminius with bringing back Folkwin’s head. As the episode ends, Wolfspear finds his family strung up and is taken under Berulf’s protection.

Episode 3 starts with the hunt for Folkwin Wolfspear as Arminius and his auxiliaries find Thusnelda and Segimer cutting down the crucified family. The viewer gains a sense of how conflicted Ari is as he must choose between following Roman orders and allowing for the burial of his kinsmen. But his true allegiance begins to show as he has the family cut down and properly buried. Meanwhile, Wolfspear and Berulf seek refuge with the Bructeri tribe. *Barbarians* does well in showing there was no sense of national unity, when they are betrayed, and Berulf loses his life while escaping. Ansgar’s mother attempts to kill her son by blindfolding and walking him off a cliff, but his sister Thusnelda intervenes, Ansgar is left in the care of the seers, and Thusnelda searches for Folkwin, who leads all but one of his surviving followers into the Dark Land, a sacred site where Germans refuse to go. But this respite is short-lived as the man who refused to follow is captured by Arminius, gives up Folkwin’s location, and is killed. Arminius then takes his Roman force to the Dark Land, kills the remaining fugitives, and brings Wolfspear to his knees. However, Ari’s allegiance shifts further as he then kills his Roman followers to save his friend.

Episode 4 starts on an ominous tone as Ansgar has a premonition of fire and bloodshed. Back in the Dark Land, Ari and Folkwin discuss their next steps. Ari tries to explain that he is still a prefect of Rome, but is then reminded of how his kinsmen are being treated. Although not fully certain of where his loyalties lie, Ari takes the head of a dead German, because they all look the same to Varus, and returns to camp. While this is happening, Varus coerces Segimer into being replaced by his son as *reik*, whereupon Segimer drowns himself in a sacred swamp. When returning with the alleged head of Folkwin Wolfspear, Ari learns of his

father's fate and is further insulted when Varus states that this is what Ari was meant to do and that a barbarian-born Roman cannot aspire to be anything more. Varus then orders him to find a wife and report back. Filled with rage, Ari returns to and destroys the inside of his tent before receiving news that one of his men from the Dark Land has survived and is in the infirmary. With no time to waste, he rushes to the infirmary, strangles the surviving Roman, and spots Talio, the auxiliary he had punished in the first episode. Ari draws his sword but is halted by the physician's return. Meanwhile, Thusnelda and Folkwin venture to the Bructeri camp to convince them to fight against Rome, this time with the ruse that Thusnelda is a seer. After a heated exchange and a failed attempt to convince the Bructeri leader, Folkwin kills him, Thusnelda takes out his heart, and marks the new *reik* with blood. As Ari prepares to return to the Cherusci camp, he brings Talio and informs him of his plan to rebel against Rome. The auxiliary agrees to join him, and they arrive to see that Segestes has assumed the position of *reik*. Throughout several of the episodes, Hadgan, the *reik* who had negotiated to marry Thusnelda, appears and threatens Segestes. However, Arminius and his force are too numerous for both men, and the village's leadership is peacefully relinquished to Ari. The episode ends with Ari boldly suggesting he marry Thusnelda to make it seem as though he is following Varus's orders and to legitimize a united Germania, but he is then struck by Folkwin.

Episode 5 is the beginning of the end as Folkwin begrudgingly agrees to allow Ari and Thusnelda to marry. The marriage commences in front of a ribbon-covered tree, and merriment continues in the *reik*'s hall as tribes pledge their allegiance to Ari. However, other *reiks* remember the execution of Berulf's uncle and refuse to back him. As night falls, the ceremony ends with Arminius and Thusnelda wrapped in white linens, performing a dance, and ultimately not consummating the marriage. After watching from afar, Folkwin laments the perceived loss of Thusnelda, gets drunk in the woods, and picks a fight with a Roman patrol, resulting in him being taken prisoner. While out on patrol the following morning, Talio finds Folkwin's necklace and a charred corpse and reports back to Ari and Thusnelda. With no time to mourn, the couple leaves to meet Varus. Ari finds himself in another conflicted situation, as his adoptive father Varus presents him with a sword of the equestrian class, the second highest *stratum* (rank) of the Senate. In a state of shock, Ari accepts the promotion but is berated by Thusnelda upon leaving the tent; he reminds her that he has to continue to play his role. With Varus at ease, Ari begins the next phase of his plan: he takes his force, rounds up the children of the tribes, and calls a meeting. When the enraged *reiks* arrive, Ari reveals that he had no intention of surrendering the children to Rome but merely wanted to show how easy it was for them to be taken from ununified tribes. This stratagem works, the remaining tribes unite, and Ari and Thusnelda consummate their marriage under the assumption that Folkwin is dead. With the tribes united and Ari delivering a false report of rebellion along the territories of Teutoburg

Forest, all seems set for war. Yet, news that Folkwin Wolfsphear is still alive reaches Segestes, who informs Varus, who is in the middle of conversing with Arminius.

Episode 6 begins with tension as Arminius stands in front of Varus and his officers after Segestes has sold him out. With no choices left, Ari bluffs and boldly confesses his plan to betray Rome. This tactic catches Varus off guard, as he laughs, berates Segestes, asks for his son's forgiveness, and prepares the legions to march. After barely escaping death, Ari spots Folkwin, brings him up to speed, and sends him with Talio to meet up with the legions. In the forest, Thusnelda prays at a nearby tree, where Hadgan unsuccessfully attempts to force himself on her but then leaves with his men before the ambush starts. Riding alongside Varus, Arminius suggests the legions divide and leads his legionaries into an ambush. Everything works as intended, as three Roman legions are systematically divided and slaughtered. As the tides turn in favor of the Germans, Segestes's and Hadgan's forces enter the fray. In a state of disbelief, Varus falls on his sword, and the Germans emerge victorious. That night, Ari is hailed as king of all the tribes, Thusnelda learns she is pregnant, and Folkwin vows to kill Arminius. The season ends with an unknown rider carrying off Varus's head, leaving the viewers wondering about a sequel.

While the series is enjoyable to watch, it takes considerable artistic license with the Battle of Teutoburg Forest. There are a few Roman authors from whom this show could be drawing, such as Tacitus, Paterculus, or Dio, whose accounts describe the real Arminius as a German-born, Roman officer who served as an auxiliary, but not as someone raised by Varus. However, unlike docudramas such as *Rise of Empires: Ottoman* and *The Last Czars*, there is no panel of historians and authors who provide context (but then, *Barbarians* is intended to be a series like *Vikings* rather than a docudrama). As a result, it is up to the viewers to understand the subtle references to policies and events in Roman history. Being well-versed in Roman history and understanding Latin makes watching *Barbarians* an especially entertaining and immersive experience. However, viewers with no prior knowledge will still be entertained by thrilling battle scenes, ominous foreshadowing, and a love-triangle, while learning about Rome's failure to subjugate Germania during the age of Augustus—or ever.

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Dance of the 41 [film].

Directed by David Pablos. 2020.

Canana Films; El Estudio. 99 minutes.

Imagine living in a time when your gender determines your privileges and status in your household, when your marriage provides the opportunity to achieve ambitious political aspirations, but when a major part of your identity can only be

explored through acts of betrayal and secrecy at the risk of losing what matters most to you and experiencing public shame. This is the world into which acclaimed Mexican director David Pablos invites viewers with his film *Dance of the 41*. In his work, Pablos transports us to Mexico City at the end of the nineteenth century when businessman and politician Ignacio de la Torre (1866-1918) was married to Amada, the daughter of then Mexican President Porfirio Díaz, and also leading a double life.

At the end of the nineteenth century, in Mexico and across the world, roles of leadership and power were reserved for men. Power is a major theme in this film, and Pablos thoughtfully represents power struggles and dynamics as the idea of power becomes more abstract when focusing on the relationships between men and women in Mexico's first family. Racist attitudes were also quite common during this period (and Amada was the daughter of an Indigenous woman), but this is not a major storyline in Pablos's *Dance of the 41*.

The story progresses rather quickly with the opening scene setting the tone for several dynamics and complicated relationships featured throughout the film. Ignacio, played by Alfonso Herrera, arrives late at an opulent event and initially receives congratulatory greetings on his recent engagement to the president's daughter, Amada, portrayed by Mabel Cadena. Before leaving the party, Ignacio and Amada cross paths with her father, the president, and his nephew Felix. After congratulating Ignacio on his recent appointment to congress, Felix also comments on the president's generosity for rewarding Ignacio with such a "nice wedding gift." President Díaz is quick to remind Ignacio that his appointment to congress can be taken away if he does not make his daughter happy. Pablos instantly provides the audience with a glimpse of Ignacio's double life by cutting to an image of a dark bedroom where Ignacio can be seen rising from a bed with two other men, none of them clothed.

The development of Ignacio's priorities quickly comes into play on the day of his wedding to Amada. On the evening of their wedding, an overjoyed Amada prepares for bed only to encounter an intentionally inebriated Ignacio who is portrayed as viewing their sexual intimacy as a chore which he does not enjoy. Pablos paints a dark and depressing image of Amada looking up hopefully at her husband, while he stares off into the distance, handles their sexual encounter roughly, and avoids any emotional connection with his wife. After Ignacio's pattern of disinterest in his marriage is established, Pablos zooms in on Ignacio's social priorities. Ignacio, along with other men who hold elite social and political positions, such as senators and bank board members, belong to a clandestine society which provides a space for men who secretly identify as homosexual to gather freely, smoke cigars, dress in women's clothing, engage in sexual encounters with one another, and conduct various other activities that were not deemed socially acceptable or morally appropriate at this time. Ignacio appears to be quite comfortable in this space and much more relaxed than he has been shown in any other scene of the film up until this point. Additionally, Ignacio becomes

romantically interested in a colleague named Evaristo Rivas, a fictional character portrayed by Emiliano Zurita. It is not long before Ignacio's prioritized commitment to the secret society and his romantic relationship with Evaristo result in an increasingly lonely and frustrated Amada. Seeking answers to Ignacio's whereabouts, as it becomes a topic of discussion in social circles that she is already struggling to fit into due to her perceived Indigenous ancestry, Amada searches through the drawers in Ignacio's home office and finds romantic letters that are signed by "Eva" (Evaristo). When Amada invites Evaristo to their residence behind Ignacio's back, a furious Ignacio dismisses Evaristo from his home and asks him to never return. Amada, well aware of the romance that is taking place behind her back between her husband and Evaristo, demands that Ignacio impregnate her and at the very least "maintain appearances."

At this point in the film, a major power shift occurs. Up until now, Ignacio has held most of the power simply for being the man in his household, as well as a member of congress, coming and going as he pleases, despite the pain this is causing to Amada. But his secret is no longer much of a secret, and his wife is so unhappy that she is willing to use the leverage she has with her father, the president, to control the behavior that Ignacio has so carelessly displayed at her expense. Amada uses her connections as a member of the first family to have Ignacio followed by a team of guards. When Ignacio tries to send them away, he is informed that he is welcome to take this matter up with the president. Ignacio begins to experience distress at this point in the film because, for the first time in his marriage, he cannot do whatever he pleases as conveniently as he has done before. He appears to scale back on his participation in his routine activities with the secret community, but it is not long before he appears desperate to re-connect with his lover and friends. The next event Ignacio is shown attending with the secret community is their annual ball. The event starts out cheerfully, but it ends up making historic headlines, exposing and thwarting the entire organization. Ignacio is shown preparing for the evening by styling himself with makeup, jewelry, and a woman's ball gown like many other men in attendance. He dances the night away, seemingly feeling freer than he has in some time. The light, joyous mood of the event quickly fades as the event is raided by police guards who arrest all participants. Once a list of the arrested ball attendees makes its way into the president's hands, the latter determines that, rather than the 42 names listed on the document, he sees only 41 names, suggesting that he does not want his son-in-law Ignacio's name on the list to spare his family shame and explaining the film's title, *Dance of the 41*. This scandal was the first time homosexuality was discussed in Mexican media. In the film, Ignacio is sent for and released from the holding cell, while the other members are subjected to physical abuse, public shame, and ridicule. Although he is no longer a prisoner serving a physical sentence in a cell (like his lover), Ignacio becomes a prisoner in his own home and in his marriage. Amada, who had been suffering so much emotionally in the earlier parts of the

film while Ignacio was thriving, now appears to have the upper hand in her household.

Dance of the 41 is not director David Pablos's first time working on a film filled with dramatic storylines and complicated romances. His body of work also includes the 2015 film *Las Elegidas*, which focuses on a young man who falls in love with a teenage girl despite forcing her into his family's prostitution ring. Mirroring *Dance of the 41* with its characters experiencing cognitive dissonance, romances layered with betrayal, and characters struggling with oppression, there are some obvious differences. *Las Elegidas* is not based on true, documented historical events like *Dance of the 41*, but the film did require Pablos to conduct research by speaking to actual sex-trafficking victims in order to make sure his actors would be able to approach their roles with delicacy and authenticity.

Most films in the LGBTQ genre that are based on true events typically fall into the subcategories of documentary, such as Jennie Livingston's *Paris is Burning* (1990), or drama based on true events of everyday people facing struggles with their identity, such as Russell Mulcahy's *Prayers for Bobby* (2009). In *Paris is Burning*, Livingston chronicles the nightlife culture of everyday transgender and drag queens in New York during the 1980s. In *Prayers for Bobby*, Mulcahy tells the story of a gay teenage American boy who committed suicide due to his mother's religious intolerance. It is still rather uncommon to encounter a widely distributed dramatic film that focuses on a documented historical event involving political figures and members of the LGBTQ community, which makes Pablos's *Dance of the 41* a unique film in our time.

Dance of the 41 tells a story rich in details ranging from documented historical events, via oppressive behaviors and attitudes that were perfectly acceptable and unchallenged back then, to identities and lifestyles deemed morally and legally reprehensible during this time. The film's use of classical music is sublime and includes Franz Schubert's sentimental love song "Gently my songs entreat" (played beautifully on the piano by Ignacio, but merely attempted by Amada); Georges Bizet's "Habanera" from "Carmen," which celebrates love as a rebellious bird; and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's aria "Hell's vengeance boils in my heart" from "The Magic Flute," in which a mother demands that her daughter murder her rival. Scenes in the film may feel a bit jumpy at times, and the progression of time is never directly addressed, which often leads to the perception that events happened closely together despite them occurring years apart. However, Pablos directed the film wonderfully and focused on the aspects of the story that were most significant to keep viewers fully engaged. The film is definitely one to consider viewing if you enjoy topics like Mexican politics, Mexican history, or LGBTQ history.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Eric Morales of Anaheim, California, earned his B.A. in Communication Studies at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2015). He is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.

The Dig [film].

Directed by Simon Stone. 2021.

Magnolia Mae Films; Clerkenwell Films. 132 minutes.

It is a basic instinct to yearn for recognition, be it from the masses or from a person who sets your heart a flame. It is the idea of being noticed by those one yearns for the most that drives a person's ambition. But what happens when you are cast aside by those who snatch your deserved spotlight, forcing you to remain anonymous? The fear of losing recognition and credibility drives people's ambition to excel in their career field so that their name remains immortalized. However, there are many overlooked, unrecognized names in history that never achieve notoriety. *The Dig*, directed by Australian filmmaker Simon Stone, displays the drawn-out process of an excavation site metaphorically stolen and rebranded. Stone is primarily known for his theatre work, and this new movie often reflects the intimacy of a stage production. *The Dig* revolves around the excavation of the Anglo-Saxon Sutton Hoo treasures near Woodbridge in Suffolk, England, from 1938/1939, on the eve of World War II. The main excavator, Basil Brown (1888-1977), portrayed by Ralph Fiennes, finds himself in the middle of an excavation of what he understands to be an Anglo-Saxon ship burial site, replete with jewel-encrusted treasures. While Brown performs his work, the film also focuses on Edith Pretty (1883-1942), the owner of the land where the dig is taking place, played by Carey Mulligan, who is battling a heart illness and coping with the loss of her husband back in World War I. *The Dig* allows the audience to experience England after the Great War, while also feeling the country's anxiety due to the threats posed by Nazi Germany during this time. The film illustrates that some things should never remain buried but, once discovered, can change lives in ways both good and bad.

The Dig opens with Basil Brown and Edith Pretty who are interested in the mysterious mounds on Mrs. Pretty's property in Suffolk. After Mr. Brown provides his salary quote for such an excavation, he quickly gets to work. He soon discovers a wooden floorboard and incorrectly assumes it is from the Viking Age. When the floorboard breaks during excavation (00:09:50), Mr. Brown is discouraged, and it is here that we understand the difficulties of preservation without proper tools and techniques during this time. This particular scene reflects the reality that not everything pans out as easily as planned. Mr. Brown feels he has failed Mrs. Pretty and loses sight of his original purpose and passion for a career in archaeology. It is not until he finds himself buried alive under an avalanche of dirt that the flame for discovery is reignited once more; however, it is foreshadowed here that his name would be buried while the greatest discovery of his career would be exhumed.

Mrs. Pretty embodies the empty feeling of life after World War I. As the widow of a Royal Air Force fighter, Mrs. Pretty is shown walking through a metaphorical trench toward her late husband's grave on the property site. (00:13:20) Life stands

still for those left bereft by the losses of the Great War, and the past echoes in the present whenever the deafening war planes of the RAF fly over the excavation site throughout the film. As Mrs. Pretty suppresses her loss, we learn that she suffers from an untreatable heart disease, and she is the only person not mocking the warning announcements regarding air raids while walking to her doctor's appointment. (00:38:28) Meanwhile, soldiers are burying statues with sandbags to protect them from impending air raids. While Mrs. Pretty is considering her diagnosis, her world is once again being shattered by a course of events similar to the one that had taken her spouse. The film signifies the importance of acknowledging crucial details in life, whether it is an illness or grieving the loss of a loved one.

The film then steers toward its crisis. As the excavation continues, it draws the interest of the British Museum. Mr. Brown's credentials and expertise are called into question, and the excavation is taken over by Charles Phillips (1901-1985), an archaeologist from the British Museum. (00:42:21) As Mr. Brown displays his intelligence regarding the type of ship and possible valuables buried underneath, tensions arise regarding who the artifacts from the dig belong to. Mirroring the disruption and comprehensive impact of World War II on people's lives, this dispute highlights the significance of the excavation: once something is uncovered, it is difficult to keep it concealed from the public eye.

Meanwhile, we are introduced to Rory Lomax, Mrs. Pretty's cousin, who lends a hand in the project by photographing finds and documenting progress. Rory admits his eagerness for joining the RAF and is constantly scolded by his cousin. He represents the naive attitude toward the reality of war when he is confronted with a malfunctioned RAF plane crashing mere kilometers from the dig site into a nearby river. As he jumps into the water to try and save the pilot, he realizes the pilot is already dead. (01:17:07) Prior to this event, the contrast between Mrs. Pretty and her cousin Rory was clear, as Rory did not have the faintest idea of the cost of war while Mrs. Pretty was still recovering from her personal losses sustained during World War I. Discovering the gruesome consequences of war shocks Rory, and he then ponders whether joining up is worth it. This contemplation and the concern for his own safety overcomes Rory to the point where he silently realizes he may never return to his family.

We are subsequently introduced to new characters, a married couple named Stuart Piggott (1910-1996) and Margaret "Peggy" Piggott (1912-1994). Taking a break from the excavation site, we now focus on the married couple's lack of emotional connection and Peggy's neglect by Stuart. Peggy finds herself rejected multiple times when initiating romantic acts toward her husband and questions whether her husband loves her or not. It is suggested, but not confirmed, that Stuart is romantically involved with another male scientist from the British Museum: they are seen exchanging loving glances at one another at the site and in a pub. Assumptions aside, Peggy's pivotal point is when she speaks alone to Rory Lomax in his make-shift campsite near Mrs. Pretty's property. During their

conversation, Peggy remarks she owns the coin Jesus supposedly displayed to the Disciples, dating back to the time of Caesar Augustus, and she then proceeds to question what will be left once they are gone from the Earth, and whether or not her story will be told. (01:20:08) Peggy longs for acknowledgement and appreciation in the present, rather than being ignored and forgotten by her husband. *The Dig* calls on us to consider whether or not we are living in the “here and now” and ask, rather than regretting everything we may have failed to do in the past: “What if?” It is the liberating feeling to be seen by someone, after having been kept in the dark for so long, that radiates off Peggy when she and Rory start taking an interest in each other.

As the film nears its end, Mrs. Pretty showcases Mr. Brown’s discoveries to the public, and during her speech she rightfully credits him as the finder (01:31:42). In “reality,” Basil Brown’s pivotal role in the discovery of the Sutton Hoo treasures was not widely acknowledged by professional scholars and archaeologists until fairly recently. It is at this time in the film, though, that the truth of Peggy’s feelings toward her husband and Rory reveal themselves when she confronts her husband and explains he should not come back to her after visiting the pub with the other British Museum curators. Rory and Peggy share their feelings for one another, and even though it seems like a happy ending, this is, in fact, not to be. The film takes a solemn turn when a voice on the radio announces Germany’s invasion of Poland and states, “consequently, this country is at war with Germany,” confirming everyone’s justified anxiety throughout the film. (01:42:3). The pretense of bravery is over, and we witness the public’s true concern over the new war with Germany. The public had never really recovered either, and now Mrs. Pretty is not alone in having these feelings.

Films featuring archaeology are often associated with the “Indiana Jones,” “Mummy,” or “Tomb Raider” franchises; however, these are purely fictional and have very little to do with the realities of scholarly inquiries into the material culture of the past. *The Dig* heightens one’s appreciation for what truly matters in life. Rather than suppress your true feelings for someone, there is always time to express your fondness. What you do today will be perceived by those in the future, and therefore it is vital to appreciate your time in the present. *The Dig* broadens our perspective on self-discovery and reignites our appreciation for life in general. After viewing, the only question in my mind was: How do I want to be remembered? If you are interested in historical drama, specifically the post-World War I and pre-World War II era, as well as love affairs and a case of an underdog standing his ground, I recommend that you watch *The Dig*. Maybe you, too, will take into consideration your legacy and reignite your drive for recognition, just as I did.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Moriah P. Esquivel Narang of Fullerton, California is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).

Freud [TV series].

Directed by Marvin Kren. 2020.

Satel Film; Bavaria Fiction; Österreichischer Rundfunk. 8 episodes (45-58 minutes).

Would you associate Sigmund Freud with medicine and psychotherapy, or with murder conspiracies and cults? Take all four and you have the Netflix series *Freud*, a re-imagined biography of Sigmund Freud. Marvin Kren, an Austrian director, earned his directing experience at the Hamburg Media School in 2009 and produced *Freud* in 2020. The Austrian-German production follows a major crime conspiracy, with the 30-year-old Sigmund Freud caught in the middle while he wants to change the world. The series consists of eight episodes, each lasting approximately 45-58 minutes. There is a lot to unpack and connect, so this is not a show to watch in the background.

The series begins with the episode *Hysteria* and introduces Sigmund Freud as a young neurologist presenting his research to a medical committee. He encourages his housemaid, Lenore, to participate in a presentation that would prove his theories of hypnosis. Though Freud considers it to be a psychological revolution, it is evident that others find it ridiculous, including Lenore. Freud mentions an educational trip to the Hôpital Salpêtrière in Paris, which happens to be a trip he took in real life. The episode transitions to correspondence from his fiancée, Martha Bernays. She relates her mother's concerns with regard to Freud due to his as of yet unsettled academic position and finances. These factors lead to a delay in their marriage. Though hypnosis is not a practice in modern medicine, you want Freud to succeed and prove to the medical committee his theories are correct.

Freud is invited to a party where he hopes to network and where several important characters are introduced: Clara von Schönfeld, the Countess Sophia von Szápáry and her husband Count Viktor von Szápáry, as well as Fleur Salomé (the latter's foster daughter and a medium), all of whom take part in a séance. In the episode's final minutes, Freud returns to the Szápáry household and encounters Fleur who begs him to treat her for her memory loss. Although the hypnosis initially succeeds, it takes a wrongful turn as Fleur has a seizure. The whole ordeal with Freud and Clara von Schönfeld angers the Countess Sophia.

After the party, in the episode *Trauma*, Viktor and Sophia encounter horse riders who inform the couple that their homeland—Hungary—is at war and that they are the last of the Szápárys. Meanwhile, Freud, still facing ridicule, and other doctors are led to a patient considered to be blind and paralyzed. Although Dr. Leopold von Schönfeld (Freud's professional rival) believes the patient is faking, Freud sticks a needle through her leg resulting in no reaction, thus proving that she is, in fact, paralyzed. Yet the other doctors are not convinced. Following this rejection, Freud leaves the room and is informed that Clara von Schönfeld, the girl from the séance (and Dr. Leopold von Schönfeld's younger sister), has gone missing since that night. Alfred Kiss, the police inspector looking for Clara,

receives a telegram from an unknown sender, reporting the deep tunnels of Vienna's sewer as the location of her abduction. Although many have come forward claiming to know Clara's whereabouts, they suspect the telegram to be true and can recover Clara. Freud takes Clara on as a patient and attempts to hypnotize her. Meanwhile, Fleur Salomé is the one actually hypnotized, and she sees what has happened in the tunnels two days ago. She also sees the culprit in her horrific vision: Leopold von Schönfeld. Freud skeptically believes her while the others consider her insane. Later that night, Sophia hypnotizes Fleur to get her to confess where she had been and threatens her.

The following day, in the episode *Somnambulant*, Freud hears for the first time about "Táltos," a Hungarian mythological figure with supernatural powers. Back at the hospital, he attempts to speak to Leopold von Schönfeld, but the latter seems to be in a dream-like state, induced by Sophia. Freud follows Schönfeld into a salon and observes that he seems to move with a purpose, although he is under hypnosis. Freud attempts to make a connection between the events surrounding Officer Georg von Lichtenberg (killed by Inspector Kiss in a duel), von Schönfeld, and Fleur, but to no avail. At one of the Szápárys' seances, Fleur has another vision. Immediately after she visits Freud to be hypnotized, she sees the opera singer Franktisek Mucha as a murderer of two people. Feeling that Freud knows too much, Sophia hypnotizes Freud and orders him to kill himself, as she had previously done with von Schönfeld. Though Freud managed to fight against Sophia's order he struggled.

In the next episode, *Totem and Taboo*, Viktor Szápáry meets with the Crown Prince Rudolf, who declares that he wants to meet Fleur again. Viktor follows this order, for he and Sophia wish to establish a personal connection with the Crown Prince to save their home country. Meanwhile, Freud and Inspector Kiss find out that Leopold von Schönfeld was in fact Clara's kidnapper, proving Clara to be correct in her visions. However, they then find von Schönfeld's dead body in his apartment, confirming that he has obeyed the countess's orders under hypnosis. In his apartment, they also find a symbol on the wall, painted in blood. Transitioning back to Fleur and the Szápárys, Fleur agrees to visit the Crown Prince under false pretenses. She believes he only wants to hear about his future. Yet, the countess whispers into Fleur's ear, "No matter what will happen, you'll let it happen, and when you wake up tomorrow, you won't remember it." She adds that Fleur is turning into a Táltos, foreshadowing upcoming drama. At the Crown Prince's apartment, his true intentions with Fleur are revealed. When he attempts to rape Fleur, a power overcomes her for the first time. She overpowers the Crown. Following this encounter with the Crown Prince, Fleur visits Freud. Though Freud recognizes something to be wrong, he succumbs to her seduction and they sleep together.

In Episode 5, *Desire*, Freud reveals that Fleur had screamed "Táltos" all night. Freud questions her about the name, but she seduces him once again. The pair get caught by Lenore and his future brother-in-law. Returning home, Fleur is still

under an uncontrolled power, and while the Szápárys are frightened, they are also excited that the “Táltos” hypnosis had worked. Meanwhile, after hearing a piano playing in the neighboring apartment, Freud discovers that the apartment is empty. Lenore informs him that a musician once lived in the apartment before committing suicide. Freud becomes interested in the apartment and goes out of his way to learn more about the young musician. Later that night, the Szápárys host another one of their seances, and Fleur’s powers overcome her again, this time frightening the Szápárys.

In the second-to-last episode *Regression*, Freud uncovers that the musician who used to occupy the neighboring apartment was sent to the same mental hospital he currently works in, leading him to ask Professor Theodor Meynert for more information. Upon asking Professor Meynert, Freud finds out that Fleur Salomé has been admitted. This concerns Freud because he believes that she will go into her alter ego again. Professor Meynert is concerned of Freud’s obsession with Fleur. The Szápárys enter the room with Freud, and they accuse each other of being “poison” to Fleur. After the altercation, Professor Meynert threatens to admit Freud into a mental hospital and bans him from entering his hospital in the future. The episode ends with Freud freeing Fleur from the mental hospital and with the murderous opera singer killing numerous officers.

After the previous séance, the Countess expresses regret for what has happened to Fleur, but that is quickly changed when Viktor convinces her that it must be done for their home country. Meanwhile, Freud hides Fleur in the abandoned next-door apartment. In this room, Fleur sees the ghost of the dead musician playing piano. Her panic over seeing the ghost alerts Professor Meynert who is in search for them both. However, Freud manages to stay hidden. Later, he is in his apartment with Lenore and Inspector Kiss. He realizes Fleur is gone and goes searching for her. He is led into a room where he faces people from his past and his inner demons. It is then revealed that Fleur and Freud are unconscious in the living room and merely traveling through Fleur’s mind. It also becomes evident that Fleur and Táltos are the same person. Fleur wishes to get out of the darkness—to rid herself of her Táltos alter ego—and Freud dedicates himself to help.

In the series finale, *Suppression*, Sophia and Viktor prepare for a party at the court of the Austrian emperor. When Sophia feels Fleur’s presence, she and Viktor ignite a murder spree by spreading the message, “Táltos will come over you. Leave no enemy alive!” Fleur finds Sophia and Viktor in the midst of the murders, and the two are themselves murdered. After the chaos, Freud continues his work on “The Power of Hypnosis.” Martha Bernays, Freud’s fiancée who seems to be a mere afterthought in the series, is impressed by his work and accepts to marry Freud, despite his affair with Fleur and against her family’s wishes. At dinner, it seems that Freud feels accepted for his work on hypnosis. Despite this acceptance, Freud burns his book. The following day, he returns to work only to resign, proclaiming that his work for the mentally ill is ineffective. He sees Fleur later that

day in Vienna, although she is supposed to be in hiding. Although she is being hunted by the secret police, she has no fear because she feels free. She expresses that Táltos is her power now, and with Freud's help she has come to know herself. They express their warm regards for each other and go their separate ways. The episode and series end with Sigmund Freud in his office waiting for his next patient. In this final scene, we even see a psychoanalyst's couch, first utilized by Freud in real life.

Freud is a show most may not expect. For instance, it does not focus on Freud's psychotherapy or theories. Instead, Freud is a participant in a crime series and uses hypnosis as a way of helping Fleur and others. The series does indicate that Freud, much like in real life, sought to change the world with his theories. Although the series is not historically accurate—apart from some references to historical personalities, spectacular locations, and costumes—and contains several “slow” scenes, it is worth watching. In fact, I look forward to any future *Freud* episodes to find out what may happen to Fleur. Those devoted to the crime genre and fantasy may find the series compelling and may not even consider how it relates to the historical figure of Sigmund Freud. Additionally, they may be interested in shows like *The Valhalla Murders* or *Vienna Blood* to get further taste of crime-thriller series, with the latter also featuring a connection to Sigmund Freud.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Desiree Montes of Anaheim, California, earned both her B.A. in History with a minor in Geography (2019) and her M.A. in 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). She also served as an editor for volume 49 of “The Welebaethan: A Journal of History” (2022).

Monumental Crossroads: The Fight for Southern Heritage [documentary film].
Directed by Tim Van den Hoff. 2018.

Gander Yonder Pictures. 87 minutes.

How should one honor one's ancestors? If you are faced with evidence that your ancestors were morally wrong in a cause they fought for, do you still owe them anything? If your answer is “yes,” you find yourself in the company of many Americans whose ancestors died in the deadliest conflict on United States soil. If you are from the North or have some historical knowledge of the Civil War, you might find it outrageous that anyone could defend statues honoring men who willingly fought to keep millions of men, women, and children in chains. However, if you were to talk to Americans in the Deep South, you would get a vastly different opinion, not just on these statues that are on the minds of Americans everywhere, but also on the cause of the war itself. In what seems like a recent political and social dilemma that has gripped our nation, the statues that immortalize the long-dead soldiers and leaders of the Confederacy of the 1860s have become a topic of debate, specifically, whether they should be torn down, or whether they have any historical significance and should stay up. The documentary *Monumental Crossroads* was directed by Dutch filmmaker Tim Van den Hoff who has created other works on the rising tensions between left and right

politics, increasing nationalistic views, and social justice movements. His most recent film, *The Toxic Reigns of Resentment* (2019), discusses why the rise in nationalism and dividing politics is also leading to a rise in xenophobia. In *Monumental Crossroads*, Van den Hoff tries to answer the question of why the statues of Confederate soldiers and leaders have become so divisive during the last few years of political and social unrest in the United States. What makes this documentary unique is the number of differing opinions on why these statues either should or should not be torn down, from the perspective of African Americans who are involved in new Civil Rights and social justice reforms, via those who try to take a neutral approach to the discussion, to local leaders of chapters of organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans who put up most of these statues in the first place.

Monumental Crossroads travels through the United States' Deep South to find out why a large majority of people in the Southern states have taken the stance of defending the statues of their ancestors. To explain how the debate concerning the statues began, Van den Hoff starts in Charleston, South Carolina, with the 2015 shooting of nine Black church members by gunman Dylann Roof. Hoping to start a race war with the shooting, Roof was photographed holding the weapon and Confederate battle flag, but instead, he started a heated debate not just on the Confederate flag and the statues, but on the Confederacy and the cause of the war itself, dividing Americans once more.

Van den Hoff then moves on to New Orleans, Louisiana, a prominent slave-trading hub before the Civil War and current home of multiple statues of Confederate generals. Showing just how prominent the ideologies of Southern apologists dominate the city today, we see the footage of a protest by Southern heritage supporters who are trying to prevent the removal of the city's Robert E. Lee statue. It is here that we get our first of many renditions of the "Lost Cause" and Neo-Confederate talking points by statue supporters. One man states that in removing the statues they are erasing White history and attempting to remove White people from the nation. A second narrative features a writer for a local newspaper and supporter of the statues: looking through a historical lens, Owen Courreges believes that the statues honor historical figures and states that the monuments should be seen as war memorials, adding that much of the populace is apolitical toward the statues and unwilling to spend public money on taking them down. These two narratives at the beginning of the film may both be advocating in favor of keeping the statues, but for different reasons. Moving on to an art gallery, Van den Hoff interviews local African American spray paint artist bMike who was involved in the takedown of the monuments. bMike states that the discussion around the statues glorifies White opinions but silences Black voices and ignores their feelings on what these statues represent. He also dispels the myth or conspiracy theory that the debate on the statues is a new phenomenon bolstered by new-age political correctness to destroy White history and heritage, the ultimate goal being the complete elimination of the White race. He explains that,

since his youth, his elders – who lived through the eras of Jim Crow and the Civil Rights movement – had explained to him that those statues were put up to remind Black people to stay in their place in society and look up at the statues in case they forget where they are.

The film's next section features some of the most memorable characters interviewed by Van den Hoff. A man at a bar complains that the takedown of the statues is a result of political correctness overtaking the country. Right after this, Van den Hoff interviews a woman who is attempting to get funding from the city to restore overgrown African American cemeteries. The film shows the difference between the local cemetery of over 17,000 Confederate soldiers, which has received care from the state since its founding, and a historically African American cemetery that is now a forest. This interview illustrates that Southern Whites who sympathize with the Confederacy do not see the entire picture of how African Americans are treated in both life and in death. By far the most intriguing interview is that with H. K. Edgerton, a Black supporter of the Confederate monuments and former local president of the NAACP in Asheville, North Carolina. Edgerton gives a unique opinion on the flag and the monuments, arguing that African Americans should claim the flag and monuments as theirs because the South is their homeland. He also tries to put the injustices that have plagued African Americans for centuries on African slavers who sold slaves to Europeans rather than on the White populace. Edgerton finishes by stating that integration in America from Northerners only hurts African Americans and that most Americans are misinformed about slavery in the South. He claims that slaves and their masters had a relationship no different from any other family.

The film's last interviews feature the local vice president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Lisa Thomas, and Mike Landree, the executive director of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, who both echo the "Lost Cause" talking points seen throughout the documentary. Thomas explains that the statues have nothing to do with White supremacy but are instead honoring their ancestors and culture, making them no different from any other people in America doing the same for their ancestors and culture. Landree however, takes a revisionist stance, stating that the Confederate soldiers were fighting the Second War of Independence and that the war was really about the roles and functions of the state and federal governments. Landree adds that agendas surrounding the statues are driving the narrative, preventing honest discussion. To show that the "Lost Cause" indoctrination is continuing to this day, the film follows school children on a field trip to a local Civil War living-history museum. Reenactors at one point tell the children that, while owning a slave is wrong, the Confederate flag is not a representation of slavery but, rather, the American flag, completely ignoring the cause of the four years of Civil War. Being highly impressionable, the children absorb this information and are then bused back to school. Van den Hoff ends the film by stating that while most individuals believe that they are honoring their ancestors by defending these monuments and reenacting battles, they are limiting

their Southern heritage to the four years of war that were fought to preserve slavery.

While not a perfect documentary, *Monumental Crossroads* understands the difficult discussion about the monuments and handles it in a mature and respectable way. Van den Hoff is by no means supporting the keeping of the statues, but he does give a differing perspective on those who defend them. This film wants those who are part of the discussion to understand how and why those who defend the monuments are so passionate in their opinions. The most unique part of the film is the multitude of opinions, presented by a diverse group of Southerners, on why the monuments should be kept, because their rationales are wildly different—from a local newspaper writer who see the monuments as historical war memorials and local art pieces, via a Black Confederate supporter who sees them as a monument to African Americans as much as White Southerners, to the upper echelon of local Confederate memorial organizations who state they are simply defending their heritage and owe it to their ancestors. The reason we see no interviews with extremists like the KKK is because viewers should already know where they would stand; instead, we hear from those who seem harmless in their opinions but are unknowingly repeating propaganda that has reverberated for over a hundred years and is now embedded in their beliefs. The last part of the film, in which we see that school children today are still being taught propaganda and pro-Confederate viewpoints is a skillful touch by Van den Hoff to show that the struggle is ongoing and will probably not end soon.

Monumental Crossroads is a great starting point for those who are interested in the discussion on the morality of these monuments. We are currently seeing the most social change since the 1960s, and this discussion seems to encompass the entire country. It is also suitable for those interested in the history of the Civil War and the lasting impacts of the amendments and policies that followed. That said, *Monumental Crossroads* understands that it is not a historical piece on Civil War history but, rather, a discussion piece on American accountability. A mature discussion on a nation that is just now coming to grips with its difficult and racist past is difficult to make, but Van den Hoff does it well. The multiple perspectives shown here leave viewers wondering whether some of the interviewees are willingly ignorant or whether something more heinous is at play. *Monumental Crossroads* alerts to the danger that arises when history is not just forgotten, but outright ignored. Hopefully, this documentary's theme will resonate with viewers and make them ask themselves whether or not they owe anything to their ancestors—no matter what they did.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: *Jacob Romero of Huntington Beach, California, is currently pursuing a B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF).*

Noble Blood [podcast].

Hosted by Dana Schwartz. 2019 to present.

iHeartRadio; Grim and Mild Entertainment. 60+ episodes (30-35 minutes each).

People the world over engage in poor decision-making, familial drama, and questionable romantic choices every day; one need only turn to the internet to see such incidents on public display. But add a royal crown to the situation, and, well, one may end up with a far bloodier and deadlier outcome than anticipated. *Noble Blood*, a podcast hosted by Dana Schwartz, delves into the stories of some of history's most captivating royals, examining the scandals, tragedies, and triumphs of those with the blood of nobility coursing through their veins.

Noble Blood is the brainchild of Dana Schwartz, an American author and journalist, and is produced by Grim & Mild Entertainment. Considering Schwartz's catalogue of work, a history podcast would seem out of place. She has written four books: *And We're Off*, a young adult novel; *Choose Your Own Disaster*, a memoir; *The White Man's Guide to White Male Writers of the Western Canon*, a comedic book based on her viral parody Twitter account @GuyInYourMFA; and *Anatomy: A Love Story*, a story in the gothic tradition that combines romance and mystery. Her journalistic works typically focus on pop culture and current events, infusing humor with social commentary. So, a podcast that focuses on the sometimes sordid and scandalous details of past royals, does not quite seem to fit until one considers the careful, level-headed approach that she takes regarding all her subject matters. While *Noble Blood* may examine the scandals surrounding an individual, Schwartz takes great care not to fall into sensationalism. Rather, she takes pride in correcting the record in places where myth, legend, and fiction have taken the place of fact, unmasking the nuanced narrative behind what may have long been presented as truth.

In Episode 49, "The Mad Tyrant," Dana Schwartz delves into the life of King George III of England (ruled 1760-1820) from his birth in 1738, a dangerous two months early, to his death after nearly a decade of battling what physicians of the time diagnosed as madness. Great attention is paid to King George III's relationship with the American colonies, which he so famously "lost." The king was a rigid, traditional man who saw it as his duty to defend Parliament's legal right to raise taxes as they chose, thus his support of the taxation of the colonies was far less about absolutism and far more about protecting the power of the parliamentary system. (17:03) And as Schwartz is quick to point out, such sentiment was not uncommon in Britain. Thus, the king's commitment to support Parliament's decision that Britain take action to protect its property and officials would not have been seen by the people of Britain as tyrannical. In fact, King George experienced a rather high level of popularity later in his reign, so when he experienced his second bout of "madness" in 1810, the people of England were quite concerned. While his insanity has been often tied into the narrative of the American colonial fight for independence, in actuality, he did not experience a

decline in his mental health until thirty years after the events of the American Revolution. In addressing the illness that plagued him in the latter half of his life, Schwartz offers a sympathetic view toward his plight, remarking repeatedly on the sad and tragic nature of it: "He became a shell of his former self, wandering through a palace with a long white beard, rambling incoherently, forgetting the identities of his loved ones, and then forgetting himself [...] The King of England's life ended bleakly, a prisoner in his own palace. The most powerful man in the country with absolutely no power anymore." (05:06) In relaying the reality of King George III's madness, particularly its treatment by doctors, Schwartz evokes a sense of pity for the man, an odd feeling when contrasted with the knowledge that he was, after all, a powerful monarch with extreme privilege.

Highlighting untold tales is a recurring theme in the *Noble Blood* podcast, and such stories are not limited to those with a direct path to inherit a throne. In Episode 45, "Love from Poland," Schwartz focuses on the life of Krystyna Skarbek (a.k.a. Christine Granville, 1908-1952), the daughter of a Polish count and a Jewish heiress, who went on to become one of the most famous secret agents in British history. Skarbek's story reads like a James Bond novel, a spy thriller that finds her skiing across the border of Hungary into Nazi-occupied Poland to deliver British propaganda and news materials to underground printing presses, escaping Hungary via the trunk of a vehicle driven by a member of the British Embassy, and parachuting into France to join the resistance. Schwartz celebrates the legacy of a woman whose name is not often heard in America when speaking of World War II: "She was the first female British special agent and their longest serving female agent, a woman who had lived a life filled with adventure and bravery [...] who had lived life only on her terms." (27:03) After Poland had been invaded and World War II broke out, Skarbek could not remain uninvolved after seeing the injustices committed in the country where she had been raised. She attempted to enroll in active combat, but was rejected given her gender and as a result turned toward the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) as a means of offering her services. At one point, Skarbek brazenly rescued a number of other agents from execution by the Gestapo by bluffing that she was the niece of British General Bernard Montgomery and wife of one of the captured agents. Promising retribution should any harm come to the prisoners, Skarbek convinced the officer in charge that British forces were on their way. (20:15) Krystyna Skarbek had the type of life that many would call unrealistic if it was presented as a film or novel. Schwartz commemorates her life, but also examines her death, one that poses a danger to women today. While serving as a steward on a passenger liner with the Union-Castle Line, a British shipping line that operated between Europe and Africa, Skarbek caught the attention of fellow steward Dennis George Muldowney. Even though she openly declined his amorous advances, he continued to pursue her. On June 15, 1952, Muldowney stabbed Skarbek to death in the stairwell of the Shelbourne Hotel in London, England. Skarbek had survived

World War II, but could not survive the entitlement of a man facing romantic rejection.

Schwartz does not limit the podcast to the European continent and its nobles. Several episodes focus on the royalty of Africa and Asia including Episode 42, "Queen Njinga's Cleverness." As queen of what is now northern Angola, Njinga (1583-1663) ruled the united kingdoms of Ndongo and Matamba while deftly circumventing attempts of colonization by Portugal. A diplomat and a warrior queen, she reigned for thirty-seven years after the deaths of both her father and brother, serving as "an inspiration to the spirit of African independence against colonialists." (04:10) From a young age, Njinga received training in diplomacy and fighting, excelling in both. Her father, who became king of the Ndongo when she was 10 years old, had her participate in numerous official government duties, preparing her for a life of battling against Portuguese forces both physically and politically. Schwartz is attentive in the characterization of Njinga and her legacy, recognizing the subject's complexity: while Njinga was fiercely anti-colonial, a woman holding power in a male-dominated society, a warrior and a fighter, she was also an elite woman who lived off the labor of other, collaborating in the slave trade and fighting other African people on behalf of the Portuguese. (05:24) As Schwartz posits, "it is in many ways more empowering to tell the stories of heroic figures as contradictory characters full of weakness and failures of insight. It enables us to see our own choices and potentials more clearly and to understand that imperfect people can have a powerful, liberating impact on the world." (05:42)

In order to construct each episode of *Noble Blood*, Schwartz and her podcast team conduct a great deal of research, collecting and reading through numerous primary and secondary sources. For instance, as Schwartz weaves together the story of King George III, Schwartz references a number of accounts that document his life, acknowledging the presence of bias as needed: "one source, albeit a biased source with a grudge against the Prince of Wales, claimed that George could not read until he was eleven years old, but more accurate reports state that he could read and write in both English and German by age eight." (Episode 49, 07:28) Acknowledging bias is especially crucial in episodes that deal with royals in Africa like Njinga. Many of the surviving sources were written by Christian missionaries and imperialist Europeans who were not interested in depicting the indigenous population in an accurate manner: "As a female African ruler, propaganda from European missionaries would paint her in incredibly racist and sexist terms, claiming she was a cannibal and extremely promiscuous." (Episode 42, 04:37) Schwartz is careful to delineate the apocryphal from fact, openly stating when a piece of information is likely a rumor. Occasionally, Schwartz will directly mention the type of source (a letter, diary entry, church record, article, book, etc.) and its context. In the episode "Queen Njinga's Cleverness," she often cites leading historians and their works. For example, she specifically references Dr. Linda Heywood as well as Aurora Levins Morales's article "Historian as Curandera" in the discussion of presenting an accurate and nuanced depiction of a complex

historical figure like Queen Njinga. More often than not, though, she relies upon phrases like “by most accounts,” “reports state,” “a source reports,” and “quoted as saying” to relay that the information being presented is from another source. Her information is frequently synthesized from a variety of primary and secondary sources rather than from a singular text. Given that the podcast is intended for the general populace, such omissions are understandable as they allow for a smooth narrative style; it is a story, not a research paper. While the podcast does serve to educate its audience about the lives of historical figures, it must also fulfill the purpose of entertaining the listener.

And in entertaining its audience, *Noble Blood* certainly succeeds. I frequently recommend this podcast to friends and family members who have even a passing interest in history. Each episode of *Noble Blood* constitutes a single story, typically running around 30 to 35 minutes. (At the time of writing, there are over 60 total episodes with new releases every two weeks.) Personally, I hardly notice the time passing and am always left wanting to know more. Dana Schwartz’s delivery style is a large part of this as her tone is polished but passionate. Her voice invites the audience into the story, placing emphasis on important details and vivid descriptions. Truly, this podcast is worth the time, and I highly recommend it. If *Noble Blood* catches your attention, there are several other podcasts that may draw your interest. In the same vein, the podcasts *Lore* and *Unobscured* (also produced by Grim & Mild Entertainment) seek to illuminate the darker side of the past, pairing thorough primary and secondary source research with a narrative style that enthralls the audience. *Lore* focuses on true-life scary stories, examining the creatures, people, and places that make up the history behind common folklore because sometimes truth is more frightening than fiction. *Unobscured*, on the other hand, has twelve-episode seasons (four seasons in total at the time of writing) which center on a single subject such as Jack the Ripper or the Salem Witch Trials, combining narrative storytelling with interviews from prominent historians. As with *Noble Blood*, these are topics and historical figures who have been revisited numerous times in stories and media, but time has stolen away perspective, obscuring reality. All are worth listening to whether you are a devoted historian or simply someone who enjoys occasionally dabbling in such topics.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Rachel Jensen of Buena Park, California, earned her B.A. in History and English at Rider University (2015) in Lawrenceville, New Jersey, where she belonged to 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 her Single Subject Teaching Credentials in Social Science and English at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2017), and is currently pursuing an M.A. in History at CSUF.

The Professor and the Madman [film].

Directed by P. B. Shemran (Farhad Safinia). 2019.

Voltage Pictures; Fábrica de Cine; Definition Films; et al. 124 minutes.

The history behind the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) is both interesting and complex. However, it has never been the topic of a feature film, which is not

surprising, given the general public's general disinterest in philology or lexicography. Yet, P. B. Shemran's recent film, *The Professor and the Madman*, illustrates that a dramatization of this story can work astoundingly well. *The Professor and the Madman* is a biographical drama set in the second half of the nineteenth century. Initial research for the *OED* began in 1857, and its first pages were printed in 1884.

Most of the film is loosely based on the interaction between the Scottish amateur philologist James Murray (1837-1915), who became the editor of the *OED* project in 1879, and the American army surgeon Dr. William Chester Minor (1834-1920), one of the *OED*'s most active volunteer contributors. The film follows their two largely separate, yet intertwined life stories. While Murray is working on the project in Oxford, Minor is locked up in a mental asylum (Broadmoor) and labeled as "insane" for murdering a man by the name of George Merrett, but – when tried in a court of law – he had been found not guilty by reason of insanity, which is why he had subsequently been sent to an asylum. When Murray applies for the position of editor for the *OED* project, he is initially looked down upon by some of the board members at Oxford because he had not finished school, after dropping out at the age of fourteen, and never obtained an academic degree. The reason he is eventually offered the editor position is because of his proficiency in numerous ancient and modern languages. In addition to his intelligence, Murray shows his resourcefulness when, at a dinner where opposing views fly across the table, he suggests that the best way to capture the diversity of a language would be to find volunteers from wherever English is spoken.

Eliza Merrett, the widow of the man that Minor had shot, adds an important layer to the film and allows Minor to have a character arc. Minor tries to send money to her, as poverty had forced her to resort to prostitution. However, she is unwilling to receive any support from her husband's murderer. Since, at this time, most academic interaction takes place by means of written correspondence, Minor is able to volunteer his lexicographical services for the *OED* project despite his incarceration. When Minor becomes one of the *OED*'s most industrious and prolific contributors, Murray visits him at Broadmoor and is surprised to meet in him an inmate rather than (as he had expected) a staff member. When Murray sees Minor's shackles, he tells him that he is not alone. The screenplay contains numerous subtle messages like this, and its frequent use of symbolism fits well with the film's subject matter.

Eliza Merrett eventually accepts Minor's help, soon grows attached to him, and thanks him for everything he has done for her, and all the money and gifts he has sent. Her children, too, are told to thank Minor toward the end of the film, but the children are not comfortable seeing him, and the eldest daughter even attacks him because of the anger she feels toward her father's murderer. Eliza tells Minor that she used to be angry at him, and he replies that she should still hate him. When she shows affection toward him, his insanity spirals out of control, and he harms himself. Eventually, he is deported back to the United States. The film ends with

the unfortunate news that they were not able finish what they had set out to do, so work on the *OED* continues (and the full first edition would not be published until 1928). The final scene is bittersweet and shows Murray leaving his workspace to go outside and spend time with his family.

The acting in *The Professor and the Madman* is excellent. I believe that the standout actor is Mel Gibson as James Murray. For an actor, the Scottish accent is one of the hardest to attempt. Gibson makes it seem natural. Sean Penn (as William Chester Minor) and Natalie Dormer (as Eliza Merrett) do a fantastic job as well. Their relationship, transitioning from her hate to mutual care, seems very authentic. The screenplay and cinematography set the tone exceedingly well. The sets are grand and transport viewers back into the nineteenth century. *The Professor and the Madman* was filmed in Dublin, and there was a legal dispute because of the production company failing to arrange for filming days in Oxford, ultimately resulting in Mel Gibson not promoting the film. This is a shame, because the film deserves to be promoted. Its script is unlike other Mel Gibson films, which usually feature a fast-paced plot, a macho man, and grotesque violence. *The Professor and the Madman* takes a much different approach. The screenplay is subtle, there is no overacting, and instead there is clear character development. When it comes to Minor spiraling into insanity, the script allows for room to breathe: there is not just screaming and yelling, and there are subtle moments when Minor seems completely lucid. There is a brilliantly written line when Murray is sitting on a bench next to Minor, and Murray, reflecting on how brilliant Minor is, says, "A professor and a madman working together, but which is which."

If you enjoy *The Professor and the Madman*, I recommend that you also read the non-fiction monograph on which it is based, namely, *The Surgeon of Crowthorne*, by Simon Winchester (1998). The main differences between film and book are that the film seems to end on a happier note, and the depiction of the mental hospital is more intense in the book. A film that is somewhat similar in style and tone to *The Professor and the Madman*, and also features excellent acting, is Joe Wright's 2017 drama *Darkest Hour*, a film about Winston Churchill and his refusal to negotiate with Hitler.

In sum, *The Professor and the Madman* is a very well-made film. It features great acting and a set design that makes the time period appear distinct and vibrant. The film's characters may not be especially likable, but they are relatable. Although I absolutely enjoyed the material, the screenplay may be a bit too slow for some. There are long sections in this film where there is nothing but clever and subtle dialogue. Overall, the film provides a unique perspective on the *Oxford English Dictionary* project. I hope that, in the future, other intellectual projects will receive the cinematic attention they deserve. The story of *The Professor and the Madman* is simply too good to not be widely known.

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Reviews (Games)

Ghost of Tsushima: Director's Cut

[single-player open-world action-adventure stealth video game].

Developer: Sucker Punch Productions.

Platforms: PlayStation 4, PlayStation 5.

Release date: August 20, 2021.

The year is 1274 C.E. A samurai army, led by Lord Shimura, marches toward the landing Mongol fleet. The mission: repel the invaders. A lone samurai is sent to challenge the Mongol leader to an honorable fight, one-on-one, but he is quickly doused with an accelerant and set ablaze with a torch. The samurai charge forward, prepared to avenge their fallen comrade. The result: the Mongol army brutally massacres the samurai. Lord Shimura is captured, and the main protagonist, Jin Sakai, is left for dead. *Ghost of Tsushima*, developed by Sucker Punch Productions, follows the story of Jin Sakai as he attempts to save Lord Shimura, his uncle, from the Mongols and retake the island of Tsushima from their control. Jin reluctantly decides to use any means necessary to accomplish his goals, whether they follow the samurai code or not. Jin's exploits eventually earn him the title of *The Ghost*—the newly-created living myth of a fierce, merciless warrior. Sucker Punch Productions weaves this elaborate story into a video game which succeeds on various fronts. Sucker Pucker Productions is also responsible for the successful *Sly Cooper* (since 2002) and *Infamous* franchises (since 2009).

The prevailing theme in *Ghost of Tsushima* is honor. Throughout the game, the underlying conflict in the main storyline is the role of honor in Jin Sakai's actions. Jin was raised, trained, and surrounded by the samurai. He was taught how to uphold himself in life and in battle (i.e., with honor). As the story progresses, Jin goes against the samurai code and begins to use tactics he knows would be forbidden by his fellow samurai. These tactics include using fear as a weapon, assassinating enemies instead of facing them head-on, attacking to cause suffering instead of attacking to kill, and using poison instead of conventional samurai weapons. The developers did an exceptional job of having this conflict grow over the course of the game. Non-player characters (NPCs) make comments about Jin as we explore the world, such as, "He tears them apart like a beast!" Lord Shimura sees glimpses of these dishonorable methods and reminds Jin that he is supposed to be an honorable samurai, that he is not *The Ghost*. However, after a bridge explosion leads to the death of many samurai, Jin and Lord Shimura argue and disagree on their next step. Jin ultimately takes matters into his own hands.

Jin sneaks into the Mongol camp and poisons the enemy forces, much to the disappointment of Lord Shimura. Jin is then imprisoned by the samurai for his actions, though he eventually breaks out with the help of his allies. This sequence of events brings up the sub-theme of the game, namely, duty to the Shogun versus duty to the people. Lord Shimura and the samurai denounce Jin for breaking the samurai code and the Shogun's law. Meanwhile, Jin argues that his actions are

necessary to prevent further deaths and protect the people of the island. After his escape, samurai NPCs are often heard stating that Jin is a monster, but civilians are heard asserting that *The Ghost* is a hero for protecting them. Jin eventually sneaks back into Lord Shimura's castle to enlist his help for a coordinated attack on the Mongol forces. Lord Shimura has forbidden the use of Jin Sakai's name in his presence since the latter has dishonored himself, so Jin is only referred to as *The Ghost*. The final encounter between Jin Sakai and Lord Shimura occurs in the game's last mission. Lord Shimura informs Jin that the Shogun has disbanded Clan Sakai, and they have met so Shimura can kill him. The developers use this encounter to bring the conversation back to the question of honor. Lord Shimura once again tells Jin that he has no honor, while Jin accuses Shimura of being a slave to honor. This new perspective on the conflict demonstrates how much these two characters have drifted apart both emotionally and in their respective mindsets. This scene serves as one final pull on the player's emotions, and it is extremely effective in doing so.

Two of the greatest aspects of this game are its use of visuals and audio to enhance the gaming experience. The island of Tsushima is covered with various environments to show off the natural beauty of Japan, as well as the destructive consequences of the Mongol invasion. Throughout the island's landscapes, the player can encounter a large, open field of white flowers, a burning field or village, or a lake surrounded by trees with rich, red leaves. The transitions between these distinctive environments are smooth (i.e., you can see the natural change from one environment to the next), keeping players visually engaged as they traverse the open world. The visual component also contributes to the storytelling. For example, Jin encounters Ujimasa Yarikawa, a former samurai whose clan was disbanded after it had led a rebellion against the Shogun. The remnants of the clan established the town of Yarikawa whose layout closely resembles Castle Kaneda, the fortress which Lord Shimura is inhabiting at this point in the game. However, the differences between the two areas are striking: Yarikawa's color scheme is dark and bland, while Castle Kaneda's color scheme is bright and involves plenty of contrast. The dark colors represent Yarikawa's dark past and uncertain future, while the bright colors represent Lord Shimura's proud past and optimistic future. The style and quality of the visuals are beautiful and unmatched by most games.

The auditory component further enhances the enjoyment of the game. As players travel around Tsushima, they can hear birds chirping, their horse's footsteps, an arrow whizzing by their head, or the enemy's battle cry as they charge into battle. Furthermore, the game's soundtrack does an excellent job of matching the situation at hand. While a player is traveling or sneaking through a camp, the only sounds come from nature. When a player engages in combat, the music swells to match the intensity of the battle. When fighting major enemies (e.g., Lord Shimura or the Mongol Khan), the soundtrack is much different from any other fight and seems to really tug at the player's emotions. It is done quite well.

Ghost of Tsushima's gameplay is similar to other open-world games. Players have a variety of weapons to use in combat engagements, such as kunai, bow and arrows, bombs, katana (primary blade), and tanto (secondary/assassination blade). Some of these weapons can be upgraded for better lethality, handling, etc. There are also several attacks which can be unlocked as the player progresses through the game. This can be an overwhelming amount of information to remember while in the midst of a battle (i.e., which button combinations to use, which weapon might be best suited to the situation, etc.). However, this variety in weapons and attacks prevents the gameplay from becoming stale, a problem which could have easily occurred with a game of this length. In addition, players can earn and unlock several types of samurai armor. Each armor can be used for specific situations since they enhance certain attributes (e.g., overall health, stealth ability, overall damage, etc.). Armor serves both a functional purpose but also allows players to express themselves since it can be customized with different color schemes. The weakest aspect of the gameplay is the tracking mechanic. When a player decides to track an objective or mission from the map, there is a gust of wind that directs the player toward the objective. However, the wind gust does not take into account rivers, mountains, or any other natural blockades. So, it was frustrating to follow the game's directions, expecting to easily arrive at an objective but still spending extra time navigating past an obstacle. However, this does not detract too much from enjoying the game.

With regard to the historical and cultural aspect, *Ghost of Tsushima* does an excellent job of respecting Japan and the samurai in several ways. Firstly, the idea of honor is at the forefront of Jin's journey, and the game clearly establishes honor as an integral part of being a samurai. In addition, the game allows the player to unlock and switch between different fighting stances. This mechanic pays homage to the fact that samurai would learn different fighting styles which best suited them and their individual skills. Secondly, there are several Torii gates scattered throughout the island, and these gates lead to Shinto shrines. When the player reaches a shrine, Jin is given the option to clean it up and pray. Thirdly, certain locations prompt the player to sit down and admire something about the surrounding environment (e.g., look at the falling leaves, the sunset, etc.). A haiku is composed based on what the player decides to admire, and it is then recited by Jin as a short cinematic scene is played, which contains the areas the player had decided to admire. Lastly, the game has an option for "Kurosawa" mode. With this mode turned on, the game is overlaid with a grainy black-and-white filter which imitates the style of director Akira Kurosawa's films. Furthermore, there is an option to change the dialogue language to Japanese. With "Kurosawa" mode and the Japanese dialogue setting turned on, *Ghost of Tsushima* comes close to capturing the authenticity of a classic samurai film. The two downsides from having these settings turned on is that "Kurosawa" mode essentially deprives players of the rich colors and environments present in the game, and the Japanese

dialogue may cause some players to focus more on “reading” the scene rather than fully appreciating it. Nevertheless, *Ghost of Tsushima* pays homage to its setting.

Ghost of Tsushima is an overall enjoyable game from start to finish, but it is most likely not suitable for gamers who are looking for an easy-to-learn game. Remembering when and how to use the different fighting stances, which armor is best for the situation at hand, and the various weapons on hand can be frustrating at times. However, anyone who has played and enjoyed other open-world combat games, such as *God of War* (2018), *Horizon Zero Dawn* (2017), or the *Assassin’s Creed* franchise (since 2007), will most likely enjoy this game as well since it utilizes a similar system for unlocking new abilities and similar controls for fighting. Individuals who have an interest in Japanese culture, history, or the samurai will appreciate the game’s narrative, as well as its dedication to honoring Japan. The complex gameplay and compelling narrative make it obvious that Sucker Punch Productions put a lot of hard work and passion into *Ghost of Tsushima*.

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Humankind

[single-player/multiplayer turn-based strategy 4X video game].

Developer: Amplitude Studios.

Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, Google Stadia, MacOS, Steam.

Release date: August 17, 2021.

Do you ever wish that humanity could follow a different path in history where the outlook is not so gloomy? Where you get to decide what is best for society? Where you are in charge? If so, then look no further than *Humankind*, where you (the player) lead your people to greatness in history books or to ruin and eventual oblivion. *Humankind* was developed by Amplitude Studios, and the game is considered their “magnum opus” of historical strategy games. Prior to *Humankind*, they had already created several strategy games and demonstrated their experience in this field, but these games had been based on science-fiction themes. Such games include the *Endless Space* series, which focuses on having players control civilizations far into the future and lead them to greatness. Knowing this, though, some players and critics have embraced the change in creative direction. That said, the game and its developers still have a long way to go before they can call this game a masterpiece. As of now, *Humankind* stands at a 7/10 with critics and a near 6/10 with players. The consensus between the two is that the game is a “breath of fresh air” as it presents a new take in the civilization-focused genre. Players are enjoying the narrative of changing their cultures as time progresses, as well as the fluid gameplay. However, they criticize some of the in-game mechanics, such as pollution, and that some cultures are simply too powerful when compared to others. For this review, I will be looking at the game’s visuals

and gameplay and eventually explore where the game does shine and where it does not. In the end, I will discuss whether this game is worth the purchase or not.

For starters, I was impressed that the developers at Amplitude wanted to push the narrative of an all-encompassing, humanity-based strategy game compared to the mono-culture narrative at the heart of MicroProse's and Sid Meier's video game series *Civilization*. At first glance, both are eerily similar turn-based games where players are given the "explore," "expand," "exploit," and "exterminate" or the 4X format in a single turn. I thought it would be an almost 1:1 rehash of most strategy games with minor twists. However, Amplitude was serious about its goal, and one can see this in the game's artwork. On their website, a cluster of historical figures and vehicles can be seen heading towards a city (dominated by pyramids). These figures are immediately recognizable even by non-history buffs: there is a modern scientist holding hands with a Celtic warrior, an astronaut, a Chinese settler, and – if one has a keen eye – a Roman Praetorian Guard and a Carthaginian war elephant. One can also spot planes from different eras flying in the sky. While historically inaccurate, it is beautiful artwork that portrays the goal of this game, which is a historical simulation in a game format.

Inside *Humankind*, the visuals continue to be just as impressive and realistic as they can be. Every single one of the game's 60 cultures has been recreated to be as historically accurate as possible and is a treat to behold. For example, when I started the game choosing the Harappans in the Ancient Era, they had their profile picture along with their own unit, building, and trait. The profile picture shows a man standing alongside a woman, overlooking an extensive canal network filled with farm plants and animals. The man's face looks like the statue (of the Priest-King) found at Mohenjo-Daro, and the latter is confirmed to have served as an inspiration to the artists. The Harappans, in this game, have a strong food economy, and its building supports that with a specialized canal network. When built along rivers, it increases food yields in the surrounding areas. As for units, the Harappans have a runner geared toward scouting and establishing first contact rather than conducting warfare. As an extra, players can zoom in and find a bustling, baked-brick-built city that mimics Harappan society and see traders and people roaming about the districts. All of this is the developers' educated guess what the real Harappan civilization would have been like, and it is rich. This synopsis is just one of the 60 cultures created by Amplitude but covering them all here would be beyond the scope of this review.

On the in-game map, the game offers highly detailed tiles that have differing biomes along with pre-marked territory lines. Such biomes can range from a desert to a tundra or to a deep ocean. Furthermore, these tiles can have food, industry, science, or money symbols attached to them. The tiles can be exclusive to one type, but some have overlapping types. For example, if one builds a harbor district, shallow water tiles may have food and money qualities attached to them. In the early game, territories and tiles have randomly generated curiosities and small events on the tile. When a unit moves onto them, they and your faction gain a

random number of resources. Territories have distinct map markers on their tiles as well. These are divided into two resources: strategic resources and luxury resources. Luxury resources, such as sage or coffee, can provide a boost to your culture and serve as a product for trade. Strategic resources, such as iron or horses, provide your culture with the necessary infrastructure and special units to build. These can be traded but are harder to part with as you could be providing your potential enemy with the materials they need.

Depending on your luck, territories may also contain natural wonders of the world. Examples of such wonders are the Hạ Long Bay in Vietnam or the Yellowstone Geysers in North America. By finding these wonders, the discovering player's faction can earn fame points, and in addition, building an outpost or city there grants additional perks. Overall, this falls in line with other strategy games utilizing geographic determinism, implying that human history and society shape themselves according to their physical environment. By finding the best spot, players can grow themselves better than those unlucky enough to find areas to place their city early on in the game.

Humankind focuses on the narrative of human progression and long-term history-making. In-game, players go through seven eras to arrive where we are now, namely, the Neolithic, Ancient, Classical, Medieval, Early Modern, Industrial, and Contemporary Eras. Each of these eras has ten cultures related to its time. Players can get from one period to another by completing a series of tasks. Each task grants the player an era star, with seven of these stars needed to change cultures and progress to the next time period. Such duties may include researching the best science, growing the largest population, expanding one's city districts, winning the most victories, or exerting dominating influence on others. But it must be a combination of these tasks as these tasks grant you one star, each with a maximum of three stars being attainable per category. Focusing on one duty is a terrible idea as it makes your culture inflexible or difficult to progress with. A straightforward solution could be expanding your city by building science quarters (districts) that contribute to your research points and eventually land you two stars rather than one.

Battles in this game are fought both at home and abroad. In a battle with other armies, the game takes a macro-level, turn-based fight where unit stats are calculated based on a unit's combat strength, its innate modifiers, and the surrounding terrain modifiers. Even if your army is being attacked by a higher-era unit, you can still inflict damage on them by skillfully maneuvering your forces and using the terrain to your advantage. At home, you must keep your culture's war support high. If it falls to below ten "war support points" or lands at zero, you are forced to surrender to the enemy, and they are allowed to take any territories, districts, or trade routes you may have. To prevent this, victories are the key to secure yourself at home.

Despite how daunting and detailed the gameplay may sound, it is easy to understand after the first game or so. That said, this game rewards those who have

a plan on how to win and are patient with their culture. In the first game, I was utterly decimated as I had let my fear of falling behind the others control me. In a culture-vs.-culture-based game, falling behind your competitors increases your chances of being eliminated. I had tried to expand quickly, playing as the Babylonians, but the Babylonians were not equipped for heavy expansion. Instead, they were a scientific culture. By not understanding this, I squandered my culture's potential and was easily overcome by the neighboring Maya faction who sought to invade me. The game punishes those who rush into cultures and encourages a slower approach instead. Having the experience of six or more games by now, I highly recommend scouting out a perfect location for your capital and to continue scouting. Doing this will build a strong foundation for upcoming eras and provide you with the resources needed.

While the game is good, it is not perfect by any means and has a few issues. A massive issue pertains to the pollution mechanics implemented in the game. When a player (any player) reaches the industrial era, pollution starts to affect the planet and you long before the modern era. If left unaddressed, the player will suffer from rising tensions between cities and their neighbors due to irresponsible polluting created by their developing nation. Eventually, global warming will take effect and the planet becomes uninhabitable which results in a total loss for all players involved. As a solution, players can reduce their pollution numbers by planting forests or building nuclear power plants. As a historian, I understand why this was implemented as, in fact, there have been concerted efforts to address environmental issues such as the cleaning of England's Thames River during the industrial era. However, in the gamer's perspective, there are no ecological pretexts or events to set up pollution mechanics and global warming to prepare the player. As a result, pollution comes as a rude awakening for players who aren't prepared. It would make a lot more sense for the developers to introduce an environmental mechanic that starts early and progresses with the player as they evolve.

Another issue is that of cultural imbalances. Some cultures are highly sought after due to their benefits and perks, such as the Harappans in the ancient era. The Harappans offer a massive food boom, and due to this, the player achieves a larger population. Having a large population means building more armies that are almost unrivaled when compared to other cultures of the same era. Another popular culture is that of the subsequent Achaemenid Persians where players aim to grab their legacy perk of having two more cities to control. Normally, the game allows a culture to have two cities with technology perks allowing for more but choosing the Persians would grant the player a total of four cities: allowing for a massive economic boost in the long-term gameplay. By contrast, the Roman Empire, in the same era, is not as sought-after despite offering less upkeep for their army and more units in said army. I believe this is where Amplitude will need to spend more time on balancing in the future.

Overall, I believe that those who play the *Civilization* series will greatly enjoy playing *Humankind* as well. Both share the same turn format so it will not be difficult to get on board. I recommend playing *Humankind*, but only tentatively. At its release, the multiplayer side was still unstable, and the game would crash for its players. In addition, some of the gameplay mechanics/cultures boasted by Amplitude are either too detrimental or too powerful. However, Amplitude has shown the dedication and commitment to keep this game updated. Their previous sci-fi games like the *Endless Space* series were shown the same love/commitment and today boasts a comeback score of 8.5/10 by critics. I certainly enjoyed my time seeing my culture grow, and as the months pass by, I believe *Humankind* will be a great alternative to the kind of strategy game that *Civilization* has monopolized in years past.

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Imperator: Rome

[single-player/multiplayer grand strategy wargame/video game].

Developer: Paradox Development Studio.

Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, MacOS, Linux.

Release date: April 25, 2019.

Veni, vidi, vici, “I came, I saw, I conquered” — a phrase coined by none other than the great Julius Caesar, a man who turned Rome into a powerful empire that conquered vast regions and exerted tremendous influence. What would one do in such a position of power? In the video game *Imperator: Rome*, one can explore the challenges of building an empire from the ground up.

Imperator: Rome is a complex strategy game that allows users to pursue the fate of their own virtual Rome. The game has two options: single-player and multiplayer. In single-player mode, players start their story of empire in Rome, which is comprised of eleven provinces, and neighboring territories are made up in a similar fashion. The players’ goal is to expand their power and grow from a small territory to a powerful empire. The game measures certain actions to serve as a guide to the status of one’s young nation; these include treasury, manpower, political influence, military experience, stability, aggressive expansion, war expansion, tyranny, and support in the Senate. Each serves as a way to keep the player in check and not just focus on expansion but, rather, plan for a lasting empire that will stand the test of time. Some of these game measures are more obvious than others. Treasury and manpower, for example, are affected by taxes, and the available men who can serve in the armed forces of Rome during wars against other regions can negatively affect how a player’s citizens view their actions and might trigger a revolt or cause the Senate to act against the player. The game is clearly not just about expansion through war or conflict. This is where strategical moves to align yourself with others can help keep you and your allies

to stay safe from outside forces. The player can make friends with other nations via a range of different options, including trade, similarities in religious and cultural beliefs, and mutual interests against foreign invaders. *Imperator: Rome* drives home the importance of a prosperous and organized state of affairs both home and abroad. Each province has a leader or governor whose actions are measured to show whether a revolt may happen, based on the character a player puts in charge of a city or region. It is important to remember to keep the people happy at home while trying to do the best for them overseas and abroad.

The video game publisher for *Imperator: Rome* is Paradox Interactive which is headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden. Originally founded in 2004, they now market well over a hundred different strategy games, making them a leader in this particular genre of video games. Since 2006, the company has transitioned from selling physical copies of games to selling primarily digital copies instead. Each genre of video game attracts a specific type of player. Strategy games attract a particular subset of gamers who seek more challenging games that provide users with long hours of various gameplay and keep players entertained throughout their experience. This serves as the cornerstone to the Paradox group's success in the field of strategy games. According to Paradox Interactive's website, "[The] goal is to provide deep and challenging games and experiences, with hours of gameplay and endless variety, to our ever-growing community." Paradox Interactive achieves this goal quite handily in many of their games and have established a fanbase for each of their games. Supporters of Paradox Interactive find that their games have a wide range of variables that keep players engaged and wanting to play more.

The timeline of *Imperator: Rome* is loosely based on the founding of Rome and its transition to a mighty empire. On a historical note, the game seemingly tries to guide the player to make moves that resemble what happened in history, so the game's creator appears to have done rudimentary research on the history of Rome. The game's expansion packs imply that there is some understanding of critical moments that led to the creation of the Roman empire as we know it. There is mention of the Punic Wars and of the power vacuum that resulted from Alexander the Great's sudden death. Even the loading screens have noteworthy quotes from various individuals who were influential in ancient Rome. Due to the game's nature of allowing players to basically build their own version of Rome, it is difficult to say whether the game is entirely faithful to the history of the Roman empire. Certain factors prevent players from deviating too extensively from the story of Rome, but there is still room for players to feel as though they decide the fate of Rome.

Games similar to *Imperator: Rome* are, not surprisingly, also published by Paradox Interactive. Their most comparable game to *Imperator: Rome* is probably *Europa Universalis* (2000). Fans of the *Europa Universalis* series believe that a lot of their game's elements and game mechanics served as the foundation for *Imperator: Rome*. However, Fans also see the differences between the two games. In *Imperator:*

Rome's case, the world map is much larger and not limited to the sphere of influence of early European conquests. The map encompasses more regions which also include India and vast areas of the Middle East. The reason for the inclusion of these territories is to allow for connections to Alexander the Great and the power vacuum that resulted from his untimely death. Another game that is similar to *Imperator: Rome* in terms of its basic elements is *Great Conqueror: Rome* (2020) which is a mobile game, developed and published by EASY Inc. One could argue that *Great Conqueror: Rome* is a more streamlined version of *Imperator: Rome*; they are similar enough to compare their gameplay mechanics but even more similar in their depiction of Rome. *Great Conqueror: Rome* takes a similar approach to its game but allows the less experienced strategy gamer to explore the genre.

The strongest recommendation for the game would be to develop a complete tutorial. *Imperator: Rome* fails to provide an adequate tutorial and leaves little room for unexperienced players. Some video games are plagued with overly in-depth walk-throughs that become tedious to the players, but in *Imperator: Rome's* case, players have to deal with the opposite problem. The existing tutorial provides a really bare-bones approach that alienates and discourages new players from joining the community of advanced strategy games. The tutorial leaves users with many questions and provides no viable answers. This has resulted in fans relying on the existing community for answers. Some veteran players of the games made by Paradox Interactive have begun to make their own unofficial tutorials to help new players understand the complexities and nuances of the games. *Imperator: Rome* could garnish more support and popularity if the tutorial provided a more in-depth approach and demonstrations of each of the various choices that players have available to them. Since the game is comprised of many moving parts and various causes and actions, it would definitely help users to have a better foothold on what actions they can and should be taking. For new players, a little hand-holding would go a long way, especially for those not familiar with Paradox Interactive and the layout commonly used in their strategy games.

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A Total War Saga: Troy Mythos

[single-player/multiplayer turn-based/real-time strategy video game].

Developer: Creative Assembly, Feral Interactive.

Platforms: Microsoft Windows/PC, MacOS, Linux.

Release date: September 2, 2021.

When a man steals another man's wife, a whole civilization may burn to the ground. Over 2700 years after its conception, Homer's *Iliad* continues to capture people's imaginations. One especially popular recreation of the epic poem is Wolfgang Petersen's movie *Troy* (2004) which grossed almost half a billion dollars at the box office. However, for the sake of simplicity and entertainment purposes, Petersen's *Troy* left out many important details and characters. In 2020, Game

developer Creative Assembly tried their hand at the subject matter with the release of *A Total War Saga: Troy*, intending to add plausibility to the *Iliad*'s mythological events and characters in what they termed "The Truth Behind the Myth." But this philosophy ultimately fell flat as the fantasy community thought Creative Assembly had not gone far enough with Greek mythology, while the historical community became frustrated with the game's lack of realism. To remedy this, the company decided to release *A Total War Saga: Troy Mythos* on September 2, 2021, to provide both a more historical experience as well as a fully mythological one.

Although Creative Assembly has created games such as *Blood Money* (1989), *FIFA International Soccer* (1993), and *Viking: Battle for Asgard* (2008), they are best known for their *Total War* series which revolves around a turn-based campaign with elements of real-time strategy in various historical eras and regions. *A Total War Saga: Troy* introduced some new and welcome mechanics. Whereas in previous titles, players had the single resource of money to spend on building their empire, *Troy* added a more realistic approach by having players manage food, wood, stone, bronze, and the extremely rare and valuable gold. Another welcome addition is the "Divine Will" mechanic where a player can spend resources praying and sacrificing to the main gods of the Greek pantheon for various bonuses. However, other attempts to add variety fell short, such as allowing units to switch between wielding their weapons in a single or double-handed form. Because units already have stats (i.e., statistics) that make them suitable for specific roles, such as holding a line or flanking, this was an interesting but ultimately useless and ahistorical mechanic. A particularly annoying mechanic is the nemesis system where a certain faction will eventually declare war on the player and take away the option of entering diplomacy. This often results in players having to single out their nemesis faction before they can move on to their main objectives; further frustration is added due to the fact that a new nemesis will appear once the first one has been eliminated. There is also the recurring theme of players surviving the initial challenges of their campaigns, creating armies consisting of their elite units, and easily winning the game as the AI (artificial intelligence) cannot cope. Despite these hit-or-miss additions, Creative Assembly's *Troy* did well when it came to immersion and pulling from the *Iliad* for individual faction mechanics.

The first thing the player notices upon launch of *Troy* is the artwork. The main menu depicts a rotating round shield with bronze etchings while the player hears an ominous soundtrack, creating the sense that this is the beginning of an epic journey. Upon clicking on the "new campaign" tab, the player is shown bronze statues of the *Iliad*'s Danaan heroes: Achilles, Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Menelaus (at the time of writing this review, there is also optional paid downloadable content that adds Diomedes and Ajax). At the top of the screen, there is an option to switch to the Trojan factions where one can play as Hector, Paris, Aeneas, and Sarpedon, or if a player has access to the extra paid content, the Amazonian factions of Hippolyta and Penthesilea. After selecting a faction and

proceeding, the player is shown a cutscene describing the classic tale of Helen's abduction and is given some suggestions for first steps on the campaign map. After this, one immediately notices the campaign map, as it depicts symbols of cities, trade routes, and resources. The horizon and uncharted parts are displayed in a way that resembles clay pottery and ancient maps respectively. There is also evidence of Creative Assembly looking into scholarship as the equipment of units include bronze cuirasses from the Mycenaean period (which have been found in archaeological digs), crescent shields, and chariots. Moreover, units are delineated into light, medium, and heavy categories to provide some semblance of the fact that men had to buy and maintain their own arms and armor.

In addition to these weight classes, each faction comes with unique mechanics and units that suit a certain playstyle. For example, Achilles's faction revolves around lighter, more versatile units for maneuverability; Hector's faction consists of heavy units that are meant for frontal assaults or hammer-and-anvil strikes; and the Amazonian factions boast cavalry and fast-moving skirmishers. However, the lengths to which Creative Assembly went to be true to the epic poem does not end there, as they also pulled directly from it to make the factions truly unique. To give an example: according to the *Iliad*, Achilles was known to have mood swings, and the game features this in the form of four emotions that can be triggered by various events and actions: "proud" which has no effects; "indignant" which grants bonuses to resources and public order at the cost of influence over territories and diplomatic exchanges; "grieving" which grants bonuses to unit experience and favor with the gods at the cost of public order; and "outraged" which drastically increases unit effectiveness at the cost of resource production and growth in territories. To drive home the idea that he was the greatest warrior of the Trojan War, playing as Achilles also comes with a set of "living legend" popup missions that entail challenging local warriors. When the player challenges an opponent via the menu tab, one of three events occurs: the AI will either immediately recognize Achilles's superiority, deny the challenge and force the player to defeat the character on the battlefield, or trigger another popup menu that requires Achilles to leave his army for a few turns; the player can also opt out of these choices and find and defeat armies led by these warriors on the battlefield. After all challengers have been defeated, the player is given a few units for instant recruitment and receives a bonus that makes the hiring and upkeep of troops less expensive. This lasts for a limited period before the player must repeat this process.

With unique faction mechanics and a more difficult system of resource management, the base game was a welcome addition to the series after its initial game-breaking bugs had been patched. But much of its unpopularity came from the mentioned "Truth Behind the Myth" approach where mythological beings were portrayed with an essence of plausibility: giants were large men with mammoth skulls for helmets; the Minotaur was a man donning a bull's pelt; harpies were groups of skirmisher women in feathery clothing; and the centaurs were men on horseback. To unlock and recruit them, the player has to capture

settlements that denote their presence and build their respective structures. Due to these barriers and the fact that these units made a marginal difference in armies, they often went unrecruited in my campaigns. Further, Homeric characters such as Achilles were single-entity units with abilities such as health regeneration and stats that made normal units largely ineffective against them. It is for these reasons that the *Mythos* expansion became necessary.

As *Troy's* "Truth Behind the Myth" approach turned out to be a predominantly negative experience that was either not fantastical or historical enough for fans, the September 2, 2021, *Troy Mythos* update and expansion attempted to remedy this by adding a historical campaign that removes mythological units, turns heroes into general units with bodyguards, and compromises by making it so that Homeric characters cannot be killed (they can be wounded which renders them unavailable for a number of turns). It also adds a mythological campaign with units that resemble their depictions in legends, keeps heroes as single-entity units with legendary stats and abilities, and adds expeditions to hunt down and recruit one of three beasts of myth: Cerberus, the Griffin Patriarch, and the Hydra. When embarking on an expedition, the player must assemble a hunting party consisting of a general and troops to accompany them. After doing so, five dilemmas in the form of popup menu events occur, asking the player to make decisions directing the expedition. These events add units and bonuses and create conditions for the final confrontation. Once these conditions are met, a final battle that must be fought manually (rather than via the game's AI auto resolve function) appears with the result of recruiting the legendary monster into your ranks. Another welcome addition in this update is the empire management bar; as more armies are raised and settlements are upgraded, resource production and the cost of maintaining armies becomes increasingly inefficient, further adding a sense of realism as the player's empire inflates.

After playing through a mythological campaign as Diomedes with my expedition targeting Cerberus, I can say that this update and expansion is worthwhile for those who, like me, saw promise in bringing the *Total War* series to the Trojan War. Despite the fact that I prefer the more historical titles, the addition of the mythological campaign was an entertaining experience. Having Cerberus in my army, the hound's mechanics also brought the ability to recruit Elysian Shades (the undead souls of Hades), a new specialist agent, and a new commandment for fully owned provinces, which increases resource production and makes provinces immune to public order penalties. Moreover, the reworked mythological units are depicted as they are described in Greek mythology, are much more powerful, and further immerse the player. Although the units and Cerberus made battles relatively trivial, this was somewhat expected, as I was harnessing the power of the hound of Hades. The addition of the expedition also made this playthrough feel less stale. When added to the fact that Cerberus is one of three choices that brings new units, abilities, and commandments to the campaign, the replay ability of this game increases.

As for the historical campaign, I played, but did not finish, a playthrough as Aeneas due to time constraints. However, I can say that the addition of bodyguards to accompany generals made the game feel much more like its historical predecessors. It also makes campaigns more challenging due to the fact that the player cannot rely on the legendary strength and abilities of their generals. This is more in line with what I like to see in these games, and I will likely be putting more hours into this option as a result. One gripe I have is the lack of unit formations, which greatly takes away from the strategic aspects of this game. For instance, although the phalanx is mentioned in the *Iliad*, albeit sparingly, there is no such option in the game. While this is largely historical, as organized formations were not heavily implemented during this time, it makes battles feel dumbed down.

Overall, *Troy* with the *Troy Mythos* expansion is an enjoyable experience. However, if you are new to the series, *Troy Mythos* would not be my first choice, as it is more complex compared to its predecessors. Moreover, I cannot recommend *Troy* to new players, because it almost requires the *Mythos* expansion and paid additional content to be fully enjoyable. Choosing a previous title, such as *Rome* (2004), *Medieval 2* (2006), *Shogun 2* (2011), or *Rome 2* (2013) would probably be more beneficial for those who want to introduce themselves to the series. While these previous titles also come with additional paid content, the base games still provide a worthwhile experience. For those who enjoy fantasy, Creative Assembly has also released *Warhammer* (2016) and *Warhammer II* (2017), and is expected to release *Warhammer III* in late 2021. Another deterrent for newer players is the difficulty of battles. Although all titles in the series stress the importance of tactical maneuvers, such as flanking, this is especially important in *Troy Mythos*. Morale plays a much larger part as well, as beginning units tend to break rank more easily. In sum, if you are either a fervent fan of the Bronze Age and Greek mythology, or enjoyed reading the *Iliad* and want to see it recreated, or someone who is not new to the franchise, or all of the above, *A Total War Saga: Troy* and the *Mythos* expansion are worth picking up.

ABOUT THE REVIEWER: Michael A. Conti of Mission Viejo, California, earned both his B.A. in History with a minor in Political Science (2019) and his 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 also served as an editor for volume 49 of "The Welebaethan: A Journal of History" (2022).

Department of History (Awards) 2021/2022

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Melanie Vigil ♦ *Lawrence B. de Graaf History Student Fellowship*
Ashley Yniguez ♦ *History Student Success Award*

Faculty Award Recipients

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Submission Guidelines for Volume 50 (2023)

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, 2020, 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 2023); 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.

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1. *the author's full name, e-mail address, and cell phone number;*
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6. *the name of the class for which the submission was originally produced;*
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8. *the semester and year (e.g., spring 2022) during which the submission was completed;*
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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 and constitutes original, previously unpublished scholarship that is 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, and alumni). 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 galley proofs. *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 29, 2022**, noon (PDT).

Second deadline for submissions:

Monday, **December 19, 2022**, noon (PST).