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Phi Alpha Theta’s mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers, and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

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History in the Making
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History in the Making
Introduction

Welcome to the eleventh edition of California State University, San Bernardino’s annual history journal, History in the Making. For over a decade, History in the Making has been proudly composed, edited, and produced by CSUSB students. This year’s editorial board seeks to continue that tradition of excellence by bringing readers the finest, and most thought-provoking articles produced by current undergraduate and graduate students of CSUSB, as well as those of our recent alumni. This year’s journal features remarkable topical diversity, including four full-length articles, three public history papers, one in-memoriam, three travel pieces, and seven reviews or analyses, on topics ranging from film, to art, to historicity in video games.

Our first article, “Unconditional Surrender,” by Amelia Sullivan, offers a penetrating analysis of the systematic destruction of Turkish secular democracy at the hands of President Recep Erdogan and his allies. In addition to providing excellent insight into the political maneuverings of President Erdogan, this article explores how the conflict between secular versus fundamentalist factions within Turkey has given rise to the nation’s present democratic crisis.

Our second article, “An Exclusion and an Agreement,” by Eric Lowe, analyzes the struggles of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to find acceptance in American society. This paper serves as a timely reminder that immigrant communities have survived, and even thrived in America despite hardship and adversity imposed upon them by radical nativists.

“In Dependence,” by McKenzie Kelly, illuminates the chilling parallels between Haiti’s colonial past, and its present dependence on foreign aid and non-governmental organizations. This article focuses on the role of international organizations imposing neoliberal policies in Haiti, and the negative impact of these policies on the nation’s development as a sovereign polity.

Our final research article, “Present Tense” by Casey Lee, sheds light on the efforts of indigenous students in the American boarding school system seeking to preserve their cultural identity.
in the face of abuse, violence, and forced assimilation. “Present Tense,” offers readers a truly unforgettable glimpse of the horrors and dysfunctions of the boarding school system through the written accounts of those who experienced it firsthand. Lee’s research represents a significant contribution to both the fields of Native American studies, and the politics of memory that are so pertinent in contemporary American history and society.

Our “Travels through History” section explores history and society across the globe through the eyes of our very own CSUSB students and alumni. Esther Devai delves into the rich cultural traditions of Berlin. Brock Barrows gives readers a glimpse of the hybridization of tradition and modernity in Thailand. Finally, Allegra Glaviano takes readers on a ten-day trek through Israel.

In this year’s “In Memoriam” section Jacqulyne Anton examines the controversial life of Norma McCorvey, who rose to national attention in 1973 as Jane Roe in the landmark supreme court case, Roe v. Wade. Despite her role in securing women’s right to choose across the nation, McCorvey reversed her personal beliefs later in life and sought to repeal the court ruling that had been fought and won in her name.

This year’s new “Public History” section analyzes the impact of historical events through the lens of public historians. Rocio Gomez explores the haunting legacy of Japanese American internment at Manzanar from 1942–1945 from her perspective as an intern at the Manzanar National Historic Site. Sarah Slawson examines the life and times of Irish nationalist, Marie Perolz in order to shed light on the often-overlooked role of female revolutionaries in the Easter Rising of 1916. Finally, Megan Medeiros deconstructs well over a century of inaccurate, commercialized portrayals of Hawai’i using the theoretical framework of Edward Said’s Orientalism, combined with her own scholarly perspective as a native Hawaiian.

“Sources of History” explores a wide range of primary sources. Matthew Unruh details the cultural and religious continuity of the ancient Egyptian concept of kingship hidden within Luxor Temple. Marmar Zakher analyzes archeological evidence and surviving primary source documents to paint a lively picture of daily life in
the Egyptian village of Jeme during the early Islamic period. While Andrew Richter evaluates the populist undercurrents of nineteenth-century American politics, through the rhetoric of President Andrew Jackson and the Populist Party.

This year, *History in the Making* has the honor of introducing an expansive “Review and Analysis” section that covers our most diverse set of topics to date. In total, the Review and Analysis section includes: two film reviews, one video game historical analysis, an art analysis, two book reviews, and two exhibit reviews. Amy Stewart examines how American society was reflected in Alfred Hitchcock’s films during World War II. Melissa Sanford reviews the riveting new documentary, *1948 Creation and Catastrophe*, that explores the events of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Eric Lowe appraises the historical merits of Warhorse Studio’s hit new role-playing game, *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*, set in medieval Bohemia. Silvia Lopez analyzes the objectification of women in art through the works of John Singer Sargent. Randy Stuart reviews *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment* by famous historian and political activist, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. Jasmine Colorado reviews Matt Eisenbrandt’s captivating true crime thriller about the assassination of Bishop Óscar Romero. Maia Matheu takes readers on a tour of the In|Dignity exhibit at CSUSB’s very own Anthropology Museum. Finally, Hannah Norton explores the life and times of China’s last Empress at the *Empress Dowager Cixi: Selections from the Summer Palace* exhibit hosted at the Bowers Museum.

Athahn Steinback and Lark Winner,  
Chief Editors
History in the Making
Acknowledgements

Without the hard work and dedication of CSUSB students, faculty, and staff, this journal would not be possible. CSUSB affiliates have diligently invested both time and effort to the development and completion of the cover and every page of this journal. From the “call for papers” to the final editing and formatting process, these participants have each played a vital role in this publication.

The Chief Editors wish to extend our sincerest thanks to the faculty, students, and staff who made this year’s edition of the journal possible. Specifically, we would like to thank our faculty advisors, Dr. Jeremy Murray and Dr. Tiffany Jones, for their shrewd advice and inexhaustible enthusiasm, former Chief Editor Heather K. Garrett for her wealth of experience and professional guidance, as well as former Copy-Editor Brittnie “Bunny” Anglin, who volunteered to assist with this year’s copy-editing process despite her own busy schedule. We would also like to recognize the hard work and dedication of Laura Sicklesteel and the staff at Printing Services who graciously provide the technical expertise that permits us to print the journal every year, as well as the Instructionally Related Programs at CSUSB and the Department of History for generously funding the enterprise.

We further wish to thank the students who submitted papers for review and the authors that worked with our editors to make this journal come to fruition. Lastly, we wish to express our deep personal gratitude to the members of the editorial board for an exemplary job reading, selecting, and editing the papers included in this volume of History in the Making. Your hard work is greatly appreciated.

Athahn Steinback and Lark Winner,
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Articles

Unconditional Surrender: The Rise of President Erdogan and the end of Kemalist Turkey

By Amelia Sullivan

Abstract: In October 1923, Mustafa Kemal, or Ataturk, became leader of Turkey. Over the next decade and a half, Kemal used his considerable political power to reform the nation. He modernized infrastructure, reorganized government, and led an aggressive campaign to westernize and secularize Turkish society. By the time Kemal passed in 1938, Turkey rose from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire and reestablished itself as a democracy. Almost eighty years later, Ataturk’s legacy is in jeopardy. In 2017, the Turkey held a constitutional referendum to radically restructure the nation’s government and place an unprecedented degree of power in the office of the presidency. The new constitution passed by a narrow margin in a referendum marred by allegations of fraud and intimidation. By closely examining sources such as the 1924 Turkish Constitution, the revised Constitution’s proposed amendments, and Erdogan’s past political history, this paper seeks to answer several questions: How will the revised constitution restructure Turkish government? What will a Turkey under Erdogan’s leadership look like? Is this the end of secular Turkey as Ataturk envisioned it?

Since the earliest day of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938) maintained that, “Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the people,” and for decades, this dictum laid at the very foundation of Turkish governance. In October 1925, Kemal was unanimously elected the first President of the newly formed Republic of Turkey. His election marked the beginning of an era of sweeping social, political, and religious reform within the

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nation. Ataturk shifted Turkey away from Ottoman systems of religious authoritarianism and created a new government based upon the principles of secular democracy. For nearly one hundred years, Ataturk’s undying belief in democracy and secularism guided Turkish politicians as they amended the nation’s constitution or created new laws. Recent events, however, conspire to bring an end to Ataturk’s vision.

On April 16, 2017, Turkey held a referendum on a revised Constitution, proposed by the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). The revised constitution is comprised of eighteen amendments, eliminating the role of Prime Minister, weakening the Parliament, and greatly expanding the authority of the Presidency. The document passed by a narrow margin, opening a schism in Turkish public opinion. The Constitution’s proponents argue that the document’s ratification prevents the return of the fragile coalition governments that have haunted Turkey’s past. In addition, a more powerful presidency would end conflict between various branches of government, allowing the nation to pull itself from political stagnation. Opponents of the proposal, however, argue that a strong executive branch could spell the end of the Republic of Turkey and the return to autocratic rule. The nation’s current President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan (b. 1954), is Ataturk’s polar opposite. Erdogan is a devout Muslim, an ardent admirer of Turkey’s Ottoman past, and once stated that “democracy is like a train... we shall get out when we arrive at the station.” Damning evidence of Erdogan’s anti-democratic ambitions surfaced in the wake of the referendum. Videos showed referendum officials marking blank ballots in favor of the revised constitution, or some individuals voting more than once. Testimony corroborating the videos’ content emerged shortly thereafter. The opposition accused

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3 Ibid.


the President and his officials of rigging the referendum and called for the constitution’s nullification. Many fear that with nearly unlimited executive power, Erdogan will discard Ataturk’s secularist policies, override the people’s sovereignty, and transform the Republic into an Islamic dictatorship.

This paper will be divided into two broad categories: the first discussing the 1924 Turkish Constitution and its history, while the second focuses on Erdogan and his motivations. In its first section, this paper will discuss Turkey’s Ottoman past, Ataturk’s rise to power, and his subsequent reimagining of Turkey as a secular democracy. The paper will then examine the 1924 Turkish Constitution’s provisions in order to establish the role of President, Parliament, and Prime Minister. In addition, this section will offer background on the revised Constitution, summarize its eighteen amendments, then compare and contrast the new document against the 1924 Constitution. In doing so, this paper will illustrate how the revised Constitution will totally restructure Turkish Government.

In its second section, the paper will offer background on President Erdogan and examine where Erdogan’s ideological convictions deviate from Ataturk’s. The paper will closely scrutinize Erdogan’s tenure as President and examine numerous anti-democratic statements and policies espoused by Erdogan. Close analysis of Erdogan’s words and actions will allow for an accurate estimation of where Erdogan will likely lead the nation and the threat he poses to the Republic of Turkey’s survival as a secular democracy.

The Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman Legacy

For nearly six centuries, the Ottoman Empire remained the dominant power in the Middle East. At the height of its power, the Empire’s borders engulfed much of the Middle East, as well as parts of southeastern Europe and northern Africa. Within these territories, the Ottomans created a diverse, thriving society based upon systems of military-patronage, trade, and religion. Islamic scripture formed the basis of government. Only the word of the sultan, the spiritual and political leader of the Empire, rivaled the

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importance of the word of the Qur’an. As such, a mixture of Islamic and dynastic law guided Ottoman courts and politics. However, by the seventeenth-century, the Empire lapsed into a state of social, economic, and political decline. Newly industrialized European nations bested Ottoman armies and relentlessly chipped away at the edges of the Empire. Simultaneously, the rise of nationalism amongst numerous subject populations, such as the Serbians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and many others, embroiled the Ottomans in a succession of intractable rebellions. Ottoman leadership attempted to reverse the Empire’s decline by westernizing the military, education systems, and various facets of government. These reforms came to a head under sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909), who hoped the creation of a constitution and parliament might rejuvenate the Empire. However, his hopes would prove to be short lived. Instead of reversing the Empire’s decline, the newly elected parliament became paralyzed over the course of the government administration. Frustrated with parliamentary inaction, Abdulhamid II nullified the Constitution in 1878 and reclaimed political authority, putting an end to the era of reform.

A group of young Turkish soldiers and intellectuals, however, grew increasingly dissatisfied with the Ottoman sultanate. They formed an influential movement called the Selanik Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), also called the Young Turks. In 1908, the Young Turks seized political authority by forcing the sultan to reinstate the Constitution. From there, they attempted to modernize the nation. Their efforts, however, had little effect upon the overall health of the Empire. Political instability shook Ottoman territories as the Young Turks struggled to remain in power as those loyal to the sultanate rebelled against their rule. The once powerful Ottoman Empire was hurtling towards collapse; under pressure from both external adversaries and internal political chaos. By the early twentieth-century, Ottoman political and social stability grew so weak, European

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7 Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 29.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., 24.
11 Ibid., 25.
leaders joked that the Empire had become the “Sick Man of Europe.”

In 1914, World War I erupted following the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, by Serbian Nationalist Gavrilo Princip. When Austria-Hungary and its ally Germany, hungry for revenge, declared war on Serbia, the Ottoman Empire made the unfortunate decision to side with them. The Ottoman military was ill prepared for war, despite efforts to westernize its structure. This weakness forced the Ottomans to withdraw from the conflict in October 1918. Following Allied victory over the Central Powers later that year, the Ottomans hoped that the victors might show some respect for their power and allow the Empire to retain its remaining territories. Their hopes were dashed, however, when American President Woodrow Wilson called for the dismemberment of Ottoman territories along ethnic lines. The rest of the Allied Powers, hungry for revenge against the Central Powers, offered terms that were little better. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, British Prime Minister Lloyd George demanded that the Ottomans be expelled from Anatolia. French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau spoke in similar language, stating that Ottoman rule should be withdrawn. There seemed little hope that Ottoman territories would remain intact. In 1920, the sultanate signed the Treaty of Sevres, which divided the Empire between Turkish and non-Turkish regions. In addition, the Allies divided western Anatolia between Greece, Italy, and France. The European powers immediately sent armies to secure these claims, aggravating the local Turkish populations and leading to rising levels of Turkish nationalism. In unoccupied Anatolia, nationalist resistance formed to repel the occupiers. In response, the government dispatched a young Turkish general named Mustafa Kemal to suppress the rebellion.

Rather than carrying out his orders, Kemal rose to power as leader of the resistance movement. For the next two years, he

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13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 87.
15 Gelvin, The Modern Middle East, 209.
16 Ibid., 209-210.
repelled attacks from foreign troops in Anatolia. These victories earned Kemal and his resistance respect and prestige. Using this newfound power, Kemal ordered the creation of a Grand National Assembly, despite the Ottoman sultan’s attempts to thwart its creation.17 Though fiercely anti-Islamist, Kemal appealed to the religious authorities within the Assembly in order to gather further support from the Islamic population. By 1921, Kemal gained enough political leverage to introduce the Law of Fundamental Organization, a twenty-three-article document that created a new government in which sovereignty belonged “…without restriction to the nation.”18 This led to the subsequent abolition of the sultanate in 1922, thereby freeing Turkey from imperial control. In October 1923, Kemal further utilized this political favor in order to bring about the rebirth of Turkey as a Republic. The assembly unanimously accepted his proposal, then subsequently elected Kemal the first President of the fledgling Republic.

Ataturk: A Legacy of Westernization and Secularism

Mustafa Kemal’s election marked the beginning of an era of great social, political, and religious reform within Turkey. Before the Republic’s birth, Kemal disguised himself as an ardent supporter of Islamic law and governance. In reality, however, Kemal believed that religion stifled progress and “…loosened the national ties of the Turkish nation.”19 Rather than studying Islamic scripture for guidance, Kemal turned to European political and scientific thought. He saw the Republic as a nation guided by scientism, and popularly held theories of Turkish racial superiority, based upon Darwinian evolutionary theory.20 Kemal believed that this blend of western concepts formed the basis of a new type of nationalism, which would prove more crucial to the formation of Turkish identity than religion. Turkey could only survive if Turks “…dismissed religion as an obsolete institution devised in a bygone era.”21 Islam meant stagnation, and so Kemal sought to eliminate it from government.

17 Hanioglu, Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography, 102.
18 Hanioglu, Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography, 115
19 Ibid., 132.
20 Ibid., 161.
21 Ibid., 162.
In 1926, Kemal declared the Seriat, or Muslim codes which guided Ottoman legal processes, null and void. The old laws, with their deep roots in Islamic scripture and tradition, were ill-adapted to modern life. In their place, Kemal’s Grand National Assembly passed Civil Codes, Debt Laws, Penal Codes, and Commercial Codes based upon Swiss, Italian, and German law. He further ordered the abolition of religious schools, as well as courts based upon the Seriat, and banned ecclesiastical garb outside mosques. In their stead, Kemal instituted a westernized school system which taught a new Turkish script, courts based upon the new established secular Turkish law, and western garb. In addition to education, legal, and clothing reform, Kemal pursued the liberalization of women’s roles within the Republic. Ottoman government, with its firm basis in Islamic scripture, prohibited women from participation in government or some aspects of social life. Kemal believed that in order for the Republic to progress, women needed to be granted legal equality. Early in his presidency, he ordered the creation of a commission dedicated to granting women civil rights to achieve this objective. When the Civil Codes were revised, legislators granted women a number of freedoms, including equal rights in marriage, property holding, and before the courts. In 1930, Kemal pushed the envelope further by granting women the right to vote in elections and become village leaders or members of city councils. National suffrage and the right to run for office in the Grand National Assembly followed five years later. As a result of these reforms, Turkish women finally possessed a formal voice in social and governmental affairs.

The secularization of Turkish law, education, and governance, were all major victories in Kemal’s campaign to engineer a new Turkish identity. However, despite these successes, Kemal’s transformation of the nation was not yet complete. This new identity, Kemal believed, must be celebrated. In 1934, Kemal determined that Turkish names, like the nation, should be

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22 Webster, *The Turkey of Ataturk*, 107.
24 Ibid., 128-129.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 275.
westernized, and all Turkish citizens were required by law to adopt
hereditary surnames. At first glance, the introduction of surnames
may seem ephemeral compared to Kemal’s legal and legislative
reforms, but its cultural significance should not be ignored.
Throughout history, the vast majority of Turks had simply been
known by titles or first names. The introduction of surnames
represented the wholesale adoption of a western cultural tradition
into the personal life of every Turk. More importantly, new
surnames were required to be Turkish, and not reference tribal or
foreign origin, in order to help solidify the republic’s nascent
national identity. The Turkish people granted Kemal a surname
that reflected his place in citizens’ hearts—Ataturk, or “Father
Turk.”29 This act emphasized the liberation of the Republic from
its Ottoman heritage, symbolizing a new beginning for the Turkish
people.

In summary, Ataturk’s rise to power marked an era of
profound social, political, and religious reformation within Turkey.
He drew on his study of western political and scientific thought in
order to methodically build a framework for a new nation. Ataturk
struck down Islamic religious code and ecclesiastical dress,
replacing them with laws based on European systems of
governance and Western garb. He closed religious schools, granted
women legal equality, and pioneered the creation of a new Turkish
script. These reforms resulted in both the creation of a new Turkish
identity and the liberation of the Republic from its Ottoman roots.

The Republic of Turkey: Democracy and Parliament

During the Turkish War of Independence, the Law of Fundamental
Organization served as the unofficial Constitution of Turkey. By
1923, however, Ataturk knew the document needed expansion in
order to delineate the powers allotted to each branch of the new
nation’s government. Thus, Ataturk and the Grand National
Assembly used the Law of Fundamental Organization as the basis
of a new code of laws that would serve as the Republic’s
permanent Constitution. In order to build a strong and lasting
system of governance, Ataturk carefully examined the structural
weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire. The first weakness, he

29 Vamik D. Volkan and Norman Itzokowitz, The Immortal Ataturk: A
determined, was religion. Religion, he believed, stagnated the technological and political progress of the Empire, thereby leading to its eventual downfall. Secularization of social customs and government solved this problem. The Empire’s second weakness, Ataturk believed, was the fact that Ottomans did not allow the common individual a voice in the nation’s future. Under the old system, the sultan possessed absolute authority over the governmental and spiritual direction of the Empire. Next in power were the social and religious elite, whose authority was, in turn, determined by their proximity to the sultan. At the bottom of Ottoman society were the Empire’s citizens, separated from the sultan by a vast social and bureaucratic divide. They possessed no voice in Ottoman governance and lived in accordance with laws set not by themselves, but by the elite. Because the Empire took little interest in the common people, they eventually became dissatisfied by the established order and rebelled. The Republic could not make the same mistake. Common men and women needed to be engaged in government. This meant the system not only needed to be a secular one, but one that allowed the Turkish people a voice in their nation’s future. Therefore, in Ataturk’s estimate, democracy was an essential cornerstone to ensure the success and longevity of the new Republic.

Democracy, however, could not exist without a proper governing body. Political authority could not belong to one individual, such as the Ottoman sultan. During the Turkish War of Independence, the Grand National Assembly served as wartime government, with Ataturk serving as its political leader. Ataturk decided, the Assembly would continue to be the nation’s governing body, with powers delineated by new laws. Members of the Assembly would not be members of the aristocracy or chosen by proximity to Ataturk. Instead, the Turkish people elected representatives. This reflected the new government’s dedication to not only democracy, but to the sovereignty of the people. There existed no social or bureaucratic distance between citizens and their elected officials. Turks were now directly involved with the social and political future of the nation in a manner that had not been possible under the Ottoman system of governance. These objectives, would ultimately become the ideological basis of the 1924 Constitution.

The 1924 Constitution: Role of the President, Parliament
and Prime Minister

The 1924 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey represents the nation’s revolutionary transformation from the rigid, religious monarchy of the Ottoman Empire to the secular democracy of the Republic of Turkey. In order to better understand the significance of 2017’s revised Constitution, one must examine elements of the original Constitution in detail, namely sections pertaining to the President of the Republic, the Turkish Parliament, and the Prime Minister. In essence, the 1924 Constitution transformed Turkey into a parliamentary republic.

The 1924 Constitution provides detailed instruction on the selection of the President as well as the powers attributed to the office. Section one of the Constitution states that legislative and executive powers are vested in the Grand National Assembly. The Assembly exercises executive authority through the President of the Republic and his Cabinet. The President, therefore, is not the center of executive power—the Grand National Assembly is. Section three summarizes the President’s selection and his role. The members of the Assembly elect the President for the period of a parliamentary term. The President cannot take part in discussions or deliberations of the Assembly or vote upon any issue. Furthermore, it is the President’s duty to promulgate laws voted by Assembly, as well as to veto any laws which he does not consider favorable for Turkey’s future. The Assembly may, however, overrule the President’s veto through a majority vote. Though the Grand National Assembly possesses supreme command of the military, it exercises its command over the armed forces through the office of the President. In times of peace, however, the military resides in the care of the Chief of Staff. Though the President nominates the Chief of Staff, the nominee cannot assume office without the approval of the Grand National Assembly. The President also chooses the President of the Council of Commissioners (the Prime Minister) from the members of the

31 Ibid., 89.
32 Ibid., 92-93.
33 Ibid., 93.
Grand National Assembly. In accordance with its founding principle of democracy, the 1924 Constitution grants a majority of executive power to the Grand National Assembly, not the President. The Presidency was, therefore, a largely ceremonial head of state. True legislative and executive power rested in the hands of the Parliament and Prime Minister.

In addition to clearly delineating the powers granted to the Presidency, the 1924 Constitution outlines the selection of members of the Turkish Parliament, or Grand National Assembly, as well as the duties and limits of its power. In section one, the Constitution states that the Grand National Assembly is “the sole lawful representative of the nation, and exercises sovereignty in the name of the nation.” Furthermore, legislative and executive powers are “vested and centered” in the Assembly. The electorate, therefore, grants the Assembly its considerable political power.

Section two states that Assembly members are elected in accordance with electoral law. This means they cannot be individuals who are in service to a foreign power, those condemned to penal service, those acknowledging foreign nationality, those condemned for bankruptcy, those deprived of their civil rights, or those who cannot read and write in Turkish. The Grand National Assembly also possesses the power of “interpellation” and of “conducting investigations and parliamentary inquiries.” This tenant of the Constitution gives the Assembly the right to submit questions to the government. In cases where an authority such as the President acts in an undesirable way, the Assembly may hold a vote of confidence or institute a change in government. Article twenty-six states the Assembly “makes, amends, interprets and abrogates laws” and “concludes conventions and treaties of peace with other states.” Furthermore, the Assembly is responsible for declarations of war, examining and ratifying documents by the Commission on the Budget, coining money, and accepting or rejecting contracts or concessions.

34 Ibid., 94.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., 90.
38 Ibid., 91.
39 Ibid.
involving financial responsibility. Under the 1924 Constitution, the Grand National Assembly held the majority of legislative and executive power as well as control over economic, judicial, and diplomatic affairs. Due to their status as elected representatives of the Turkish people, the concentration of power within the Assembly reflected one of the Constitution’s key principles—democracy.

The Prime Minister’s selection process as well as the powers and limits of the role are, like those of President and Parliament, detailed within the 1924 Constitution. In Mead Earle’s translation, he refers to the Prime Minister as the “President of the Council of Commissioners.” In the Constitution’s third section, it states that the President of the Republic chooses the President of the Council “from among the deputies,” or members of the Assembly. After being selected by the President, the Prime Minister nominates other members of the Council. The President must then approve these choices. If the President approves of the selection, he presents the list of prospective candidates to the Assembly. The Assembly deliberates over the list for a week, then determines whether or not it will accept or reject the nominated individuals. The Constitution then goes into detail about the duties of the Prime Minister. According to article forty-six, the Council of Commissioners is “collectively responsible for the general policies of government.” Additionally, each member is “responsible within the scope of his authority for the general character of his policy and the actions of his subordinates.”

This means the Prime Minister and the rest of the Commissioners are responsible for the smooth function of government administration. The end of section three states that, in tandem with a Council of State, the Council of Commissioners shall “promulgate regulations for the administration and execution of the law, provided that such regulation shall not contain new clauses.” The 1924 Constitution paints the role of Prime Minister as one responsible for the function and maintenance of

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40 Ibid., 91
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid., 95.
government. While the President represents the nation on the national level, the Prime Minister works to ensure that the Republic functions according to the letter of the law. Due to the nature of the office, the Prime Minister holds a more active role in the governance of the nation than the President. The Prime Minister like the President, however, is still beholden to the Grand National Assembly, and in turn, the people of Turkey. The Prime Minister, like President and Parliament, ultimately derives its power from the citizenry.

The 1924 Constitution clearly defines the role of President, Parliament, and Prime Minister within the nation. The Presidency possesses a minimal role within Turkish government. The President’s duty is to promulgate laws voted on by the assembly, veto any laws considered unfavorable for Turkey’s future, and select the Prime Minister from amongst the members of the Grand National Assembly. He cannot discuss important issues, nor can he vote on them. The Grand National Assembly, unlike the Presidency, plays an active role within Turkey’s government. The Grand National Assembly may conduct interpellation, make, amend, interpret, or abrogate laws, declare war, coin money, or accept or reject contracts or concessions involving financial responsibility. The Prime Minister, like Parliament, plays a larger role in the Republic’s governance than the President. The Prime Minister oversees the smooth function and maintenance of government as well as promulgating regulations for the administration and execution of the law.

The Referendum and the Revised Constitution

In December 2016, Turkey’s AKP unveiled a new Constitution, henceforth referred to as the revised, or 2017 Constitution. The document introduced eighteen amendments, which drastically alter the structure of the Turkish government. To understand changes to the Turkish Constitution, it is necessary to examine the revised Constitution’s background, and its eighteen amendments, in comparison to its 1924 predecessor. The revised Constitution eliminates the role of Prime Minister and transfers the office’s executive power to the Presidency, greatly expands the President’s authority, and weakens the Turkish Parliament. This drastic

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Bora, “Turkey’s constitutional reform: All you need to know.”
departure from the 1924 Constitution threatens to greatly amplify the power of the Presidency whilst simultaneously weakening other branches of government, particularly the legislature.

The 2017 Constitution radically changes the manner of Presidential election as well as the manner in which the office functions. Instead of the Grand National Assembly electing the president from among its members, the President is now elected by direct popular vote. Presidential elections must be held in conjunction with the Assembly’s elections.\textsuperscript{47} The 1924 Constitution states that legislative and executive power are vested in the Grand National Assembly.\textsuperscript{48} The 2017 Constitution changes this. Article 104 states that “executive authority belongs to the President.”\textsuperscript{49} Further, the revised document transfers the executive authority, and duties formerly invested in the office of Prime Minister to the Presidency. This includes power to appoint and dismiss ministers, high level public executives, and senior public officials. The 2017 Constitution further strengthens the Presidency by granting it the power to issue presidential decrees or by-laws to ensure the implementation of law.\textsuperscript{50} More ominously, the document also contains a section pertaining to the administration of states of emergency, which does not exist in the 1924 Constitution. According to article 119, the President may issue a state of emergency in the event of war, situations necessitating war, uprisings, spread of violent and strong rebellious actions, or the widespread acts of violence aimed at the destruction of the order established by the Constitution.\textsuperscript{51} Additionally, the Presidency is no longer bound by law to remain politically neutral, meaning that a President may retain ties to his political party.\textsuperscript{52} The 2017 Constitution enormously expands the powers allotted to the President of Turkey. It transfers much of the executive authority granted to the Grand National Assembly and Prime Minister under the 1924 Constitution to the President. In essence, the President


\textsuperscript{48} Mead Earle, “The New Constitution of Turkey,” 89.

\textsuperscript{49} Yanasmayan and Pour-Norouz, “2017 Amendment Proposal to the Turkish Constitution.”

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
has ceased to be a ceremonial office, and has become the unrivaled center of executive authority.\textsuperscript{53}

The 2017 revised Constitution also changed the manner in which members of the Grand National Assembly are chosen, and severely limited the scope of its powers, particularly its role as a watchdog against corruption and counterbalance to presidential power. The Grand National Assembly’s longstanding powers of interpolation, and parliamentary investigation have been removed.\textsuperscript{54,55} Consequently, the Assembly no longer possesses the power to check the Presidency or root out corruption within the governing administration. Likewise, the Assembly’s power to override Presidential vetoes has been strictly curtailed. The 1924 Constitution enabled the Assembly to overrule a President’s veto through a majority vote of all present members.\textsuperscript{56} Conversely, the 2017 Constitution requires an absolute majority of all members of the Assembly to overcome a veto.\textsuperscript{57} Thereby effectively nullifying the Assembly’s ability to overturn a Presidential veto in the foreseeable future, given the ruling AKP’s substantial parliamentary majority.

In addition to its overt efforts to limit the power of the Assembly, the 2017 Constitution also places new restrictions on who is eligible to seek election to the Assembly. The 1924 Constitution barred criminals from running for office, as many nations do, but the 2017 document also bars individuals with ties to the military.\textsuperscript{58} To outside observers, this stipulation may seem strange. However, in light of Turkey’s long history of military involvement in politics, the provision is clearly intended to limit the political influence of the military, and by extension its ability to oppose the ruling party.

To summarize, the 2017 Constitution radically reshapes the Turkish political landscape. The Grand National Assembly has ceased to be a political powerhouse and has been reduced to a largely ceremonial body. Meanwhile, the President has become a

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Mead Earle, “The New Constitution of Turkey,” 91.
\textsuperscript{55} Yanasmayan and Pour-Norouz, “2017 Amendment Proposal to the Turkish Constitution.”
\textsuperscript{56} Mead Earle, “The New Constitution of Turkey,” 93.
\textsuperscript{57} Yanasmayan and Pour-Norouz, “2017 Amendment Proposal to the Turkish Constitution.”
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.
powerful executive, beyond the reach of parliamentary checks and balances, and the AKP’s grip on power has been strengthened considerably. In light of these reforms, it is readily apparent just how far modern Turkey has departed from the legacy of Ataturk. The spirit of democracy and popular sovereignty that underpinned the 1924 Constitution is in full retreat. Erdogan’s new political order controls the future of Turkey.

The Dangers of the Revised Constitution

With Erdogan’s new order in full ascendancy, the question remains, what are the dangers posed by the President’s expanded executive authority, and the commensurate decline of parliamentary checks and balances? The first problem posed by the new Constitution stems from the President’s ability to appoint and dismiss vice presidents, ministers, high level public executives, and senior public officials. This power allows the President to clear important offices of political rivals and replace them with members of his own political party. The President then holds direct sway over these new appointments, thereby creating powerful pawns in critical government departments. The 2017 Constitution creates further difficulties by no longer requiring the President to maintain political neutrality. This means the President may act as the leader of a political party.\textsuperscript{59} This is dangerous since, under the Turkish political party system, it would enable the President to decide who runs on his party’s ticket in parliamentary elections. If the President’s party controls the majority of seats in the Grand National Assembly, the President could, in effect, control the Assembly as well as its agenda. The end result is the total deterioration of governmental checks and balances.\textsuperscript{60} The greatest threat posed by the revised Constitution, however, originates from the President’s ability to make decrees that carry the full force of the law. So long as the President makes decrees that are not in conflict with “the provisions of the law,” he can make any decree he wishes.

In addition to the threats posed by the expanded role of the Presidency, the revised Constitution further undermines Turkish democracy through the weakening of the Grand National

\textsuperscript{59} Bora, “Turkey’s Constitutional Reform: All you need to Know.”
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
Assembly and its decreased capacity to check the Presidency. The revised Constitution abolishes the Assembly’s right to interpellation. In the past, interpellation allowed the Assembly to routinely monitor the function of government. If the Assembly discovered illegal or corrupt activity, they could hold a vote of confidence and remove a corrupt official from office. The loss of interpellation means that the Assembly has been stripped of its watchdog role within government. This, in turn, enables corrupt officials to abuse their power without fear of reprisal. Some Turkish politicians state that interpellation is not necessary since the people of Turkey directly elect the President. They argue that any action undertaken by the President is, therefore, the will of the people. This argument is flawed. Just because the Turkish people grant the President executive authority does not mean that the President will act in the best interest of the nation. It is important for the Grand National Assembly, whose members are also appointed through direct election, to possess the ability to expose and punish the abuse of executive power. Another problem posed by the revised Constitution is the fact that in order to overcome a President’s veto, it is now necessary for an absolute majority of all members of the Assembly to vote to overturn the veto. This new tenant of the Constitution weakens the Assembly’s ability to stop controversial legislation. So long as the President’s party holds the political majority in the Grand National Assembly, it is nearly impossible to overturn a veto.

The passage of the revised Constitution exposes Turkish democracy to a host of new challenges. The document grants unprecedented executive power to the President, allowing him to retain party ties, make sweeping presidential decrees, dismiss and appoint powerful officials at will, and potentially dominate the Grand National Assembly’s agenda. The Assembly now lacks the power to check the President’s expanded authority. The removal of the right to interpellation prevents the Assembly from routinely probing the government for corruption and illegal actions. In addition, the revision of the conditions needed to overturn a veto

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62 Bora, “Turkey’s Constitutional Reform: All you need to Know.”
makes it difficult for the Assembly to overrule the President’s decision should his party possess a political majority. This system allows for the exploitation of the people of Turkey, should the public elect a corrupt individual to serve as President.

Who is Recep Tayyip Erdogan

It is necessary to delve into President Erdogan’s personal beliefs, statements, and political history to understand why the unchecked expansion of executive power under the revised Constitution poses a threat to the Republic’s status as a secular democracy. Erdogan, like Ataturk, came from relatively humble origins and gained authority through political savvy and determination. Erdogan’s political career began in the early 1990s as part of the Islamist Welfare Party.\(^63\) The citizens of Istanbul elected him to the office of Mayor in 1994, after he promised to improve sanitation, increase water quality, and decrease traffic congestion. In 2001, Erdogan founded the Justice and Development party (AKP).\(^64\) The AKP gained remarkable traction under his leadership, claiming victory in the 2002, 2007, and 2011 elections. Shortly thereafter, Erdogan was elected Prime Minister of Turkey. As Prime Minister, he promised to combat corruption, open the Turkish economy to competition, and improve schools as well as sanitation in the Republic’s poorest areas.\(^65\) On the whole, Erdogan kept his promises. He directed billions of dollars toward development projects and led the Turkish economy to become the eighteenth largest in the world.\(^66\) Corruption, however, remains rife within Turkey’s government, though it has been “democratized.” These political victories made Erdogan popular with the Turkish public and carried him to the office of the Presidency in 2014. Erdogan’s meteoric rise to power and popularity with the Turkish public are a strange mirror to Ataturk’s own political story. This parallel, however, is where similarities between the two men end.

Unlike Ataturk, who saw Turkey’s Ottoman past as a shameful footnote in Turkic history, Erdogan ardently admires the


\(^{64}\) Ibid.

\(^{65}\) Ibid.

\(^{66}\) Bakshian Jr., “Erdogan, the Anti-Ataturk,” 62-63.
Ottoman Empire. Following the AKP’s 2011 election triumph, Erdogan called the election a victory for Turkey and its Ottoman heritage.\(^6^7\) A year later, he praised the contributions of those who would raise a generation that would “reach the level of our Ottoman and Seljuk ancestors.”\(^6^8\) During 2015 general elections, Erdogan even ordered the commission of a “Conquest Unit.” This unit, dressed as Ottoman Janissary soldiers and nearly five hundred strong, accompanied Erdogan on May 30\(^{th}\) during a campaign speech in Istanbul’s Yenikapi square. An Ottoman Mehter, or military band, accompanied the soldiers.\(^6^9\) In addition to verbal and visual displays of his admiration for the Empire, Erdogan is politically aligned with a number of Turkish politicians seeking to recapture Turkey’s Ottoman past. One such individual is Ahmet Davutoglu, Erdogan’s former foreign policy advisor. In 2001, Davutoglu published a book called Strategic Depth: Turkey’s International Position, which argued that Turkey’s strategic depth is derived not from its geostrategic location and historical legacy as the Republic, but that of the Ottoman Empire.\(^7^0\) In addition, upon his election to the office of Prime Minister, Davutolgu swore to “bring the order and justice of the Ottoman Empire to today’s world.”\(^7^1\) His controversial statements and questionable foreign policy led the opposition to brand Davutoglu, and by extension, Erdogan, neo-Ottoman or imperialist.

The differences between Erdogan and Ataturk do not end in their conflicting perspectives regarding Ottoman history. Though Ataturk initially presented himself as an ally of Islamic governance, he was, in reality, the opposite. The integration of Islam into law and governance, Ataturk believed, led to stagnation. This stagnation made the Ottomans unable to keep up with westernized nations and led to the Empire’s eventual collapse. This reasoning, Ataturk believed, justified his secularization of the

\(^{6^7}\) Fradkin and Libby, “Erdogan’s Grand Vision: Rise and Decline;” 44.
\(^{6^8}\) Ibid., 49.
Republic’s government, courts, education systems, and social customs. Not only is Erdogan a devout Muslim, but his past and present political history indicates his support for the integration of Islamic law into Turkey’s governmental system. In his youth, Erdogan joined the Islamist National Salvation Party, or MSP. When the party was forced to rebrand itself as the Welfare Party following the 1980 Turkish coup, Erdogan followed. Erdogan became the party’s rising star and was the star pupil of the party’s leader, renowned Islamic politician Necmettin Erbakan. During his tenure as Prime Minister, Erbakan challenged the Republic’s pro-Western, secular roots and attempted to draw closer relations with Arab states. Erbakan’s fiery criticism of the established government led to his subsequent removal power by the Turkish military in 1997.

Erdogan was caught in the crossfire when he voiced protest against his mentor’s removal, reciting a poem declaring that “the mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets, and the faithful our soldiers.” Authorities arrested Erdogan, then tried him shortly thereafter. The court, believing his speech a threat to the established secular order, sentenced Erdogan to ten months in prison.

Following his release, Erdogan rebranded himself as a politician able to successfully reconcile Islam with democracy. His supporters state that Erdogan is no longer a young, Islamist radical. Rather, he aims to liberate religious Turkish peoples from the constraints and discrimination inflicted upon them by Ataturk’s secular legacy. The truth is, however, that Erdogan merely became more skilled in concealing his true convictions. During his tenure as Prime Minister, Erdogan steadily promoted Islam throughout the Turkish bureaucracy and education systems. He called on schools to raise a “new religious generation” and promote a more religious Turkey.

In 2004, Erdogan stated that he sympathized with Palestinian terror organization Hamas. When

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73 Akyol, “The making of Turkey’s prime minister.”
74 Ibid.
76 Ibid., 44.
Hamas won the Palestinian elections, Erdogan warmly welcomed its leadership to Turkey. Hamas, however, is not the only Islamist organization that Erdogan supports. Over the years, Erdogan repeatedly voiced his approval of the Muslim Brotherhood. When the Brotherhood’s leader, Mohamed Morsi, won in the Egyptian elections, Erdogan received warm reception in Cairo. In the years after, Erdogan worked closely with Morsi, signing a one billion-dollar loan to Egypt. When the Egyptian military overthrew Morsi in 2013, Erdogan called the move “unacceptable” and demanded Morsi’s release as well as his restoration to power. Erdogan’s support for radical Islamist organizations, however, is not the only indication that his convictions remain unchanged. Despite this fact, the Republic made little effort to expand the rights of religious minorities. Government authorities aggressively utilize Turkish Penal Code to silence critics of Islam. In one such case, a twitter user named Ertan P. received fifteen months in prison for tweets mocking Islam. Many individuals see Erdogan’s support for Islamist organizations and his government’s use of Turkish law to silence critics of Islam as an indication of his dedication not only to Islam, but also its integration into law.

To many Turkish politicians who still believe in secular government and Ataturk’s legacy, President Erdogan represents an existential threat to Turkish democracy. His admiration for the Ottoman past, radical Islamist leanings, as well as ties to neo-Ottoman and Islamist politicians deviate profoundly from Ataturk’s pro-western, secularist tendencies. Though their policies may differ, both men are surprisingly similar not only in their respective rises to political power, but in their charisma, skilled oration, and political cunning. In the words of one Turkish citizen, if Ataturk had an evil twin, it would be Erdogan since his “views are mirror opposites of Ataturk’s” and that he is “the first overwhelming, larger-than-life figure in Turkish Public life since the Ghazi [Ataturk] himself.” In many ways, Erdogan is the Turkish Republic’s Anti-Ataturk.

77 Ibid., 46.
80 Ibid., 167.
81 Bakshian Jr., “Erdogan, the Anti-Ataturk,” 62.
Erdogan’s War: The 2016 Coup and Purge

In order to accurately forecast Turkey’s future under Erdogan, it is not only necessary to examine where Erdogan’s personal convictions deviate from Ataturk’s in regard to Turkey as a secular nation-state, but to examine Erdogan’s respect or lack thereof for the freedom, democracy, and sovereignty of the Turkish people. Nowhere has Erdogan made his position clearer than in his handling of alleged political dissidents in the wake of the 2016 Turkish coup.

On July 15, 2016, a flight of Turkish fighter jets took off in the skies over Ankara while Turkish Army tanks stopped traffic on the bridges linking the European and Asian portions of Istanbul. Rebels launched raids on a number of critical government compounds, including the General Staff Headquarters and police Special Forces base. At 11:00 p.m., the Turkish government declared the raids an act of insurrection. An hour later, Erdogan called on the public to rally against the insurrectionists and take back Ataturk Airport. In response, eighty-thousand mosques urged their attendees to action. Citizens threw their bodies in front of tank treads and called for the rebels to put their weapons down. In some areas, the insurrectionists gave up their arms. In others, protesters were shot, run over by tanks, or violently beaten. On July 16, the rebels attempted to seize the parliament building, the National Intelligence Agency, as well as Erdogan’s hotel in Marmaris. They found the establishment empty, as Erdogan had already departed for Istanbul. The insurrectionists attempted to maintain control over captured areas but failed as resistance grew. Police rallied to the public’s cause and subdued a majority of the rebels. By the coup’s end, five anti-coup soldiers, sixty-two police officers, and one hundred seventy-three civilians lay dead while thousands more suffered injuries.

In the coup’s wake, the Turkish government placed blame for the coup on Fethullah Gulen, a Turkish preacher and

83 Ibid.
84 Ibid., 62.
85 Ibid.
businessman living in exile in the United States. Gulen was once Erdogan’s close associate and was instrumental in the AKP’s struggle to end military influence in Turkish politics. As a result, many of Gulen’s followers gained key positions in Turkish government, despite the fact that Gulen himself was not a member of the AKP. However, Gulen’s tremendous influence and Erdogan’s boundless ambition soon drew the two men into conflict. In 2013, a corruption investigation resulted in the arrest of many business people and bureaucrats tied to the AKP by Gulenist police officers. Tensions rapidly escalated between the AKP and Gulen’s followers, resulting in the mass arrest of Gulenists as well as Gulen’s flight to the United States. The conflict angered Erdogan, who claimed that those behind the corruption investigations sought to overthrow the established order. From that moment onward, Erdogan and the AKP devoted a massive amount of resources to eradicate Gulen and any remaining Gulenists from the Turkish political sphere. In the years following the Gulenist Uprising, the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT) conducted numerous investigations into Gulen and his disciples. In addition, Erdogan attempted to negotiate with United States authorities for Gulen’s extradition to Turkey, though his efforts proved a failure. Members of the Erdogan administration claimed that the 2016 coup materialized as a result of Gulenists’ fears that the government investigation into their questionable actions came to an end, and that members of the movement would soon be arrested. Gulen, however, denied any culpability, stating that Erdogan intended to use the coup as an excuse to seize power and “build a dictatorship.” Erdogan, Turkish intelligence agencies, and even the AKP’s opposition denied Gulen’s accusation. Instead, they continued to place blame upon Gulen and various intelligence failures in the months leading up to the coup.

The attempted coup shook the Turkish public to its core and created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity across the nation.

87 “Turkey’s failed coup attempt: All You Need to Know.”
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
For his part, Erdogan preyed upon these fears, seizing the opportunity to claim more power. On July 22, 2016, the Turkish government declared a state of emergency “to be able to remove swiftly all the elements of the terrorist organization involved in the coup attempt.” The state of emergency expanded the scope of Presidential power within Turkey considerably, effectively allowing Erdogan and his officials to crack down on those they deemed responsible. Although a number of citizens spoke out against the expansion of Presidential power, the general public possessed little recourse against the massively expanded emergency powers of the AKP government. Attempting to ease the people’s concerns, government promised life would be no different than it was before. The state of emergency would simply allow for a peaceful transition to normality. Reality, however, was the opposite.

Over the next several weeks, Turkish courts placed tens of thousands of suspects under arrest on charges of links to Gulen. These suspects, however, were not corrupt businessmen or Gulenist politicians. The accused ranged from military officials, pilots, police officers, and civil servants, to academics and teachers. By December 2016, the government sacked or suspended more than one hundred thousand individuals, with thirty-seven thousand more arrested. When the public questioned the government’s speedy arrest of those related to the coup, officials claimed that the nation’s intelligence agencies investigated Gulen and his followers for more than two years, allowing for the swift identification of guilty individuals. In addition, officials stated mass arrests were necessary in order to “root out all coup supporters from the state apparatus.” For a time, Erdogan’s declared state of emergency and the subsequent arrests of suspected Gulenists seemed justified. Erdogan appeared to practice extreme caution, detaining only those he perceived as a threat to the stability of the Republic. However, a number of disturbing reports emerged, detailing Erdogan’s abuse of the powers granted to him by the state of emergency. Suspected

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92 Ibid.
93 “Turkey’s failed coup attempt: All You Need to Know.”
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
Gulenists were not the Turkish government’s only victims. The crackdown widened to target media outlets, the Turkish intelligentsia, and even ordinary citizens critical of Erdogan and the established government. Erdogan’s internal security campaign had become a purge of all elements within Turkish society who resisted his political agenda, regardless of their actual ties to Fethullah Gulen.

Though dozens of media outlets were shut down on suspicion of links to the Gulenist movement, the global community grew increasingly concerned over Erdogan’s actions as rumors surfaced regarding the arrest or elimination of individuals and establishments unrelated to the Gulenist movement. The government targeted and shut down a number of media organizations that expressed their dissatisfaction with the Erdogan or the AKP’s policies. In addition, Erdogan jailed journalists or removed them from their jobs. Over 140 newspapers, magazines, and television channels were banned. In addition, the government detained over 150 journalists. One such individual is Asli Erdogan, a celebrated Turkish writer and member of the advisory board for a pro-Kurdish newspaper known as Ozgur Gundem. In August 2016, Special Forces broke into Ms. Erdogan’s house in the middle of the night. “They were dressed as if they were going to war. Bulletproof vests, automatic weapons,” Ms. Erdogan recalled. The soldiers arrested Ms. Erdogan on charges of disrupting the unity and integrity of the state, spreading terror propaganda, as well as being a member of the Kurdish militant group, the PKK. Ms. Erdogan was flabbergasted. Though she wrote columns on torture, prison, Kurdish issues, and women’s rights, she never expected to be arrested for expressing her opinion. She denied all charges, stating that she committed no crime other than “being an adviser to a newspaper.” The court refused to listen to Ms. Erdogan and jailed her. Prison conditions were hellish. Ms. Erdogan spent three days in an eight square meter cell with no facilities, after which officers moved her to solitary

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98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
There, the jailers neglected her care, declining to offer basic amenities such as drinking water. Ms. Erdogan grew so weak, she was unable to walk. Though authorities eventually released Ms. Erdogan, she could still face life imprisonment if found guilty at her next hearing. Since her release, Ms. Erdogan has not written a single article. Memories of imprisonment silenced her pen. “I have been released but I do not feel free,” she confessed, “in Turkey, one would need to be very naïve to feel free.”

Ms. Erdogan and the media, however, are not the only victims of the crackdown. At the start of his administration, President Erdogan and the AKP introduced a series of educational reforms, which led to the adoption of a more conservative curriculum. These reforms included the removal of evolutionary theory, the inclusion of extensive religious classes, as well as the addition of the coup into social history classes. The new curriculum placed less emphasis upon the founding of the Republic and the early Republican years, and more emphasis upon the transition to a multiparty democracy and the rise of center-right politics. After the coup, universities dismissed over one thousand academics and accused them of being members of the Gulenist movement. The truth, however, is that these dismissals were part of a “political witch hunt” intended to eliminate the AKP’s political rivals. In response to both the removal of valuable teachers and researchers from their positions, as well as academic censorship, Turkish professors and students joined in resistance against the government. At Ankara University, a group of professors attempted to enter the campus. When the police stopped them, they took off their academic robes and laid them before the policemen. In other areas, Professors opened tents to teach

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101 Ibid.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
104 Nevradakis, “The Turkish Referendum And Descent Towards Absolute Rule.”
105 Ibid.
106 Nevradakis, “The Turkish Referendum And Descent Towards Absolute Rule.”
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
courses not only to students, but to the community as well.\(^{110}\)

In addition to his efforts to censor academia and the media, Erdogan also aims to silence citizens who criticize his policies, as well as those possessing vague connections to the Gulenist movement. One such victim is Sezgin Yurkadel, a ferry worker. One morning, Yurkadel’s superiors called him to a meeting at the Greater Istanbul Municipality’s ferry line administration.\(^{111}\) They presented Yurkadel with a stack of documents from his daughter’s school as well as copies of his bank statements. Yurkadel’s employers pointed out that Yurkadel’s daughter attended a school run by Gulen’s followers.\(^{112}\) In addition, Yurkadel was a patron of Bank Asya, an institution run by Gulenists until the government seized it in 2015. This close association with Gulenist institutions, the employers surmised, must mean that Yurkadel and his family were themselves Gulenists.\(^{113}\) Yurkadel attempted to argue against these accusations, pointing out that the Ministry of Education certified his daughter’s school and that his employer deposited educational assistance into his account at Bank Asya, which was one of Turkey’s largest banks.\(^{114}\) He stated that he chose Asya because it followed the traditional Islamic banking principles of not paying interest. Yurkadel’s employers remained unconvinced and fired him. In the time since, Yurkadel applied for over twenty jobs without success. His supposed Gulenist ties, no matter how distant, exiled him to the fringes of Turkish society.\(^{115}\) Sadly, Yurkadel is merely one of thousands of cases of state sponsored ostracization on the grounds of alleged Gulenist ties in Turkey today.

On the night of the coup, twenty-three-year-old air force trainee Yusuf Yamandag was stationed at a training camp located a few hours away from Istanbul.\(^{116}\) In the midst of drills, one of Yamandag’s superiors ordered the trainees onto a bus, armed them, then ordered them to Istanbul to help police counter the Gulenist

\(^{110}\) Ibid.
\(^{111}\) Ibid.
\(^{113}\) Srivastava, “Erdogan’s blacklist: Voices of Turkey’s purge.”
\(^{114}\) Ibid.
\(^{115}\) Ibid.
\(^{116}\) Ibid.
threat. Protesters stopped the bus before it reached the city and arrested the trainees. The government later charged Yamandag and his comrades with the attempted assassination of the President as well as conspiring to dismantle the Republic.\textsuperscript{117} Yamandag’s family insists that their son is innocent, despite government allegations that the Air Force Academy was filled with Gulen sympathizers. Like Yurkadel, Turkish citizens labeled the Yamandag family as undesirable and ostracized them.\textsuperscript{118} The family’s neighbors and friends refuse to associate with them, while those on the street verbally abuse them.

The bloodshed and terror surrounding the failed 2016 coup spurred nationwide paranoia about Turkey’s political stability. Erdogan harnessed these insecurities to initiate a massive power grab and enact an extensive purge intended to silence political dissent across the nation. Erdogan’s actions demonstrate his flagrant lack of respect toward the rights and sovereignty of the Turkish people. One can surmise that with the expanded powers granted to him by the revised Constitution, Erdogan’s purge will not only continue, but grow in scope.

\textbf{The Writing on the Wall}

Erdogan’s power grab in the wake of the 2016 coup, and subsequent purge are not the only indications of his blatant disregard for popular sovereignty. In his attempt to distance himself from his past as a fire-tongued pro-Islamist politician, Erdogan rebranded himself as a democratic reformer bent on eliminating entrenched corruption. This reinvention of his image was largely successful. Erdogan’s rebellious past, including his criminal history, were erased from public memory. The Turkish public believed Erdogan to be a political moderate, far removed from the youthful radical arrested for reciting Islamist poetry in the wake of his Islamist mentor’s removal from office. Regardless of his closely managed ‘moderate’ political persona, the truth is very different. Close analysis of a number of Erdogan’s contentious statements following his political rebirth, reveal that Erdogan is not as far removed from his political past as he claims. Rather, they reveal a man with little respect for democracy and freedom of

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
Unconditional Surrender

Following the detainment of thousands of suspected Gulenists, academics, and Erdogan’s political opponents by the Turkish police, Erdogan made several concerning statements regarding freedom and democracy in Turkey. In a speech to local politicians in Ankara, Erdogan criticized those concerned with the erosion of liberty and democracy as a result of his national state of emergency. Erdogan declare that “For us, these phrases [freedom and democracy] have absolutely no value any longer.” He went on to argue in favor of prosecuting journalists, lawyers, and politicians allied with the Gulenist movement or PKK as terrorists. Nor is this the first time Erdogan vocalized his disregard for democracy. In the midst of the reinvention of his political identity, Erdogan stated that “democracy is like a train. We shall get out when we arrive at the station we want.” This statement demonstrates that Erdogan’s present disregard for secular democracy is not a recent development, but an integral part of his political identity; skillfully hidden through careful posturing.

In addition to concerning statements regarding democracy, Erdogan also made clear his disdain for freedom of speech. In 2014, Erdogan, then Prime Minister, was the subject of a large scandal which uncovered corruption within his administration. The story spread like wildfire through social media platforms like Twitter and YouTube and dealt a severe blow to Erdogan’s credibility. Erdogan, angered by the evidence, set out to wage war on social media. Later that year, Erdogan acquired a court order which allowed him to ban Twitter from the Republic. The Turkish people rose in protest against Erdogan’s decision, claiming it infringed upon freedom of speech. Despite public protests, Erdogan remained unsympathetic. He argued that

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120 Ibid.
121 Bakshian Jr., “Erdogan, the Anti-Ataturk,” 63.
the charges of corruption mounted against him were false, and that they never would have spread had it not been for social media. He expressed his desire to expand the ban to YouTube, Facebook, and other social media platforms. Erdogan’s Twitter crusade is not the only piece of evidence that displays his distrust, or even hatred, for freedom of speech. In the same year as his controversial Twitter ban, Erdogan addressed the Committee to Protect Journalists, or CPJ, at Ankara’s International Press Institute. He defended his government’s regulation of internet information, by stating that his laws made online media “safer and more free.” The day before, however, he told the CPJ that the “media should have never been given the liberty to insult.” In addition, he stated he was “increasingly against the internet everyday.” This attack on social media, online information, as well as the press displays Erdogan’s total lack of respect and distaste for free speech.

Though Erdogan succeeded in reinventing himself as a moderate Islamic politician, dedicated to the elimination of corruption and the defense of democracy within the Turkish government. Erdogan’s political statements, continue to suggest the opposite. Erdogan holds little respect for democracy, naming it a “train” that Turkey may disembark from whenever it pleases. In addition, Erdogan believes that freedom and democracy are ideals that have “no value.” Erdogan’s statements also express a dislike of freedom of speech. He attempted to ban numerous social media outlets critical of his Presidency, declared that the media should never have been given freedom to “insult,” and asserted his increasing opposition to the internet. These contentious statements and actions display Erdogan’s antipathy towards democracy and freedom of speech in general. Both are barriers, which hinder his quest for absolute control over the Republic.

The Future of the Republic

In light of Erdogan’s clear hostility to secular governance and

123 Ibid.
124 Damien Sharkov, “Turkey’s Erdogan says he is ‘increasingly against
the internet every day,’” Newsweek, October 3, 2014, http://www
newsweek.com/turkeys-erdogan-says-he-increasingly-against
internet-every-day-275014.
125 Sharkov, “Turkey’s Erdogan says he is ‘increasingly against the internet
every day.’”
Unconditional Surrender

democracy, combined with the unprecedented powers now vested in him by the 2017 Constitution, Turkey’s future hinges on one critical question: is this the end of Ataturk’s legacy? Nearly one hundred years ago, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk created the Republic of Turkey as a secular democracy which placed the people’s sovereignty above all else. This system of government, though not without flaws, accorded Turkish citizens a voice in their nation’s future. The 2017 Constitution undoes Ataturk’s legacy. It grants the President sweeping political powers, transfers the Prime Minister’s duties to the Presidency, and weakens the Grand National Assembly’s power to check executive authority. President Erdogan possesses a well-documented history as an outspoken advocate of Islamist government, with ties to fundamentalist Islamist groups and politicians, including the Palestinian terror network Hamas, Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood, and the Brotherhood’s leader Mohamed Morsi. Furthermore, Erdogan is an avid supporter of revising Turkey’s educational system to include Islamic history classes, as part of a broader campaign to raise Turkey’s newest generation to be more religious than the last. Erdogan is also an ardent admirer of Turkey’s Ottoman past, even going so far as to dress Turkish soldiers as Ottoman janissaries during important political events in order to recapture the glory of the Empire. Additionally, he socializes with a number of neo-Ottoman politicians bent on the rebirth of the Ottoman Empire. With the increased executive power granted to him under the 2017 Constitution, Erdogan could eventually reintegrate Islamic law into Turkish governance. This would result in the death of the Republic as a secular power and the final destruction of Ataturk’s legacy.

In addition to dismantling Turkey’s secular government, the 2017 Constitution also opens the door for the end of Turkish democracy. Erdogan’s political history and statements demonstrate that he desires absolute control over the Republic and will not hesitate to eliminate individuals who stand in his way. Following the 2016 Turkish coup, Erdogan carried out an enormous purge of media outlets, academics, and ordinary citizens opposed to his leadership. Many of these individuals committed no crime. They simply voiced their disapproval aloud or possessed ephemeral ties to Erdogan’s enemies. Most ominously, Erdogan stated that liberty and democracy had little meaning in the Republic, and he is well positioned to act on his rhetoric. Indeed, Erdogan’s actions and words suggest that he aims to strip the Republic not only of its
status as a secular nation, but as a democracy itself.

Bearing Erdogan’s actions and newfound power in mind, Turkey’s future rests firmly in the hands of the President. Given his record so far, it seems likely that Erdogan will use the expanded Presidency to make himself the absolute authority in the Republic of Turkey. Indeed, Erdogan now possesses all of the necessary tools and powers to govern as an autocrat. He has already abused the power to declare states of emergency in order to extend the current political purge, until he eliminates the opposition or terrorizes them into silence. Likewise, he will utilize the power to appoint and dismiss high office officials to rid the government of his rivals and replace them with cooperative puppets. In addition, so long as the AKP possesses a political majority in the Grand National Assembly, any Presidential decree Erdogan declares will pass, especially considering his dual role as President and party leader. Furthermore, if Erdogan builds strong Islamic support within the Republic, he could pave the way for the reintegration of Islamic law into Turkish government. Should Erdogan take this path, the Republic of Turkey will cease to exist as Ataturk intended and be transformed from a secular democracy into an Islamic authoritarian state.

Conclusion

Nearly one hundred years ago, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk envisioned a new Turkey. He drew upon his experiences as a citizen of the Ottoman Empire, analyzing the failings of its political and social systems in order to create a nation that he believed would weather the test of time. Ataturk believed religion led to the social, political, and technological stagnation of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, religion was separated from government to the greatest degree possible in the newborn Republic. He saw the corruption created by a system of governance deaf to the voice of the common people as antithetical to the stability and prosperity of a modern nation. Consequently, Ataturk and his allies set about to create a representative system, defended by a series of institutionalized checks and balances. In order to solidify these reforms, Ataturk led a campaign of aggressive secularization and westernization. The end result was a government with a ceremonial Presidency and a strong Parliament that shared its executive authority with an equally powerful Prime Minister.
The passage of the revised 2017 Constitution reverses the nation’s political balance of power, by empowering the Presidency, eliminating the office of Prime Minister, and weakening the Parliament’s ability to check the executive branch’s authority. Under this redesigned system, the nation’s future is largely dependent upon the type of individual the Turkish people choose to elect as President. Thus, a corrupt President will not act in the nation’s best interests. He will take advantage of the powers granted to him by the Constitution, using his immense political clout to dominate the Republic’s political system and drive all opposition into exile, or worse.

President Erdogan’s character, political history, and controversial statements seem to suggest that he will use the power of the revised Constitution to transform the Republic of Turkey into an Islamic authoritarian state. Erdogan is a supporter of the religious revision of Turkish education, communes regularly with neo-Ottoman politicians, and voiced his unwavering support for controversial Islamist organizations such as Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. He abused the powers granted to him by the recent Turkish state of emergency to rid the Republic of his rivals. Finally, Erdogan waged war against social media platforms for uncovering government corruption and declared that Turkey no longer needed liberty or democracy. The 2017 Constitution grants Erdogan all the tools he needs to expand these policies, widen the length and scope of his political purges, and pave the way toward the end of secularism in Turkey. The Grand National Assembly now lacks the ability to stop Erdogan, should the Turkish people wish for it to intercede. Thus, Turkey is now at the mercy of Erdogan and the AKP. Ataturk’s secular Republic is dead, all that remains to be seen now is just what form Erdogan’s new, autocratic order will take, and whether it will attempt to re-assert itself as a neo-Ottoman power in the Middle East.
Bibliography


Author Bio

Amelia Sullivan graduated from CSUSB in Spring 2017 with a Bachelor of Arts in History. She fell in love with history at a young age thanks to her family’s passion for books. This led her to pursue an Associate of Arts in History at her local community college. In her free time, Amelia enjoys learning foreign language, practicing martial arts, and playing Jazz on her trumpet and saxophone.
An Exclusion and an Agreement: Comparing the Chinese and Japanese Immigrant Experiences, 1870–1942

By Eric Lowe

Abstract: While the many immigrant stories associated with the American melting pot are set against the backdrop of the east coasts’ Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty, it is important to note that immigration to America’s West Coast was arguably more influential in the development of U.S. immigration policy. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Chinese and Japanese fought for the right to become citizens while facing opposition from both the American public and the U.S. legal system. Examining these struggles against the common narrative contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of what it means to come to the U.S. and become an American.

Upon entering San Francisco Bay, any geographically un-inclined visitor could easily mistake Angel Island for part of the mainland interior of the bay. It is the second largest island in the bay, and from the angle of entry, an optical illusion seems to connect Angel Island with the Tiburon peninsula just to the north. For a nineteenth-century Chinese immigrant arriving on these shores for the first time, the fact that their vessel was not on course to San Francisco proper— which lies on the opposite side of the bay—may not have been evident. By 1880, many Chinese newcomers to San Francisco would already have friends or family in the city, with over one-hundred thousand Chinese immigrants having entered through the city by 1874.1 After the months-long Pacific crossing, the new arrivals to America were certainly eager to set foot on the soil of opportunity and embark on a new journey for themselves. Unfortunately, this was not to be the immediate case. Incoming vessels first made land at an immigration holding station

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on the northeastern corner of Angel Island, and for many Chinese immigrants, the journey to San Francisco would take much longer than they had expected.

Arrival represents the introductory chapter of the nineteenth-century Asian American immigrant story, a footnote in the greater narrative. Still, it is intriguing that this moment varied so greatly on a person-to-person basis. The year an individual landed, their personal wealth, the color of their skin, and—perhaps most importantly—their country of origin, determined what sort of encounters they would experience within American society. The Chinese were the first to endure such encounters, with massive waves of immigrants storming the shores of California in search of gold in the Sacramento Valley during the 1850s. The turn of the century saw the Asian migrant demographic shift away from the Chinese in favor of a greater Japanese immigrant population, a result of factors which this paper will later explain in greater detail. New shifts would occur in the post-World War II era as well, with an influx of Southeast Asians and Pacific island natives seeking American domicile. This paper will focus on earlier groups—the Chinese and Japanese—and it will seek to examine the experiences of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants by comparing and contrasting their treatment and acceptance within the American community. When examining Chinese and Japanese experiences, there are numerous sources that clearly illustrate the way in which the racial, cultural, and social features of each community were considered by American society. Said consideration had, and continues to have, an impact on the way in which the Asian American generations to follow would construct their identities—both as separate nationalities and as a collective group. The question is this: How was The Asian Immigrant (as an entity) created and viewed by American society, and what entities played a role in that creation? The answers to these questions offer insight into the way in which America accepts others into its ranks, and the significant impact that this process has on those groups.

What We Have Learned Thus Far

When looking at the study of Asian Americans and their experiences as both immigrants and American citizens, the story begins with the influx of Asian migrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth-century. From 1850 to 1900, there were hardly
any academic studies devoted to the immigration of the Chinese. This is logical, seeing as an event is not considered to be worthy of study until some degree of time has elapsed. The information produced from this period, then, is largely of the non-academic variety. It is nonetheless, valuable to historians as a source of the sentiment of the period towards Asians coming to the United States. Sucheng Chan, a specialist on the historiography of Asian Americans, analyzes the periods of Asian American scholarship as a four-wave series. The first wave spanned the mid-nineteenth-century to the 1920s, a period that was dominated by “partisan” works that were representations of public opinion and reaction to (at that time) Chinese immigration to the West Coast. Such pieces include popular articles such as “The Chinese Again” in Harper’s Weekly, which discusses and propagates fear surrounding the Chinese, and the impact that they would have on American society and government. Other partisan pieces from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries include local newspaper articles written as coverage of an occurrence (such as the collapse of a mine shaft or a railroad tunnel) but also featuring a discourse on the “history” of the Chinese in the mines or railways. These articles often discussed the effect that Chinese labor has had on a given industry, written from either a positive or negative angle — depending on the author’s personal bias. Again, these pieces were not written as scholarly contributions, but they serve to give modern historians an idea of the types of common views of the Asian population in America around the turn of the century.

Sucheng Chan’s historiography overlooks one critical set of primary sources that are integral to understanding the Chinese immigrant story in the late nineteenth-century: the law. Legal cases across the courts of California (and around the nation) offer historians insight into what types of rights immigrants were being denied, what rights they fought for the most, and how the legal system—as a representative of the United States as a whole—responded. In re Ah Yup is a hallmark case in the legal discourse surrounding American citizenship for the Chinese. It was one of the first high-level cases regarding citizenship for a Chinese immigrant, and as such it set a legal precedent that would support a long line of rulings against the Chinese. Another such case, with a

similarly unfortunate outcome for the plaintiff, was *In re Hong Yen Chang*. Chang was a member of the New York State Bar Association and moved to California, but his application to practice there was denied and the court upheld that decision. Cases like these are of vital importance when examining the socio-political climate of a period because the process of making laws and interpreting them is a human endeavor—they often represent the reactions and sentiments of the American people. Despite the lack of scholarly work discussing Asian immigration, legal literature of the period serves to bridge that gap.

Following the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, a federal legislation that barred almost all immigration of Chinese laborers to the U.S., anti-Chinese rhetoric in the media began to die down. As the immigrant demographic shifted towards the Japanese, scholarly discussion of the role of Asians in America began to emerge. Asian American research during this period is authored more heavily by social scientists in the fields of anthropology and sociology (as was the case in general during this period—Asian American studies was no exception), as well as political scientists weighing in on the matter. The incendiary publications of men like V. S. McClatchy—who epitomized the aforementioned anti-Asian rhetorical core of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—served to provide questions for these emerging fields of research. Were the Chinese truly a “menace to society?” Would the Japanese population eventually overtake the white majority? Articles circulating in scholarly journals of the day featured pieces that aimed to address these questions, like Roy Malcolm’s “American Citizenship and the Japanese.” Malcolm’s article discusses the complexities of race in America by outlining the legal categories that determine access to citizenship rights for Asian immigrants.\(^3\) Thankfully, these emergent studies typically eschewed the blatantly racist undertones and biases of the previous decades and focused on a more objective analysis of Asian immigrants in American society.

As in prior decades, the way in which the law viewed Asian immigrants, and citizens (notably the Japanese) is an important source of information in the early twentieth-century. Despite the miscarriages of justice faced by the Chinese in their legal battles

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An Exclusion and an Agreement

for citizenship, Japanese immigrants in the United States continued the fight for a place in America. With the rise in Japanese immigration in the early twentieth-century, the national debate centered around whether or not this new wave of Asian immigrants would be a good “fit” in American society. The hallmark Ozawa v. United States case looked at a Japanese man who resided in Hawaii and applied for citizenship. The Supreme Court was tasked with deciding whether Japanese immigrants were to be considered eligible for naturalization, seeing as the letter of the law—specifically within section 2169 of the Revised Statutes (Comp. St. § 4358)—only permitted citizenship for “whites” and “blacks.” The language of the decision (which was against Ozawa) is a strong indicator of the way in which the Japanese were viewed positively by Americans but were still discriminated against. The focus of the legal discourse and literature in these decades centered on the process of assimilation, sociology, and the Japanese internment.

Asian American youth of this era were examined under the lens of their abilities as students, and the adult population, likewise, studied regarding their social structures and adherence to American culture. An example of this is a 1922 pamphlet written by P. B. Waterhouse and published by the American Missionary Association titled “Japanese American Citizenship,” in which the efforts of Japanese immigrants were praised as being aimed at assimilation. While Waterhouse was sympathetic to the Japanese and their struggle to find a place in American society, there were many who were not. This period, much the same as the previous few decades, was divided. Outside of the pro/con dichotomy, mid-century scholars such as Dennie Briggs looked at the attitudes, social interactions, and academic performance of young Asian Americans; she also examined different generations and the differences observed between them. Again, these decades saw a rising interest in the social experience of Asian Americans, with an

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increase of literature on the Japanese in particular. Despite the disciplinary angle that the literature originated from, its tone was usually prone to viewing Asian immigration as a negative issue. This phenomenon would gradually decline, moving forward with the expansion of historical scholarship on the topic. Perhaps in the early twentieth-century, the topic of Asian immigration was still too recent for historians to take initiative.

Beginning in the 1960s, scholarship examining Asian American migration met the wave of revisionist intelligentsia that flooded many areas of academic literature at the time. Historians started to take on greater prominence within the field, as scholars like Monica Boyd began to publish articles covering the issue of the immigration for Chinese, Japanese, and later waves of Asian immigrants. The emergence of Boyd and likeminded scholars, marked an important historiographical shift in the state of Asian American studies, as the field began to view the population as an American entity, with a history of prejudice. This shift was a result of a broader trend within academia during the period, which witnessed the emergence of widespread distrust of canonical narratives.

For Asian Americans, this meant that the decades of anti-Asian literature would be subject to rigorous critique. The rejection of previously unquestioned narratives was the preeminent theme of the late sixties and early seventies, with arguments that attacked racism, capitalism, and oppression in defense of Asian American place in society. The counter-narrative style provided a positive light that praised the accomplishments of Asian Americans and scrutinized the forces that led to the years of discrimination and oppression (as some would argue) that they faced. Scholars like Harry Kitano, who was Asian American, took the lead in this movement. His work, *Generations and Identity: The Japanese American*, is an important contribution to the history of the Japanese American experience, in which he uses his own family history to provide a history of the evolution of identity among the Japanese American community. These scholars were the first to look to the past for the answers to the question of what place Asian Americans should have in society.

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In more recent studies, historians have looked at the cases of Chinese, Japanese, and (later) Filipino immigration on an individual basis. These studies outline the different ways in which each group was treated by the American populace and seek to identify the methods that each group employed in order to overcome discrimination and gain a foothold in American society. Having established the individual immigrant experience of each national group, historians have begun comparing these experiences. The revisionist period paved the way for the modern set of scholars in the field. With the amount of historical research having grown so much over the course of the last few decades, today’s historians have the luxury of a solid foundation upon which any research question can be built. Having already conquered topics like the role Asian Americans played during pivotal events (the Japanese in World War II, the Chinese in the rebuilding of San Francisco, etc.) and having these studies to guide them in their research, historians today are able to craft compelling arguments that broaden our understanding of the Asian American experience. This paper is geared towards that end, as it examines one topic within the field (immigration/identity) through a specific lens (legal and popular opinion) in an effort to add more depth to the larger narrative.

**The Chinese and the Japanese**

The process of immigration is a varied one, with different experiences faced by different groups entering this country. In the case of African Americans, their experience was shaped around the practice of slavery and their process of attaining freedom. In a way, they were no longer immigrants, but rather a second-hand, almost sub-citizen race within the post-slavery nation. The process for Asian Americans is framed around a different set of circumstances, with waves of immigrants coming to American shores in search of work in the burgeoning mining and railroad industries of California. These waves began with the Chinese, and their experience was a particularly harsh one. Initially, they were seen as “as a curious but welcome addition to the population of
laborers and fortune seekers arriving on the West Coast." However, when the labor that they supplied began to cut into the work desired by white men, curiosity turned to opposition. They faced discrimination on a racial, cultural, and xenophobic basis, facing the brunt of the West Coast nativist sentiment. Ironically, one of the largest proponents of this discrimination was the Irish, a people who had faced similar treatment at the hands of Anglo American citizens on the east coast around the same period. This is indicative of the creation of the other; groups who stood to benefit from the elimination or marginalization of the Chinese (in this case the Irish) aimed to portray them as a different beast, so to speak, than the rest of society. Still, the treatment at the personal level was—barring the more extreme acts of violence such as extrajudicial justice and lynching—a bearable experience for the immigrants. The Chinese developed various coping mechanisms to deal with persistent low-intensity persecution.

As was the case with other ethnic groups who came en masse to the United States, the Chinese sought out the most practical way to survive in a new land. One such method was the formation of Chinese enclaves, settlement patterns through which the Chinese would create their own neighborhoods in a nearly self-sufficient manner. These enclaves served to protect the Chinese by surrounding themselves with those of common language, occupation, and culture, which would allow them to adjust to new laws and customs more easily. Since the great majority of the Chinese who came to America were single men in search of work, the communities remained small, with few family homes. The enclaves also served to keep others away; the Chinese were an easy target for criminal victimization, being unfamiliar with the law enforcement practices. Ethnic enclaves often serve as a self-policing community, keeping others out and maintaining order within. One aspect of that order was the formation of community associations, which aided in the functions of day to day life in

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11 Ibid., 127.
12 Ibid., 125.
Chinese areas. University of Hawai‘i Professor John Matsuoka asserts that “such associations provided employment assistance, acted to mitigate disputes within the Chinese community, and served as representatives to the majority society.”¹³ Legal disputes were dealt with “in-house,” and banking was operated through a system of rotating credit unions. These machinations circumvented the discriminatory practices that they would have endured were they to attempt to use similar institutions outside of the enclaves. Indeed, the discrimination was harsh. The society which saw the Chinese as a threat to their economic prosperity waged a war to create in the Chinese a sense of the other, garnering hatred for their inclusion.

Sometimes the most valuable primary sources one can rely on when researching the popular sentiment of a given time period are published materials aimed at the everyday person. Harper’s Weekly is an excellent example of this type of source, as its news briefings, articles, editorials and visual materials offer a clear view of the way in which people addressed the issues during the period. The anti-Chinese sentiment during the late nineteenth-century is one such issue, as evidenced in an October 1879 piece titled “The Chinese Again.” The editorial addresses the statements of Congressman Horace Davis, who held a staunch anti-Chinese immigration position and posited that unrestricted immigration would be the downfall of the state of California, if not the nation as a whole. The author sympathizes, reaffirming that if the Chinese are allowed to continue immigration, “there will be a Mongolian State occupied and ruled by absolute aliens, and California will degenerate into a province of China.”¹⁴ This sort of hyperbolic view of the apparent dangers of Chinese immigration, when promoted by government leadership, engendered a harsh public sentiment towards the Chinese.

Another piece from Harper’s Weekly that encapsulates the situation surrounding Chinese immigration on the eve of the Chinese Exclusion act of 1882 is an 1871 political cartoon titled “The Chinese Question.” This sketch depicts a woman, dressed in

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white, standing in between a destitute Chinese immigrant and an angry mob of white Americans. The Chinese man is despairingly slumped against a posting board covered with hateful rhetoric defaming the Chinese immigrant population as “heathenish” and “barbaric.”\footnote{“The Chinese Question,” \textit{Harper’s Weekly}, February 18, 1871, http://www.harpweek.com/09Cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=February&Date=18.} The woman, Columbia, or America personified, looks sternly at the mob of white men while the Chinese man hangs his head in shame. The caricature of the Chinese man is unlike that of many illustrations of the period, as he is drawn in realistic fashion and without overly exaggerated or bestial features. Clearly, this picture is meant to highlight the injustice being carried out against the immigrant population in California. Publications like this one were typically the exception, and negative sentiments far outweighed the positive ones. However, the worst of the discrimination—the most unbearable treatment—would come not at the hands of the press but rather at the hands of legislators.

During the economic recessions of the late nineteenth-century, the Chinese were scapegoated and faced legal discrimination on a number of fronts. Various types of blatantly anti-Chinese legislation came about in the decades following the Gold Rush, one example being the unofficially-titled Queue Ordinance of 1973 affecting the San Francisco jails. This law required the cutting of a prisoner’s hair, justified as a sanitary measure to prevent lice/fleas. However, given that the Chinese were the only male prisoners who would suffer cultural repercussions if their hair were to be cut, many have argued that the ordinance was meant to discourage the addition of new Chinese prisoners—whom lawmakers believed were intentionally incarcerating themselves to receive food and shelter. A similar legislation would be the 1875 Page Act which was drafted to reduce the predominance of Chinese prostitution in San Francisco. As a result of the application of this law, Chinese women were all but prevented from entering the U.S.\footnote{Kerry Abrams, “Polygamy, Prostitution, and the Federalization of Immigration Law,” \textit{Columbia Law Review} 105, no. 3, (April 2005): 694.} These legislations made it increasingly more difficult for the Chinese to settle into American society, and the last straw would be the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This act banned the immigration of Chinese citizens to the United States, based solely on xenophobic, pseudo-protectionist
rationales.\textsuperscript{17} The language of the legislation itself is clear in its openly racist justification for the elimination of immigration on the basis of race and nationality, a largely unprecedented legal move. It specifically mentions and discriminates against laborers by based on their trade—such as those in the mining industry—under the grounds that their immigration “endangers the good order of certain localities,” with no indication or evidence to support said claim.\textsuperscript{18} After the Act went into effect, the Chinese population would decline steeply, with no women or families to bolster the population.

In place of the Chinese, the Japanese would take the mantle as the dominant Asian immigrant community on the America’s West Coast. This began in the late nineteenth-century during the Meiji restoration in Japan, a period in which the Japanese government was attempting to modernize the nation. These changes resulted in social unrest within the agrarian population, and many farmers chose to immigrate to the U.S. as a result.\textsuperscript{19} Similarly to the Chinese, the Japanese were originally received warmly by American businesses who needed a ready supply of inexpensive labor during times of economic prosperity. They gained a sizeable foothold in the agricultural industry and those who did not plant found work in common labor industries of the day. Also, in conjunction with the Chinese experience, however, the situation changed as soon as the Japanese began to be perceived as a threat to white laborers.

As pressure mounted and public sentiment grew more aggressive, federal action was taken in the form of the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907, a treaty of sorts between the governments of the United States and Japan. The informal arrangement called upon the Japanese government to restrict the provision of passports for laborers and in return the United States would refrain from enacting any legislation excluding the Japanese. As will be discussed further in this article, the rationale behind the Gentleman’s Agreement is a noteworthy example of the peculiarities of United States immigration policy during the early

\textsuperscript{17} Gyory, Closing the Gate, 189-195.
twentieth-century. While it was not an official legislation, it did serve to limit Japanese immigration to the country.\textsuperscript{20} Nativism and the eugenics movement would continue to impress the United States populace and in 1924 the passing of the Johnson-Reed Act would eliminate all immigration from Asia.\textsuperscript{21} With that, the period of Asian immigration would come to an end until the postwar era.

There is an important issue that emerges when studying the experiences of these two immigrant populations and their experiences in the United States. The Asian populations are treated as a special group, an “other,” by the American society. Irish immigrants chose to harass the Chinese, even though they were essentially in the same situation. During World War II, the Japanese are interned and treated as a special group whose rights are stripped away. Today, Asian Americans are not included in the typical minority catalogue—rather they are often seen as a “model minority.” The origins of the other in terms of Asians in America begins during the nineteenth-century; it is important to consider the ways in which the legal system, racism, xenophobia, and other factors have contributed to this phenomenon.

**The Fight for Citizenship**

America was heralded as a land of opportunity, and indeed for many it was. Upon entering the country, the Asian immigrant population was able to find work and carve out a living for themselves. The experiences shared by the Chinese and the Japanese when they came to the United States are typical of many immigrant groups—the language barrier, unfamiliarity with the locale, susceptibility to crime and poverty were common. This process was made more difficult by the hostile attitudes of American citizens towards non-anglicized immigrants. As a result, many Asian immigrants were compelled to seek legal recourse in

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\item[21] Johnson-Reed, otherwise known as the Immigration Act of 1924, instituted a national origins quota system limiting immigration to two percent of the number of immigrants from a given country living in the United States in 1890. Given the fact that there were very few Asians of non-Chinese descent living in America in 1890, the quota for Asian nations was zero.
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order to make the dream a reality. Both the Chinese and (later) the Japanese would fight for their rights through the judicial system.

Yick Wo was a Chinese laundry owner who faced discrimination regarding safety laws. He went all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States to argue that the police were not enforcing the building codes equally, but rather were only enforcing them amongst the Chinese laundromats in the city.\textsuperscript{22} Ho Ah Kow sued for reparations after falling victim to the aforementioned Pigtail Ordinance, insisting that the removal of his hair constituted irreparable damage to his person.\textsuperscript{23} Both Yick Wo and Ho Ah Kow won their day in court\textsuperscript{24} but their victories were relatively inconsequential in comparison to the larger question of Chinese rights. Years before these cases, Chinese men were concerning themselves with more than just discrimination—they wanted citizenship. Naturalization meant attaining the rights to a seat at the American table. It meant enfranchisement, equality, and a new home. However, as a result of the simple and dreadfully vague language of United States law regarding citizenship, going to court was often a requisite step in the process. The Chinese men who made this land their home would be the first to seek legal recognition of their right to citizenship. The case of Ah Yup serves as a landmark in this particular legal discourse.

Ah Yup was a Chinese man who applied for citizenship in California in 1878. His case was hinged on the simple question of whether a Chinese man—who would be classified as a Mongolian—was eligible for citizenship. The question is not so simple; however, due to the word of the law being vague.\textsuperscript{25} In the court’s decision, the fourteenth amendment is called into question over its use of the word “white.” Did the realm of whiteness include or exclude the Mongolian race? In Justice Sawyer’s decision, he states that “It is clear from these proceedings that congress retained the word “white” in the naturalization laws for the sole purpose of excluding the Chinese from the right of

\textsuperscript{22} Yick Wo v. Hopkins. 118 U.S. 356 (1886).
\textsuperscript{23} Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan, 12 Fed. Cas. 252 (1879).
naturalization.” With this interpretation in mind, Justice Sawyer ruled against Yup, claiming that he could not be counted as white and therefore, could not be counted as eligible for citizenship. The deciding factor was, of course, one man’s interpretation of what the letter of the law was intended to mean. This is the way in which the United States legal system contributes to the creation of Asians as the other, a separate group that is simply not us. White is an abstraction, not a race/ethnicity, and the fact that the law used this term as such a crucial distinguishing factor allowed it to be shaped by the hands of individuals like Justice Sawyer.

This is a dangerous situation when the greater workings of the United States legal system are considered. Given the vague and interpretive nature of written law, legal precedent—the rulings that have been made by other judiciaries previously—play a critical role in how the law is understood. This is why the 1878 In re Ah Yup verdict is so crucial. Twelve years after the case, a Chinese lawyer from New York applied for the California State Bar Association. He was a member of the Bar in New York, and he had even been granted naturalization by the state there as well. However, due to the Chinese Exclusion Act (which bars the naturalization of any Chinese persons) which was passed in 1882, his application was denied, and his citizenship was revoked. His court case was unable to turn the decision around. In the decision of In re Hong Yen Chang, the court cites In re Ah Yup as one of the principle precedents behind the decision. The Chinese Exclusion Act was similarly influenced by Justice Sawyer’s 1978 decision. When the decision was made to cast the Chinese people in a lot that was not “white,” they were placed into the category of the other, a status that would harm Asian immigrant prospects for decades.

The lasting impact of this categorization is not something any group would want on their record when attempting to integrate into American society. That being the case, the Japanese did not want to inherit the status of their mainland neighbors. As the demographic shift began, in earnest, there was a deep-seated desire within the Japanese community to avoid being lumped into the same category as the Chinese. This can be seen in the debacle over

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26 In re Ah Yup, Case No. 104, 5 Sawy. 155 (1878).
28 In re Hong Yen Chang, 84 Cal. 163 (1890).
the San Francisco school segregation crisis of 1906. When San Francisco’s school board attempted to relocate 93 Japanese pupils into a Chinese segregated school, the Japanese citizens protested, eventually being heard by the Government of Japan.\(^{29}\) The ensuing political conversations resulted in what would become known as the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” of 1907. This informal agreement served as a compromise between two sides of the argument. The Americans, not wanting the Japanese immigration to continue, got an agreement that reduced the number of Japanese laborers coming into the country. The Japanese, not wanting to be seen in the same negative light as the Chinese, ensured that they would not be subjected to exclusion and were allowed restricted immigration to America. President Roosevelt offered a long statement to accompany the agreement and enforce its purpose:

> The overwhelming mass of our people cherish a lively regard and respect for the people of Japan, and in almost every quarter of the Union the stranger from Japan is treated as he deserves; that is, he is treated as the stranger from any part of civilized Europe is and deserves to be treated. But here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese—the feeling that has been shown in shutting them out from the common schools in San Francisco, and in mutterings against them in one or two other places, because of their efficiency as workers. To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity, when there are no first-class colleges in the land, including the universities and colleges of California, which do not gladly welcome Japanese students and on which Japanese students do not reflect credit. We have as much to learn from Japan as Japan has to learn from us; and no nation is fit to teach unless it is also willing to learn. Throughout Japan Americans are well treated, and any failure on the part of Americans at home to treat the Japanese

with a like courtesy and consideration is by just so much a confession of inferiority in our civilization.\(^\text{30}\)

In this, we can see a tragic example of the Japanese using the other as a tool for their own benefit, trying to cast themselves apart from the Chinese. The Japanese saw themselves as superior to the Chinese, and thusly believed they should not be subject to the same unjust treatment under the law. Unfortunately for the Japanese, the courts of the United States did not acknowledge such a distinction.

*Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922) is the landmark naturalization case for the Japanese in America, in which a Japanese man who had permanently relocated to Hawaii applied for naturalization into the United States. This application was denied under a revised statute law that declared only those who were white or of African descent could become naturalized citizens—a law that retained the vague terminology that hindered the Chinese decades prior. The Supreme Court decision reads as a case of semantics, dissecting what the original authors of the statute, and the founding fathers before them, intended when they utilized the term “white.” The justices argued that to be white was to be of Caucasian origin, and that Ozawa was “clearly of a race which is not Caucasian and therefore belongs entirely outside the zone on the negative side.”\(^\text{31}\) The language used by Chief Justice Sutherland is reminiscent of Justice Sawyer’s words forty years prior; the case came down to one’s interpretation of the word “white.” By the 1920s, the rationale had moved to determine white to mean Caucasian, but it still falls short of determining what a Japanese man is. This ruling further set a backwards precedence for future immigrants looking to become citizens of this country by reaffirming a negative interpretation of the law’s often vague language. It would appear that, at least in the eyes of the law, the Japanese would still be considered others.

This debate surrounding the fate of the Japanese community in America was not decided by the judgement in *Ozawa v. U.S.*, but rather it sparked further debate among not only the Asian American community, but among the U.S. population as a whole. The aforementioned article “Japanese American

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\(^{30}\) Theodore Roosevelt, State of the Union Address, December 3, 1906, as cited in Cherstin Lyon, “San Francisco school segregation.”

Citizenship” was written directly following the Ozawa decision. Author P. B. Waterhouse both asks and answers the question of whether a Japanese person can become a citizen and offers insight into the qualifications that the Japanese hold in terms of naturalization. His piece, while racially discriminatory in its own right, argues that race should not be the determinant factor in denying a person citizenship. Rather, the focus should be on that person’s dedication to America and the American way of life. This is yet again an example of a group being set apart, this time in a more positive light. Likely as a result of decisions like the Gentlemen’s Agreement, the Japanese people were seen as more suitable for American society than their Chinese predecessors ever were. They were the other Asian race.

Why Others Matter

In reviewing the experiences of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants coming into the United States between 1850 and 1924, it is clear that the fight was always going to revolve around being able to fit into American society. From the moment that an immigrant group can be seen as a threat to workers, leaders or anyone else, a target appears on their back. For the poor Asian immigrants, it was most often the laborers who saw impending doom in their ranks. For future generations, it would be fear of spies/enemy allegiances and communist beliefs that would make a stir. No matter what the case, the way in which a host country accepts its immigrant guests is imperative to the way those guests view their place in society.

For the Chinese in the nineteenth-century, America was never meant to be a land of new beginnings for most men. This was “because many of the Chinese immigrants viewed their stay in the United States as temporary, they did not actively attempt to change the social and political structure of America.” They were laborers who hoped to survive in America because they could not make a living back home. The Japanese were similarly inclined,

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32 P. B. Waterhouse, Japanese American Citizenship. In this pamphlet, Waterhouse claims that the Japanese are the only ethnic group to actively “Americanize,” thereby reinforcing the stereotype of the “good minority” that would continue into the present day.

but their goals for life in America were more long term-oriented. Perhaps this is why they saw the treatment of the Chinese as such a dangerous stigma to inherit. The way in which American society painted Asian immigrants as a plague, or at the very least as unfit for permission to citizenship, was a serious flaw in the implementation of the American dream. The Chinese would not be as negatively affected by this flaw in posterity, given they envisioned no future generations. The Japanese, however, seeking a future in America, had to create a different identity for themselves—*the other*—in order to ensure that they would be able to one-day fit into American society. Sadly, The Empire of Japan’s actions during World War II would hinder that progress and lead to the forced internment of over one hundred thousand Japanese Americans, many of whom lost employment, property and social status as a result. Regardless, the sizeable Asian American population in the United States today is a testament to the patience, perseverance and bravery of the immigrants who came to this country from China and Japan. They survived, and they thrived as *the others*. 

*Eric Lowe*
An Exclusion and an Agreement

Bibliography


Author Bio

Eric Lowe is a graduate student in the Social Science and Globalization Master of Arts Program at CSUSB, having earned his Bachelor of Arts in History in 2017. His research interests include race, ethnicity and immigration within U.S. history. His thesis work examines the internal and external creation of identity and community among racial minorities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as legal treatment of these groups during that period. After completing his M.A. in 2019, Eric intends to move directly into a Ph.D. program and continue his scholarship on race in America. He hopes to begin lecturing at the community college level, with the goal of earning a professorship at a four-year University upon the completion of his doctorate.
In Dependence: Haiti in the Period of Neoliberalism

By McKenzie Kelly

Abstract: Haiti is often considered to be one of the least developed and unstable countries in the world today. However, many scholars have failed to look into the cause of Haiti’s lack of development in comparison to other countries in similar situations. While some have addressed the colonial history of Haiti, and others have discussed the role of neoliberalism in Haiti’s development, this paper aims to connect the two ideas. The current predicament that Haiti finds itself in did not occur in a vacuum, but instead was the result of colonial and post-colonial foreign policy, the shift to neoliberal policies following World War II, and the development and involvement of NGOs.

Oftentimes, individuals raised in an economically stable, healthy, and educated home desire to help others achieve what they consider a normal standard of living. In 2017, the Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Lumos estimated that over one third of Haiti’s 752 orphanages are funded by foreign charities and NGOs. It is further estimated that 70 million U.S. dollars are given to Haitian orphanages, with 92 percent coming from the United States alone.¹ In July of 2017, The Guardian, published an article discussing the findings of the NGO Lumos, an organization that works to end the institutionalization of children, particularly victims of the orphanage crisis in Haiti. More alarming than the 752 orphanages in a country that is only 27,560 square kilometers² in size, was the fact that nearly 80 percent of the children in these facilities are not orphans at all; 80 percent of the population of the orphanages in Haiti have at least one living parent.³ The harsh

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³ Larsson, “Charities and voluntourism.”
reality is that many parents simply cannot care for their children and the only option is to surrender them to the care of foreign charities. This tragic crisis begs the question: why is it that Haitian parents feel compelled to hand the very future of their nation, their own children, to foreign organizations? What brought about Haiti’s heartbreaking dependence on foreign aid?

The present condition of Haiti is the consequence of a series of events, beginning with Spanish colonization, followed by French overlordship, the Haitian Revolution, and later the neoliberal era. Like all of the modern Caribbean nations, Haiti is a former European colony. The Haitian people were able to overthrow the colonial government in the first successful slave revolt of 1804. However, development as a government was hindered by lack of recognition from the rest of the world. As Haiti continued to struggle into the twentieth-century, the economic superpowers of the world adopted a new ideology called neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is a more liberal manifestation of free-market capitalism. In practice, neoliberalism serves as a tool for powerful developed nations to maintain dominion over the global economy. Half a century of neoliberal policies led to an overwhelming amount of Western involvement in all aspects of Haitian life, including government, the economy, and society. The goal of this article is to illustrate how the pattern of Western involvement and interference within the country of Haiti through colonial and neoliberal policies has led to the dependency relationships we see today between Haiti and developed countries.

Historians have not focused on Haiti’s story until fairly recently. As part of the remnant colonial legacy of the Caribbean, Western or Eurocentric histories did not deem the story of Haiti to be noteworthy. The successful slave revolt that resulted in Haitian independence was seen as a blemish on the history of not only the French Empire, but all other imperial nations whose colonial holdings were lost in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As scholar Oliver Gliech accounts, most early twentieth-century contributions to the field came from three groups: Haitian historians who worked to establish a national conscience; French scholars, who merely treated Haitian history as a small part of the larger French imperial narrative; and lastly Afro-American scholars who utilized the only slave-led revolt as a means of bolstering esteem amongst beleaguered black populations in pre-
civil rights era America.\textsuperscript{4} It was not until 2008, with Steeve Coupeau’s *History of Haiti*, that scholars began to focus their attention on the precedence Haiti’s history set for social, economic, and cultural development for countries with a colonial past.

Many scholars saw Haiti as a country in need of assistance and did not connect this aid to the growing inability to develop independently. It was not until the 1990s that scholars began to question the true purpose of NGOs’ involvement within developing countries. In 1997, William Fischer wrote “Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices,” which would become the foundation for the study of the relationship between development and neoliberalism.

More recently scholars have focused on the effects of neoliberalism and the involvement of Western powers in the development of Haiti. More particularly, the dangers of NGO aid within the country itself and the cycle dependency on aid of the Haitian people. This has particularly been the case since Mark Schuller’s landmark work in 2007, “Seeing Like a ‘Failed’ NGO: Globalization’s Impacts on State and Civil Society in Haiti.”\textsuperscript{5}

Schuller focused on the inability of the Haitian government to provide basic infrastructure within its borders and the amount of services that NGOs have provided to fill this gap. However, little has been done in explaining the correlation between the colonial history of Haiti and the more modern neoliberal policies being imposed on the country by global economic powers. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the link between the two, and further understand how the current state of Haiti was impacted by the involvement of the West since its independence.

**In Colonial Shackles: 1492-1804**

Haiti was the first portion of the Americas that Christopher Columbus discovered in 1492. Hispaniola, as the island that houses both the Dominican Republic and Haiti was named, became a source of colonial pride. First claimed as a Spanish territory, Haiti was often referred to as the “Pearl of Antilles.” Hispaniola


provided its protector with invaluable sugar and coffee plantations.\textsuperscript{6} As the wealth of the Spanish Kingdom grew on the backs of the native people, the native population was decimated through disease, slave labor, and systematic killing. The population was so greatly depleted that it is estimated that between 12 to 20 million indigenous people were killed after Columbus declared Hispaniola as a Spanish Territory and by 1507, following the Ovando Massacre, only 60,000 indigenous people remained.\textsuperscript{7} In order to maintain a workforce for the plantations, the Spanish government began bringing in slaves from Sub-Saharan Africa at a rate of 33,000 annually; this forced migration served to repopulate the island for its colonial masters.\textsuperscript{8} The wealth and value of the colony grew to the point that it became invaluable to its monarch. Despite its economic success, the overwhelming majority of the colony’s wealth was transported back to Spain, and very little remained on the island.

In 1697, King Louis XIV of France gained a small portion of the island, located on the western portion of Hispaniola, as a result of the Treaty of Ryswick. This would officially begin the division of the island into two separate entities, Saint-Domingue and Santo Domingo; the former being the French territory and the latter being the Spanish Territory.\textsuperscript{9} It is at this point in history that the distinction between the Haitian and Dominican identities begins. Once the French took over their portion of the territory on Hispaniola, they divided the territory into three separate areas to support the growth and maintenance of plantation culture and economy. Due to the thousands of slaves that were imported from Africa to work on the plantations, Saint-Domingue became the most profitable colony in the French Empire. With “over 40 percent of all European sugar and 75 percent of all European coffee as well as much of France’s eighteenth-century wealth and glory coming from the slave labor in the plantations,” the Pearl of the Antilles was an invaluable resource for the French government. To maintain control, colonial authorities encouraged the use of “othering” and perpetuated internal divisions to keep slave workers

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{7} Steeve Coupeau, \textit{The History of Haiti}, 18.
\bibitem{8} Ibid.
\bibitem{9} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
in check, while maintaining a hegemonic power structure in favor of colonial elites.\textsuperscript{10} The black population was divided by status, with the freed Mulattos holding a higher status than that of the enslaved \textit{noir} population. Mulatto people were allowed to own slaves and benefited from many of the same rights as the French colonizers. The clear division between Mulatto and slave allowed the colonizers to exert tremendous influence on culture and society within the colony, leading to greater control and power. According to Steeve Coupeau:

Many researchers of sugar plantations believe in the inextricable links between production, capital concentration, and coercive labor practices. The introduction of slavery to meet labor-intensive process in the sugarcane production was important because it constituted a matrix of the practice of power that remained entrenched in Haitian society after independence.\textsuperscript{11}

This integral portion of society is what led to the struggle of the Haitian people to develop a functional government following their independence.

The colony of Saint-Domingue declared its independence on January 1, 1804, after a long and bloody battle against the French military. They declared themselves Haiti, the true original, indigenous name. The Haitian revolution against the French occupation was the first successful slave revolt and led to the first independent nation in Latin America and the Caribbean.\textsuperscript{12} However, the success of the former slave colony was short lived. The once prosperous colony struggled economically and politically. Upon independence, the country was not formally recognized by any of its former trading partners: the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. Haiti was also sanctioned with

\textsuperscript{11} Coupeau, \textit{The History of Haiti}, 18.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
embargos on their extremely profitable cash crops.\textsuperscript{13} Without formal recognition, the newfound nation of Haiti struggled to survive. Furthermore, the final act of economic aggression against the newborn Haitian government was the reparation that Haiti was required to pay to the French government in the amount of 90 million francs, or 17 billion euros in today’s economy.\textsuperscript{14} This reparation agreement, enforced by the same three nations who refused to formally recognize Haiti, required the Haitian people to pay for the damages that the French Navy suffered during the Haitian Revolution from 1791–1804. This crippling debt forced upon the Haitian government would not be paid off until 1947.\textsuperscript{15}

The Illusion of Independence

The following one hundred years were tumultuous. In 1806, the then ruler of Haiti that led the nation into and through the revolution against France, Emperor Jean-Jacques Dessalines, was assassinated.\textsuperscript{16} The assassination plunged the country into civil war, resulting in a split between the northern and southern portions of the country. The north was ruled by Henri Christophe, while the southern portion was controlled by Alexandre Pètion.\textsuperscript{17} From 1807 until 1820 Haiti remained split. However, in 1820, Christophe committed suicide in response to an imminent military coup against his rule. Instead of the south regaining control of the entire island, the ambiguity left behind by the death of Christophe allowed a young political leader, Jean-Pierre Boyer to reunify the country in 1820 and become president.\textsuperscript{18}

Following the civil war and division of the country, Jean-Pierre Boyer was then able to lead Haiti into a position of power, invading Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic) with little resistance, after it declared independence from Spain in 1822.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 58.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 104.
However, due to economic hardship, French reparations, and a large earthquake that hit the island in 1842, Boyer was ousted in 1843.20 The weakness of the Haitian government allowed the Dominicans on the island to revolt and reassert their independence in 1844.21

In the aftermath of Boyer’s decline, Haiti descended into a period of political chaos.22 After three years, and four weak presidents who proved unable to solidify their grasp on power, General Faustin Souloouque (1782-1867) rose to power and subsequently declared himself Emperor Faustin I in 1849. His reign lasted until 1858 when he fled the country in the face of an overwhelming uprising against his autocratic rule. Following Souloouque’s flight, the monarchy was abolished, and Haiti came under the military rule of one of the rebellion’s foremost leaders, General Fabre Geffrard, a period during which the nation remained relatively stable. In 1867, a constitutional government would be established, with limited success.

From the 1870s until the occupation by the United States in 1915, the Haitian government cycled through the same pattern of valid elections, followed by an uprising, a temporary president, and new elections. Overall, twenty-two presidents served the country of Haiti between 1858 and 1915. The reparations being paid to the French government that crippled the once booming economy of Haiti, and the continuous lack of infrastructure development from natural disasters caused the repetitive turn-over of presidents throughout the first century of the country’s independence. This inconsistency and fluctuation of governing style further contributed to the ability for outside forces to manipulate and control Haiti.

Though it is not widely acknowledged or discussed amongst those in the developed world, the United States occupied both portions of the island formerly known as Hispaniola from 1916 to 1924.23 The United States once again occupied the Dominican Republic in the 1960s. It was this involvement by the United States that led to the terror caused by corrupt military

21 Ibid.
leaders trained by the United States.\textsuperscript{24} These leaders in turn massacred an estimated 15,000 Haitian people on the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in 1937.\textsuperscript{25} This was done to “whiten the nation,” like the Americans had originally wanted.\textsuperscript{26} This destroyed the bilingual and peaceful bicultural societies on the borderland of the Dominican Republic and Haiti.

“What we do know—through diplomatic correspondence and oral histories—is that the operation lasted several weeks and had been planned at least a year in advance. Men, women, and children who were black and deemed Haitian were arrested and taken to secluded areas of the Dominican countryside and murdered, mostly by machete to evade recriminations of a premeditated, large-scale operation by the army. The killings, the Dominican government would later argue, were a defensive reaction by “patriotic” farmers protecting their lands from Haitian “cattle rustlers.”\textsuperscript{27}

Unlike other massacres, this one began with violence and proceeded with ideology. It is important to note that this massacre goes by different names in each of the cultures which shows the ideological distinctions between both groups and their perspectives on the killings. In the Dominican Republic, the massacre is known as \textit{El Corte} (The Cutting) or \textit{El Desalojo} (The Eviction). While in the Creole language of Haiti, the massacre is referred to as \textit{Temwayaj Kout Kouto} (Testimonies of the Knife Blow or Witness to Massacre). More recently in modern studies this atrocity is referred to as the “Parsley Massacre.”\textsuperscript{28}

In the case of the Parsley massacre, or as some would call it genocide, violence occurred first and was then followed by racist ideology. However, the victims of the tragedy were not of either Haitian or Dominican descent instead, like most borderland

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Paulino, “Dominican Republic,” 52.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 53.
\end{itemize}
residents, a mixture of the two. In wiping out the thousands of people living in the borderland region of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the government of the Dominican Republic succeeded in implementing a nationalized discriminatory ideology against the Haitian people.  

The post-colonial ideology of ethnic separation, first enforced by France and Spain, and then later by the United States during the early twentieth-century ensured social turmoil on the island. Along with the ongoing economic difficulties faced by the Haitian government, neoliberalism has also encouraged ethnographic conflict between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Ethnic cleansing is still occurring today. The mass exclusion of Haitian people from the Dominican Republic has now been vindicated by law. According to Ruling 168–13, those of Haitian descent are denied citizenship unless they have been able to reapply for valid papers; this also bars any Dominican born person of Haitian descent from automatic citizenship as well. In 1937, Haitians and their Dominican-born descendants were excluded from the Dominican border by the knife; today, they are excluded from the nation by the judicial pen. Ruling 168–13—or La Sentencia—was (and is) discriminatory, despite the subsequent 169–14 Regularization Law that was created to soften the effects of the ruling.  

Building upon the damaging effects of its colonial foundation, the country of Haiti would need to jump through another hurdle for its survival: neoliberalism. Following the Second World War, Haiti, along with the rest of the world, regrouped and reorganized. As the world reemerged from the ashes of global crisis, a new world order was needed to rebuild global markets. Following the Brenton Woods Convention of 1944, this dilemma was addressed with the creation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, otherwise known as the World Bank. The set of economic policies that these institutions promote, centering on reform for developing countries, have become known as the Washington Consensus. If neoliberalism is the ideology, the Washington Consensus is the instrument for its distribution.

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30 Ibid., 54.
31 Ibid., 55.
throughout the developing world today. In order to fully layout the transformation and development that Haiti underwent, one must first describe the context and significance of the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism on the world.

**Neoliberalism, the Washington Consensus, and NGOs**

Following the Second World War and the rise of communism, the Western powers, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, needed a way to restart the global economy. Government driven capitalism had the possibility of leading to the reawakening of fascism, as seen in the previous two world wars, and communism was seen as the root of all evil. A figurative compromise was made; instead of returning to a state led capitalist market, the private sector would be primary party to the market with the promotion of deregulation of free trade. The distinction of the primary focus on the private sector is important. While no economic system is perfect, the growth and development of institutions such as the IMF and World Bank in conjunction with NGOs is what led to the impotence of developing countries to build capacity.

Neoliberalism is not unlike capitalism in the sense that it creates a gap between the wealthy and impoverished; this gap only widens with time. Neoliberalism also allows for large scale marginalization and inequality. This is reflected on a global scale; wealthy countries remain wealthy and impoverished developing countries remain that way, rarely moving upward. While developed countries prospered over the course of the Cold War, developing countries progressed slowly, often moving forward only to be setback as policies changed to service developed countries’ hunger for resources and labor. Haiti itself is a notable example of this trend. As will be explained further, the 1954 Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) *Food for Work* program caused Haitian dependency on the United States.

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and, in turn, allowed the United States to have economic control of Haiti’s natural resources.\(^{34}\)

In an attempt to remedy the seemingly constant struggle of developing nations, a new plan, known as the Washington Consensus, was put in place to “aid” the development of states that were increasingly lagging behind. The term Washington Consensus was coined in 1989 by British economist John Williamson as a result of its three main economic institutions being housed in Washington D.C. Those economic institutions were the IMF, the World Bank, and the United States Treasury Department.\(^{35}\) The main goals of the Washington Consensus were policy prescriptions, or changes, particularly in the economic policy of a country. The Consensus outlined ten changes that were deemed “necessary” for developing countries to become prosperous and on par with developed states.\(^{36}\) These policy changes were mainly centered around trade, fiscal policy, tax reform, and privatization. In short, the Washington Consensus was the biggest international push for the implementation of neoliberalism.

The economic policy changes required by the Washington Consensus to receive aid ultimately allowed for developed countries to take advantage of the developing countries that agreed to the new style of privatized global market. Emergence into the global market in the age of globalization was a culture shock for those states not previously exposed. As technology developed, the need for natural resources and oil grew. However, those states who were resource rich found themselves to be cash poor, due to the economic strength of international private organizations and the inability to manufacture finished products domestically.\(^{37}\) This allowed for developed states to house private organizations that could purchase natural and unrefined resources, manufacture those products in the home country or abroad using cheap labor, and sell the finished product back to the developing states for a higher profit than they originally purchased the resources for.\(^{38}\)


\(^{35}\) Judt, *Postwar*, 537.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.


\(^{38}\) Ibid.
countries, particularly in South America, attempted to part ways with Western states and curtail the influence of neoliberalism within their economies. However, this ended in economic sanctions against those countries and caused numerous development setbacks within those states. This is true of the economic crisis in Venezuela. During the 1970s, specifically in 1976, the Venezuelan government officially turned away from private, foreign oil companies and nationalized all petroleum. The following three decades were marred by one economic crisis after another. This resulted in a trend of unequal aid from developed countries and the IMF from 1970 onward.\(^{39}\) Since 2000, the United States has continually placed economic sanctions on the Venezuelan Government, resulting in economic and social turmoil.

The development of neoliberalism and rise of the Washington Consensus have led to developing states becoming dependent on developed states for access to aid to survive. This catch-22 style dilemma has only become worse through the involvement of NGOs. During the 1990s, the number of NGOs increased drastically from an estimated six thousand, to an estimated sixty thousand by the year 1998.\(^{40}\) NGOs are often characterized by “doing good” and more often are depicted as representing the most marginalized groups in society, namely the poor, women, and children. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated that the responsibility of NGOs was to “hold states’ feet to the fire.”\(^{41}\) However, this has limited the ability of the state to carry out any of its necessary duties and responsibilities to its people as described in the *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights*. In some cases, NGO involvement has penetrated the innermost workings of developing nations, including healthcare, education, and foreign policy development.\(^{42}\) It is the combination of neoliberal practices and the ultimatums that come with the acceptance of aid that have led to the destruction of the state of Haiti.


\(^{41}\) Ibid.

Catastrophic Convergence: Neoliberalism, NGOs, and Poverty in Haiti

As globalization has grown stronger, NGOs involvement and reach has grown along with it, creating a commensalism\(^{43}\) style relationship between the two. Like so many other ideologies, neoliberalism was aided by globalization, using NGOs as a vessel. As stated by Gramsci, “civil society is the sphere where the states’ ideological work is done, consequently serving to promote the hegemony of bourgeois interests.”\(^{44}\) NGOs, often from “Western” countries, encourage “new policy agenda” by supporting local NGOs that pursue policies based on “neoliberal economics and liberal democratic theory.”\(^{45}\) NGOs and civil society as a whole became a tool for neoliberal governments to demonstrate the failures of socialist systems and explain how neoliberalism could assist in the development of the “Third World.”\(^{46}\)

NGOs are often thought of as apolitical peacekeepers who are put in place “for good.” They are described as a non-profit voluntary force that is separate from the market and the state and this has allowed the imagined identity of NGOs to be separate from politics.\(^{47}\) However, when taking the Foucault approach\(^{48}\) to neoliberal globalization, in which politics is a power structured relationship used to control, political involvement is inescapable for NGOs.\(^{49}\) While the term “non-governmental” suggests that the organization is not tied to any government, NGOs are irrevocably tied to their home government. This is important to remember in

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\(^{43}\) Commensalism is a term often used in biology used to describe a type of relationship in which one organism benefits from the other, while the benefactor is unharmed/unhindered.

\(^{44}\) Schuller, “Failed,” 68.

\(^{45}\) Fisher, “Doing Good?,” 444.

\(^{46}\) Schuller, “Failed,” 69.

\(^{47}\) Fisher, “Doing Good?,” 446.

\(^{48}\) Michel Foucault was a French philosopher, who focused on the relationship between social control, knowledge, and power. The Foucault approach, is a way of detailing neoliberalism as a way to manipulate and control a group of people. In this case, the control developed states exert over developing nations.

understanding the role of groups such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in Haiti.\textsuperscript{50}

NGOs fall under a multitude of categories including, but not limited to: environmental, charitable, educational, religious, human rights, and research. However, the main term that NGOs have been affiliated with is social welfare and supplying the people with what the state cannot or will not provide in some cases.\textsuperscript{51} It has been said that “for every ministry, there is also a parallel NGO that executes the program.”\textsuperscript{52} While many supporters of NGOs would say that they are providing an invaluable and necessary service to the people of Haiti, is that actually the case or has NGOs created dependency in order to fuel the neoliberal agenda?

\textbf{Modern Haiti}

In 2005, Transparency International\textsuperscript{53} concluded that Haiti was the most underdeveloped state in the world, ranking Haiti as first on the world’s most corrupt country list. Following this statement, Haiti was declared a “fragile state” and was considered unable to govern itself.\textsuperscript{54} This analysis came after decades of NGO involvement in nearly every aspect of the state government and infrastructure.

The push for neoliberal policies in Haiti came about long before the term Washington Consensus was coined. The Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) is one of the oldest NGOs working in Haiti. CARE came into operation in 1954, after Hurricane Hazel had decimated most of the country’s cash crops.\textsuperscript{55} In a deal with then president Jean Claude Duvalier, CARE created a program called \textit{Food for Work}. This program encouraged farmers from the countryside to migrate to the capital of Port-au-Prince to boost the growing industries and development,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{50} Fisher, “Doing Good?,” 451.
\item \textsuperscript{51} William Fisher, “Doing Good?,” 447.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Transparency International is a “global anti-corruption” NGO.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Schuller, “Failed,” 69.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Francois Pierre-Louis, “Earthquakes, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Governance in Haiti,” 196.
\end{itemize}
such as roads and a water system, in the city.\textsuperscript{56} The result was catastrophic. Since the food that was dumped on the market was much cheaper than homegrown goods, more people abandoned their farm lands for work in the city. However, CARE could not provide enough jobs to the masses. This mass exodus from the countryside caused the 1980 refugee crisis, in which those who could not find work in Port-au-Prince fled by boat to the U.S. and other Caribbean islands in order to seek out a sustainable living.\textsuperscript{57}

Following the Haitian refugee crisis during the 1980s, more NGOs flooded the scene, in hopes of aiding the failing state that could not sustain itself. After the ousting of a series of corrupt presidents and puppets, the Haitian people elected Rene Preval in 1996, who was only the second president to have served a full term in Haiti’s near two-hundred year history. The election of Preval showed stability and the possibility of development in Haiti, so the international community poured in an unprecedented amount of international aid, an estimated $1.8 billion from 1995–1999.\textsuperscript{58} Unfortunately, this brief abundance of wealth provided by NGOs did not last long. The increase in money provided created an imbalance of imports and exports in Haiti. In an attempt to rectify this imbalance, as well as a $54 million bail out for the 1998 debt crisis in Haiti, the IMF instituted austerity measures.\textsuperscript{59} However, Haiti was unable to meet demands. The IMF followed with a freeze of all international funds to the state of Haiti, though donations to NGOs continued to remain high. This ultimately led to NGOs circumventing the measures and providing continual “aid” to the people of Haiti. This “aid” was accomplished through assisting in the removal of import tariffs and undermining local agricultural production through dumping of U.S. agricultural surplus onto the market. Deepening dependency, NGOs funded private schools, undermining the possible development of public schools and adult literacy programs already being provided by the state.\textsuperscript{60}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Pierre-Louis, “Earthquakes, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Governance in Haiti,” 196.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Schuller, “Failed,” 72.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid, 72-73.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Ibid, 73.
\end{itemize}
Undeterred by the lack of success that NGOs had provided to the country of Haiti over the past four decades, neoliberal governments and their NGO counterparts continued to promote aid work being done in Haiti. In an almost colonial sense, the developed states wanted to create a protectorate of Haiti for its own good. As per form, foreign powers (USAID and the European Union) opposed Haitian elected president Aristide, who both preceded (but was exiled) and succeeded Preval in 2001 and helped to form the “Civil Society Initiative” (ISC). This illegitimate “representation” of civil society in Haiti focused on bourgeois interests and business elites, which worked to promote neoliberal policy within the country. However, in a counter to the ISC, the Group of 184 was created. This group included women’s organizations, labour unions, and the impoverished, along with human rights groups to form an opposition to neoliberal policies and practices. While these groups outwardly opposed each other on ideological grounds, they were all still funded by USAID. From 2000 to 2004, USAID provided $107 million to NGOs operating in Haiti, on both sides of the conflict. This represents the control and power dynamic and ultimately dependency of Haiti on the U.S. and its aid.

Even when it appears as though Haiti is attempting to reject neoliberal intervention in its affairs, Haiti is actually a puppet used to create conflict, drawing attention away from the puppeteer, the U.S. For its part, the U.S. exerts control over the island nation with the goal of instituting Western ideologies of nation-states. As seen previously, USAID is the main donor to NGOs working in Haiti. The amount of aid has increased year to year, allowing NGOs to apply for grants to “aid” in every Haitian government sector, including health care and education, continuously supporting the dependency of Haiti on the aid provided by developed nations. This ongoing dependency ultimately led to a $245 million-dollar aid investment in NGOs operating in Haiti provided by USAID in 2007. This investment was the largest amount of aid given to a single country in one year.

62 Ibid.
The brief period between 2007 and the earthquake in 2010 was a relatively calm and prosperous time for Haiti, marked by economic growth in the tourism industry and the export of agricultural goods. However, this façade was unmasked by the severity of the damage that the ensuing 2010 earthquake caused. As Haiti expert Mark Schuller wrote:

The earthquake also exposed the weakness of the state. In addition to not having authority over the camps and the aid distribution—as only 1 percent of emergency aid passed through the government—the state had no ability to prevent the disaster or coordinate relief efforts. The government had been weakened since the mid-1990s by donors’ policies of giving their aid directly to NGOs. Even before the earthquake, more than 80 percent of the health clinics and 90 percent of the schools were private, run by individuals, missions, or NGOs. Some NGOs—particularly large distribution agencies like World Vision, CARE or Catholic Relief Services—became parallel states, even marking off territory to people coming into their area. Many in Haiti scoff at this “cutting the cake” approach, wherein Haiti is sliced up and given to NGOs, ceding near-sovereign control to these NGO ‘fiefdoms.’

The 2010 earthquake destroyed much of the infrastructure that was being developed from the previous decade; cholera, famine, typhoid, and corruption, like the ever-faithful hammer, fell upon the Haitian state. Rather than acknowledging their role in undermining the solidification of the Haitian state, and thereby amplifying the damage dealt to the nation by the 2010 earthquake, NGOs and governments used these images of devastation, destruction, and desperation to “reinforce the image of Haiti being hopelessly beyond the pale.”

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65 Ibid, 5.
In Dependence

In 2011, the Secretary of Homeland Security for the United States granted any Haitian nationals living within the United States, who were not U.S. citizens, Temporary Protected Status (TPS). The terms for TPS in the United States for immigrants from another country are: an ongoing armed conflict, an environmental disaster or epidemic, or other extraordinary temporary situations within the applicants’ home country.\(^66\) The Haiti has continued to meet the second condition for nearly a decade. Haiti has yet to be able to pull itself out of social and economic turmoil since the earthquake and is still heavily dependent on international aid for the simplest of services such as education, healthcare, and food. The TPS status for immigrants from Haiti has been renewed once and is set to expire on July 22, 2019 unless the United States government renews the TPS.\(^67\)

**Conclusion**

The historical context in which the birth of Haiti took place is relevant, because it is essential to understanding the strange and unusual situation surrounding the foundation of Haiti as an independent state. The inability to successfully trade and develop, along with the lack of recognition from other governments crippled the Haitian government. Though Haiti had brief periods of economic success during the following two centuries, Haiti was never fully able to prosper. As Jean-Germain Gros puts it, Haiti was “conceived in blood, ostracized in its early years as an aberration and a threat to the old-world order, and [is] ranked dead last in every social index among American countries in the late twentieth-century.”\(^68\)

The following seven years after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti have been marked by further aid and NGO involvement in the country, to the extent that a medical NGO Medicine Sans Frontiers,\(^69\) known for emergency care only, has had to establish an

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\(^67\) “Temporary Protected Status.”


\(^69\) Medicine Sans Frontiers, is also known as Doctors without Borders.
almost permanent presence in the country to assist in the development of a healthcare program. USAID has committed $4.6 billion over the past six years and has stated it will continue to provide monetary support to Haiti to aid in capacity building. While Haiti has been mending physically from the damage the earthquake caused, is the nation truly recovering well enough to stand on its own two feet economically? Or, will Haiti’s misfortunes once again become an opportunity for parties who desire to push neoliberal policies on developing countries to dig their claws in more deeply? The course of history has shown that the so-called “development” of the “Third World” has been nothing but the institution of neoliberal agendas to benefit developed countries. Unfortunately, in a society that revolves around the dependency on aid provided by foreign NGOs, Haiti is left with little choice in the course of its own “development.”

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Bibliography


Author Bio

McKenzie Kelly is a graduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, and will be graduating in June of 2018 with her Master’s Degree in Social Science and Globalization and Single-Subject Teaching Credential in Biology. Her academic focus is on the correlation between neoliberal policies and practices, and the dependency relationships that cultivate between developing and developed countries. After graduating, she plans to begin teaching science at the secondary level and plans to pursue a PhD in STEM education, with an emphasis on making STEM relatable to diverse communities and cultures.
In Dependence
Present Tense

Present Tense: Indian Boarding School Resistance in the Twentieth-Century

By Casey Lee

Abstract: In the last several decades, the study of the Indian boarding school education system has received growing attention. Thanks to the ease of information sharing in an increasingly digitized world, research materials have made themselves more readily available. Government apologies are now televised, and lawsuits publicized. First-hand accounts of boarding school experiences have been brought to the forefront to give birth to a wider narrative of resistance by students and their families against the Indian education system. Some started fires and damaged property, others cut off their bloomers. Even more chose to run away. This paper focuses on the responses to these narratives of resistance. More specifically, how lawsuits against churches, the federal government and school staff, the fight for a government apology for boarding school atrocities, and efforts to gain reparations have affected Native communities and boarding school survivors.

Before her father’s death, Denise Lajimodiere sat down with her father, Leo, (who had attended Chemewa Indian School in his youth) and watched a documentary called In the White Man’s Image. The film highlighted some of the major aspects of Indian boarding school policy: how children were taken away from their families, forbidden from speaking their native languages for fear of punishment, and the way in which their cultures were forcibly stripped from them.

Following the video, and after a long silence, with head in hands, he said softly, “So that’s what the goddamn hell they were trying to do to us.” The power and impact of his words slammed into me and I sat trembling, fighting back tears, unable to say a word, unable to comfort him. He had never
learned, throughout his entire life, about the government’s assimilation policy, why he was stolen, why his hair was shaved off, why he was beaten for speaking Cree, why he had Christianity forced on him…¹

After his death, Denise spent a year attempting to track down her father’s school records from Chemewa. Her journey began at her home on the Turtle Mountain Indian reservation in North Dakota. She found her way westward toward the Chemewa school via the White Bison Journey for Forgiveness, a series of cross-country events meant to raise awareness of the atrocities committed under the name of boarding school educational policy, and by signing up to conduct interviews with boarding school survivors for the Boarding School Healing Project.²

In her research, she continually encountered terms she was unfamiliar with, concepts such as multigenerational trauma, collective trauma, unresolved grieving, and historical trauma.³ Historical trauma can be defined as a type of trauma that is experienced by a cultural group throughout multiple generations. It is both collective and cumulative; the children and grandchildren of victims can, and often do, exhibit the signs and symptoms of a trauma they were never directly exposed to.⁴

When I read that unresolved grieving is mourning that has not been completed, with the ensuing depressions being absorbed by children from birth onward, I felt like I had been punched in the gut… Hearing the terms and seeing the definitions of generational trauma and unresolved grieving, I thought, “My god that is me; it is my family, my brother, my sister, aunts, uncles, grandparents.”… My brother, sister, and I are the first generation of

² Ibid., 5.
³ Ibid.
survivors of boarding school horrors and human rights abuses. We’ve all struggled with emotional or drug and alcohol issues, and so have our children. We are trying to break the cycle with our grandchildren. I am only now grieving the unresolved trauma that my parents and grandparents went through.⁵

The forced removal of children from their families to boarding schools hundreds of miles away has been attributed as the root of many of the ills that plague Native Americans and reservation life today.

Despite the abuse, loneliness, and abysmal conditions Indian children faced after being brought to the schools, they found ways to exert agency and resist the assimilation practices being forced upon them. Some acted overtly, trying to burn down dormitories, attempting to maintain traditional fashions in the face of harsh punishments, or running away. Others resisted more passively by building shacks in the wilderness outside their school, making tom toms, and hosting “parched corn societies.”⁶ It is important to note that resistance did not just occur in the vacuum of boarding school daily life. Resistance to boarding schools and their assimilationist policies has continued even to present day, more than forty years after the boarding school era officially ended. These post-enrollment acts are an important part of the story of Indian boarding schools that have been omitted from the resistance narrative. These narratives are essential and in the coming years will help decide how the mass atrocities of Indian boarding schools are remembered and how native people across the country will heal from centuries of historical trauma that Indian boarding schools have inflicted.

Historiography

The general topic of the Indian education system and assimilation has received growing attention in the last twenty to thirty years. Over this span of time, the study of the subject has changed

⁶ K. Tsianina Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 139.
drastically; it has developed new approaches, modern ways of thinking, and has spread to different disciplines. Prior to the late 1980s, Indian boarding schools and education system were discussed negligibly. When they were discussed, analyses focused almost exclusively on the policies behind Indian education. But in recent years, it has flourished into one of the richest and most researched aspects of Native American studies.\footnote{Julie Davis, “American Indian Boarding School Experiences: Recent Studies from Native Perspectives,” \textit{OAH Magazine of History} 15, no. 2 (2001): 20.}

The most famous historian to write about the topic before the 1980s, and after, is Francis Paul Prucha. In his early writings, Prucha argued the “West as America’s first colonial empire,” and is the main historian credited with the expansion of the study of Indian-White relations in the U.S.\footnote{Kelly Boyd, \textit{Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing}, Vol. 1, (New York, Taylor and Francis, 1999), 967.} He provides a unique view of Indian education in some of his writings, including \textit{Americanizing the American Indian} (1973) and \textit{The Churches and the Indian Schools} (1979), arguing that U.S. assimilation policy towards the Indians was not brought about by racism, but ethnocentric “self-righteous humanitarians.”\footnote{Ibid., 967.} Critiques of his work have focused on this claim, and the fact that Prucha’s work almost exclusively revolves around federal policies, and does not provide analysis for the consequences regarding those policies on the reservations.\footnote{Ibid.}

Study on the subject became more prevalent after 1987. On February 10th of that year, John Boone (a teacher at the Bureau of Indian Affairs that ran Polacca Day School in Arizona) was arrested for the molestation of a young boy at the school. After his arrest, the FBI found evidence linking him to the molestation of a total of 142 Hopi students over his career. A total of 58 separate lawsuits were filed against the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), who settled out of court and agreed to pay $13 million to compensate the victims and assist in the healing of the victims and the Hopi community at large.\footnote{Peter West, “U.S. Agrees to Pay $13 Million to Settle 8 Abuse Suits Brought by Hopi Indians,” May 2, 1990, accessed May 7, 2017, \url{http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/1990/05/02/09380025.h09.html}} To make matters worse, it was discovered that the principal of the school had not investigated the
numerous allegations filed against Boone.\textsuperscript{12} The case was highly publicized and was one of the largest settlements in a child abuse case up to that time.\textsuperscript{13} The research that followed the case brought decades of boarding school atrocities to light, and changed the way the field was approached by scholars.

David Wallace Adam’s \textit{Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928}, is the seminal work of the modern iteration of this field of Indian education. In his book, Adams discusses the context of and the history behind the federal education policies that shaped off-reservation schools, and unlike his predecessors, analyzes the repercussions of those policies that targeted Indians. His work also argues against previous scholarly works that presented Native Americans as passive participants in the push for assimilation.\textsuperscript{14} He does this by exploring acts of resistance by both students and parents against the schools.

Scholars in recent years have moved beyond simple explanations of federal policy in regard to Native Americans and the boarding school education system and have begun analyzing the meanings and experiences of the people impacted by them. Many of them have also focused their writings around specific institutions. K. Tsianina Lomawaima’s book, \textit{They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School}, focuses on the Chilocco boarding school in Newkirk, Oklahoma. The book describes acts of resistance at the school and emphasizes how the policies of the Indian boarding school system had the opposite effect of strengthening tribal ties. Additionally, she argues that the pan-tribal relationships formed at the school helped students deal with the heavy regimentation and hardships they faced.

K. Tsianina Lomawaima’s book and Brenda J. Child’s \textit{Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families 1900–1940} provide native perspectives on Indian Education, both from their own personal connections, as well as the incorporation of native voices and perspectives in their work.\textsuperscript{15} Lomawaima’s work with on Chilocco School is anchored in the reminiscences of her father.

\textsuperscript{13} Smith, "Boarding School Abuses," 89-102.
\textsuperscript{14} Davis, "American Indian Boarding School Experiences," 20.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 21.
and the memories of sixty other students. Brenda Child’s book was inspired and influenced by her family and their experiences on the Red Lake reservation. Her book uses a broad collection of primary sources in the form of letters between students, parents, and school officials in her analysis. She uses these sources to create a commentary, backed by historical facts, on some of the challenges these student resisters faced, and the causes for their defiance. Boarding School Seasons also presents resistance on a larger scale that involved parents, tribes, and reservations, where others focus on the relationship between students and administrators.

Surges in the study of Indian education often follow large lawsuits filed against the federal government and churches made by former students. A 25 billion dollar class action lawsuit was filed in April 2003, in which “hundreds of American Indians… [gave] accounts of physical and sexual abuse at the hands of the priests and nuns who ran a dozen missionary boarding schools across South Dakota through most of the twentieth-century.” Historian Ward Churchill released a book titled Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools just one year later in 2004. A response to his early work, A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present (1977), Kill the Indian, Save the Man describes the atrocities and hardships students suffered in Indian boarding schools, and argues that the American Indian boarding school experience was one of genocide—not just assimilation. Recent studies of the Indian Education have also taken interdisciplinary approaches to understanding boarding school life. Adams’ Education for Extinction borrows from sociologist Erving Goffman’s concept of the “total institution” in his analysis.

Historical Context

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16 Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, xv.
The concept of Indian education as a means of assimilation goes back farther than the Indian boarding schools themselves. On March 3, 1819, Congress passed the Civilization Fund Act—a motion to stop the decline and potential extinction of the Indians. The act encouraged “benevolent societies” to provide schools for the Indians, and to educate them in good agricultural practices, reading, writing, and arithmetic.\(^1\) It also provided for an annual sum of ten thousand dollars to reimburse and stimulate the development of the schools. The “benevolent societies” that picked up this mantle were Christian missionaries.

**Mission Schools:**

Mission schools, however, were less concerned with academics, and primarily focused on religious instruction and converting children to Christianity.\(^2\) In 1878, The Tulalip Mission School, located on the Tulalip reservation (in the Pacific Northwest), became the first mission school to receive a contract with the U.S. government. In the arrangement, the government provided the costs of maintenance for the school buildings and the church funded food, clothing, books, and medical care needed for the children.\(^3\) The mission school solution proved to be less than desirable for the government. The system fostered dissent between the Catholic and Protestant Churches that were often in competition for rights to have schools in different regions and amongst different tribes.\(^4\)

These mission schools were often places of resistance, just as much as day schools and government run off-reservation boarding schools. Parents resisted and helped to undermine the mission boarding schools from the outside. One form of outside resistance was the refusal by parents to send their children to the schools. In a 1913 letter to Bishop Conaty of Los Angeles, Father

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\(^2\) Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, 2.


\(^4\) Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, 2.
Benedict Florian Hahn (the superintendent of St. Boniface Industrial School) complains about an experience he had on one of the nearby reservations with an Indian man named Ignacio Segundo. According to the letter, Father Hahn had told the Indians there to send their children to the mission school, before they were shipped off to one of the government schools against their will. Ignacio Segundo reportedly told the priest: “All right, let them use force, I am ready for them,” and refused to send his children to the school.\(^{23}\)

**Day Schools:**

Another approach to Indian education and assimilation was the reservation day school. These schools focused on language instruction, reading, and writing. In the West alone, the federal government built more than one hundred schools on reservations.\(^{24}\) Industrial training was eventually introduced; the boys were exposed to tools and worked in gardens, and the girls learned domestic activities and helped with meal preparations and cleaning.\(^{25}\) Proponents of the system argued a series of advantages day schools had over mission boarding schools: they were cost-efficient, received little resistance by parents and tribal elders, and they had the opportunity to spread “civilization” to parents and other family members. But, as Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz said, in a report to Congress in 1879:

> It is the experience of the department that mere day schools, however well conducted, do not withdraw the children sufficiently from the influences, habits,

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\(^{23}\) Father B. Florian Hahn to Bishop Conaty, April 24, 1913. From the Dorothy Ramon Learning Center, *St. Boniface Industrial School Collection*. Box 1, Folder 6, record 38.


and traditions of their home life, and produce for this reason a… limited effect.\textsuperscript{26}

The day school system lacked the means of proper assimilation and acculturation that were found to be effective in the mission and (eventually) off-reservation boarding schools. Resistance in the day schools was not as prominent as it was at other types of institutions. As stated above, one of the main reasons for its implementation was because it received so little from parents, tribal elders and students. An exception to this theme of non-resistance is the Oglala Lakotas and South Dakota’s Pine Ridge Reservation day schools. The people of Pine Ridge subverted the assimilationist education agenda, and “refashion[ed] day schools designed to eviscerate their culture into tools of individual and collective survival.”\textsuperscript{27} Teachers, students and parents were in constant struggle, each trying to make the system work towards their interests. As Thomas G. Andrews puts it, “the school day became the venue for ongoing bargaining and subtle struggle.”\textsuperscript{28}

In response to the cutting of boys’ hair (an important symbol of masculinity to Oglalas), an Oglalan father, Makes Enemy, petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to let his son keep his long hair at the school:

[I don’t know how] his hair [has] anything to do with his learning, or living according to what they may teach at the school… Cutting the hair does not make us Indians like they [sic] ways of the white man any better…. And it does not keep us from being Indians.\textsuperscript{29}

Students throughout the Pine Ridge reservation adopted dual identities, externally accepting short hair, anglicized names,

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\textsuperscript{27} Andrews, “Turning the Tables on Assimilation,” 408.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 416
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 420
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and white education while internally resisting attacks on their self-identities and maintaining ideas of what it meant to be an Indian.30

Those proficient in English often refused to speak it in the classroom. Albert Kneale, a schoolteacher at one of the schools, remarked that most of his students were proficient in English, “it just depended upon whether it was I that wanted something or them.”31 This occurred outside of the schools as well; an Indian man Kneale came across in his memoir was found to be “familiar with every last bit of profanity to be found in the English language… [but] knew not another word of the tongue.”32 The people of the Pine Ridge reservation treated assimilationist education like a cafeteria plan. They picked and chose parts of school curriculum that would help them meet the realities of reservation life, strengthen community ties and then formed them into a means of cultural preservation.33 They embraced gardening (while ardently opposing farming), used the day school structure to preserve tiyospaye (kinship groups), and cultivated alliances with teachers to help them deal with sickness and legal issues. With the help of schoolteachers like Clarence Three Stars, who taught Indian children within the context of their cultural traditions,34 the Oglalas were able to use the reservation day school as a tool of individual and collective survival.

**Carlisle and the Off-Reservation Boarding School:**

The first government-run Indian boarding school was built in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Founded by Richard Henry Pratt, the Carlisle school differed greatly from that of the mission schools that came before. It “set the precedent for removing Indians from their natural and cultural homes” and placed them in schools far away to further foster their assimilation into dominant American

30 Ibid.
33 Ibid., 425.
34 Three Stars taught his students to learn English by linking their instruction with words relevant to their everyday experiences on the reservation and incorporated Oglala traditions. He used the tradition of storytelling and pictorial representation to encourage the students to craft stories and pictographic narratives in English. See Andrews, “Turning the Tables on Assimilation,” 424.
The school was inspired by Pratt’s experience with African Americans in the Civil War and his previous work at Fort Marion in Florida, where he provided for the education of a number of Native American prisoners. It was his success at Fort Marion that convinced the formerly-named U.S. Office of Indian Affairs (later renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs) to fund the off-reservation school at Carlisle. Pratt’s success at Carlisle inspired other off-reservation boarding schools to pop up across the nation. By 1885, just six years after the opening of the Carlisle school, more schools were built in Oregon (Chemawa School), Oklahoma (Chilocco School), New Mexico (Albuquerque Indian School), Kansas (Haskell School), and Nebraska (Genoa Indian School). By 1899, there were a total of 24 schools, enrolling some 6,263 students.  

The purpose of Carlisle, and off-reservation schools in general, was to forcibly assimilate Indians in an environment free from the corruption of their families. Pratt believed that the solution to the “Indian problem” lay not “in feeding our civilization to the Indians… [but in] feeding the Indians to our civilization.” He responded to what he saw as a failure of the government by creating a highly regimented institution in which students were stripped of control over almost every aspect of their lives. Immediately upon entering the school, children were given new Anglo names:

They marched us into a room and our interpreter ordered us to line up with our backs to the wall… Then a man went down it. Starting with me he began: “Asa, Benjamin, Charles, Daniel, Eli, Frank.”… I became Asa Daklugie. We didn’t know till later that they’d even imposed meaningless new names on us… I’ve always hated that name, it was forced on me as though I had been an animal.

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38 Even Ball, Nora Henn and Lydia A. Sanchez, *Indeh: An Apache Odyssey* (Normon: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 144; See also Margaret D.
Once admitted, they had their hair sheared and their clothes exchanged for surplus military uniforms and American-style dresses. They were prohibited from practicing cultural traditions and speaking their native languages for fear of punishment. The schools were paramilitary institutions and relied heavily on student labor for both economic purposes and the teaching of basic industrial skills.\textsuperscript{39} David Wallace Adams, in his seminal work, \textit{Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience}, describes the schools as “total institutions”—places where people are cut off from society and “lead an enclosed formally administered round of life.”\textsuperscript{40}

Every aspect of the schools was pre-planned and extensively thought out. The dining room, believed to be the “mark the standard of Christian civilization,” is a prime example of how Indian agents and government officials concocted the off-reservation boarding school.\textsuperscript{41} There were very specific ideas on how dining rooms in the off-reservation schools had to be organized in order to better assimilate Indian children into white society. One idea, presented by Eugenia Z. Bryce in 1897, stated that all of the children should eat at tables that fit six to eight, and that an older girl (to serve food) and an older boy (to cut meat) be appointed as matron and master of the table—with the addition of a member of the staff, to “instill and cultivate a due regard for the small courtesies which… mark the perfect lady or gentleman.”\textsuperscript{42}

However, these carefully laid plans only worked in theory. The realities of boarding school life, however, were very different:

…They rang a bell, and you started, then you were supposed to eat. If you weren’t \textit{fast}... about the first

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39 Lomawaima, \textit{They Called it Prairie Light}, 4.
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42 Ibid.
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three days I almost starved to death, because I’d sit there and they’d ring this bell and by the time I looked up, the food was all gone, they’d just reach out and grabbed it.43

Often, children would be “shut out” and left with nothing to eat. Some were a part of elaborate trading systems, where students bought, sold, and traded certain foods for favors and other things. The food that children managed to get their hands on (often, by hook or by crook) was often of very poor quality. One student who attended Chilocco School in 1923, remarked that “the food was horrible… Now and then [you’d find] a little mouse in your milk pitcher, a little dead mouse.”44 The same student revealed that the hardtack they were given was often infested with worms.

Students were given almost no privacy. Older students lived in rooms of two or three, while younger children were housed eight or twelve (sometimes more) to a bed. Siblings were often broken up and sent to different dormitories based on their age and gender. Boys and girls were kept strictly apart and had little contact with one another. With ratios in the realm of 80 students for every one staff member, emotional neglect was prevalent.45 The lack of parental figures often pushed children to bond with one another.46 Physical and sexual abuse was rampant. Howard Wanna, who attended Tekakwitha Orphanage around 1956 (a boarding school ran by the Catholic Church) recounted being raped and molested by members of the school staff. He also detailed physical abuse at Tekakwitha:

The cruelty was strangely inventive. At bath time, we’d line up, a line of naked girls and a line of naked boys, which was embarrassing to begin with. We’d take turns jumping into a laundry tub and being scrubbed—scratch, scratch, scratch—with a

43 Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, 59.
44 Noreen 1923/12 Potawatomi, quoted in Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, 58.
46 Ibid.
stiff brush you’d use for floors. We’d then hop out of the tub with scrapes all over our bodies.47

According to Wanna, students were exposed to beatings with sticks, hoses, and shovels.48

Tekakwitha was a very quiet place. You’d think with all those children, there’d be noise and laughing. But so many of us were being abused and simply didn’t talk. We were too frightened. It was like a horror movie in which people walk by each other but can’t communicate.49

Another student at a different school described being whipped by the superintendent: “the whippings… were pretty severe… you had to grab down at your ankles and if you moved at all then you had to start back at one.”50

The Outing System:

In alignment with his vision, Pratt instituted an “outing system” at Carlisle that lent students out during the summer. He theorized that manual labor would teach students thriftiness and promote a strong work ethic while “break[ing] away from the tribal commune and go[ing] out among our people and contend[ing] for the necessities and luxuries of life.”51 Girls were sent out to white families for domestic work. Boys were given unskilled, manual labor jobs. Pratt had intended for the outing system to serve as a means to propel Indians to equal footing with whites, and to teach them the

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48 Woodard, “South Dakota Boarding School Survivors Detail Sexual Abuse.”
49 Woodard, “South Dakota Boarding School Survivors Detail Sexual Abuse.”
skills necessary to survive in white society, but the practice was quickly exploited by other schools.\textsuperscript{52} For example, when looking to move his Indian boarding school to Phoenix, Superintendent Willington Rich convinced locals to allow construction by promising cotton and citrus growers the cheap labor of his Indian pupils.\textsuperscript{53} This was a fairly common method of gaining support for schools—the superintendent of Sherman Institute (Riverside, California), Harwood Hall, did the same when looking to move his school from Perris. Pratt spent much of his retirement criticizing the Bureau and its various outing programs.\textsuperscript{54}

But exploitation went beyond the schools themselves. Students were often exploited, to varying degrees, by the families and businesses they worked for. For girls at Sherman, wages ranged from as little as a dollar a month for younger girls and up to ten dollars a month for the oldest, most skilled girls.\textsuperscript{55} Boys received less (at least in the school’s early years), having not had their contracts negotiated by the school. Overall, girls faced much more supervision than their male counterparts. Their contracts were scrupulously negotiated by superintendents, and often included detailed Victorian codes of conduct. They were also more thoughtfully placed. Girls were selected for specific jobs based on “the amount of laundry to be done, whether or not the family had children (and if so, how many), and whether or not the family wanted their student laborer to prepare meals.”\textsuperscript{56}

In comparison, boys were given no such thought. Superintendent Hall (Sherman Institute) when responding to requests for male student laborers, often replied with phrases like “In reply to your application for a boy, will send you one as you request.”\textsuperscript{57} Students, regardless of gender, often had to fight to receive their wages at the end of summer when their employers tried to wriggle out of compensating them. They were also often abused. Many students complained that their employers regularly

\textsuperscript{52} Trafzer, Gilbert, Sisquoe, \textit{The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue}, 117
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid 111.
\textsuperscript{55} Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoe, “\textit{The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue},” 114.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 115.
\textsuperscript{57} Robert A. Trennert, \textit{From Carlisle to Phoenix}, 282.
swore at them or worked them so hard it caused them pain.\textsuperscript{58} Students did manage to exert agency despite the harshness of the system. Students (predominantly girls) pretended to be unable to follow instructions as a means to exercise a degree of resistance. Mrs. Charles Martin of Glendora complained to the school about her student (likely looking for a way to escape her employer):

> When she first came I took considerable pains in showing her the things I expected of her, but after two weeks it is necessary for me to do over almost everything she does... The lack of progress in her understanding discourages me and I find that I cannot even depend on her to keep an eye on my one year old baby...\textsuperscript{59}

Other students resisted the outing system by running away from their places of employment. As many as ten or more Sherman boys ran away their jobs in 1928 alone.\textsuperscript{60}

**Creation of a Government System of Education:**

By 1887, the sprawling mass of mission, day, and boarding schools throughout the country required some form of governmental systematic authority and regulation. With the adoption of the Dawes Act in February of that year, it became apparent that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Congress intended to fully commit to a policy of assimilation. When he was appointed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, Thomas J. Morgan set out to introduce both government regulation of the schools, as well as create a system to dictate how the different schools would interact with one another. His vision towards the latter was a three-tiered system in which mission and reservation boarding schools would serve as feeders to off-reservation schools (little attention was given to day schools, as they were not common on most reservations).\textsuperscript{61} Morgan also endeavored to standardize the curriculum and split it between

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 287.
\textsuperscript{59} Harwood Hall to Mrs. LC Waldman, February 3, 1902, Outing System Letters, 1901-1902, SIC, SM in Trafzer, Gilbert, Sisquoe, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 125.
\textsuperscript{60} Trafzer, Gilbert, and Sisquoe, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue*, 126.
\textsuperscript{61} Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 62.
the different institutions into day, primary, grammar, and high schools; but by 1928, this goal still had not been met and “even the better off-reservations schools only provided academic education equivalent to the eighth or ninth grades.”

A number of administrative issues, both within what would become the Indian education system as well as the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself, were resolved during Morgan’s tenure (1889–1893) as Commissioner. School attendance became compulsory in 1891, when Congress authorized Morgan to:

Make and enforce by proper means such rules and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit.

Compulsory attendance was further authorized in 1893, when the Indian Office was given the ability to withhold rations and supplies from families who did not enroll their children—while at the same time putting a stop to the kidnapping of Indian children and placing them in schools without full parental consent, which had been a fairly common practice in years previous.

The issue of student recruitment and inter-school sorting was also addressed during Morgan’s term. Theoretically, reservation schools were supposed to transfer the better students on to off-reservation schools, and while some Indian agents did, others did not. This created stiff competition between different schools, and representatives from each could often be found recruiting in the field simultaneously. In response, Morgan initiated restrictions on recruiting that limited access to off-reservation schools and reinforced the feeding system between schools. Another major change in the Morgan era was a series of reforms to the Indian reservation system, some of which greatly affected Indian schools. Namely among these was the change to civil service classification for a number of school positions.

62 Ibid., 63.
63 Adams, Education for Extinction, 63.
64 Ibid., 65.
65 Ibid., 64.
66 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARCIA), 1887, 778; ARCIA, 1893, 10, 167-68; and ARCIA 1890, 300 cited in Adams, Education for Extinction, 65.
(teachers, matrons, and superintendents among others) to fight the growing nepotism and incompetence in both the Bureau and the schools.67 Although this was arguably not very effective, as it was later found (in the Meriam Report) that unqualified staff were still a pervasive problem.

The Meriam Report:

By the end of the 1920s, the off-reservation boarding school system faced mounting criticism. “The Problem of Indian Administration,” commissioned by the Institute for Government Research, was published in 1928 and created a “flurry of legislative activity.”68 The Meriam Report, as it’s more commonly known, reported some of the stunning failures and inadequacies of the boarding school system. Among the criticisms listed in the report was the finding that the treatment and welfare of the students was grossly inadequate.

The outstanding deficiency is in the diet furnished the Indian children, many of whom are below normal health. The diet is deficient in quantity, quality, and variety. The effort has been made to feed the children on a per capita of eleven cents a day, plus what can be produced on the school farm [sic], including the dairy.69

67 In 1896, the school positions of cooks, laundresses, clerks, industrial teachers, disciplinarians, and carpenters were changed to civil service classification. See Adams, Education for Extinction, 67.
Not only this, but the report outlined deficiencies in housing and medical treatment. In addition, it brought to light the fact that students were one of the main labor sources for these schools, thereby corrupting the ideals off-reservation boarding schools were based on in the first place. Moreover, the use of students as manual laborers for the purpose of instruction in industrial subjects as a means of supporting the institutions and often a violation of state child labor laws in of itself.\textsuperscript{70}

The Meriam Report also analyzed the failures of the educational system itself. It found that students graduating from off-reservation boarding schools had little chances of receiving a college education, more so outside of their school’s geographical area.\textsuperscript{71} This, it was argued, was a part of a larger issue of graduate support. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and the schools themselves had done very little in finding new graduates employment, and where they did, it was often unskilled labor.\textsuperscript{72} The overwhelming lack of trained personnel in direct contact with students was also addressed.\textsuperscript{73} The Meriam Report placed the blame for most of these criticisms on a substantial lack of funding that made it highly difficult for the Indian Service to acquire employees properly qualified to work in the schools. With the lack of funding suffered in the schools, the salaries offered to instructors was far below national averages. Elementary school teachers, in a study of 59 cities, made as much as $3400 per year in 1926—but elementary school teachers employed by the Indian Service were paid a paltry sum of $1200 per year for the same work.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{John Collier and Progressive Education:}

In 1933, John Collier was appointed as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and was instrumental to the expansion of reforms after the release of the Meriam report. He differed greatly from his predecessors…Working with the Directors of Education for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Will Carson Ryan, Jr. and his eventual successor Willard Walcott Beatty, Collier oversaw a number of

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{71} Stahl, “The U.S. and Native American Education,” 29.
\textsuperscript{72} Meriam, \textit{The Problem of Indian Administration}, 15.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., 360.
important changes while in office. Collier was also greatly involved in the drafting of the Indian Reorganization Act—also known as the Indian New Deal or the Wheeler-Howard Act—of 1934, which initiated a withdrawal of federal assimilation policy. Even though the Indian New Deal was the most significant piece of legislation for Indians since the Dawes Act of 1887, Indian education “could not be determined by legislation; rather, it was subject to the mercies of the Bureau educational directors and congressional funding.”

Indian education policy changed drastically in the 1930s. With the aid of increased federal funding post-Indian New Deal, Collier, Ryan, and Beatty deemphasized boarding schools as a means of education and instead focused on the creation of a larger system of reservation day schools. In fact, the usage of off-reservation boarding schools started to decline as early as 1904; Carlisle was closed during World War I and used as barracks, and Hampton school was refitted as a school for African Americans in 1912. In the 15-year period that would follow the Meriam Report, boarding schools would be “reduced to half of their original number.” Twelve more were closed between 1928 and 1933, but the change was less dramatic for much of the rest of the decade and by 1941, forty-nine boarding schools were still up and running, with a total enrollment of 14,000 students. The conditions of boarding schools still open improved. With the abolishment of military routine, there was a “different atmosphere throughout the entire plant, there is more home life and more student participation.”

Ryan and Beatty revolutionized the field with the introduction of Progressive education methods to Indian schools. They “envisioned this program as one in which the Indian child would learn through the medium of his own cultural values while

77 Ibid
78 Szasz, Education and the American Indian, 60.
79 Ibid., 64.
also becoming aware of the values of white civilization."\textsuperscript{80} Indian students in BIA-ran schools during this time were exposed to cross-cultural education programs meant to bridge the gap between their native realities and white education. Beatty’s administration saw the creation of bilingual textbooks, which despite their failings of vocabulary, were “ahead of [their] time.”\textsuperscript{81} The Collier period also did away with the uniform curriculum characterized by the Morgan administration. In 1935, the Chilocco boarding school in Oklahoma introduced a new course in “Indian history and lore” and even though the Bureau nor the school had any substantive material on the subject, nearly half of the student population enthusiastically enrolled in the class.\textsuperscript{82} Additionally, some schools began introducing classes on native arts such as beadwork and weaving. These efforts were somewhat aided by Collier’s decision to seek the employment of anthropologists in the Bureau to better understand the Indians under their control.

**Wartime and Post-War Policy:**

However, these changes would not last. World War II and the years that followed refocused Indian education policy once again on assimilation. During the war, there was a large migration of Native Americans off reservations and into mainstream America. The Santee Sioux reservation alone saw a 65 percent drop in population during the war—many of whom did not return.\textsuperscript{83} Many of those who left served in the armed forces, while many more took advantage of the increase in industrial jobs involved in wartime production. Their preparedness for the workforce was thanks to the emphasis on vocational training for Indian pupils prominent in the 1930s. By 1944, boarding schools once again became the favored method of education.\textsuperscript{84} Many believed that:

> The Indian Bureau is tending to place too much emphasis on the day school located on the Indian reservation as compared with the opportunities

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 50.  
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 72.  
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 68.  
\textsuperscript{83} Guy Senese, “Promise and Practice,” 13.  
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 14.
afforded Indian children in off-the-reservation boarding schools where they can acquire an education in healthful and cultural surroundings without the handicap of having to spend their out-of-school hours in teepees... and where there is an active antagonism or an abysmal indifference to the virtues of education.  

Despite the decrease in student enrollments for both boarding and day schools, this caused the usefulness of a trained Indian workforce for the wartime economy and started to bring back notions of the effectiveness of boarding schools in assimilating Indians into mainstream America.

After the war, suggestions that reservations could no longer support native populations and a 1943 government survey that accused the BIA of extensive mismanagement, prompted a government policy of termination in 1953. The goal of this policy was to:

...as rapidly as possible... make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship...  

Education policy within the Bureau of Indian Affairs increasingly revolved around cultural adaptation in the 1950s and early 60s. Instruction in Indian boarding schools focused on “training for industrial occupation, not for ‘fuller possession and use of their resources.’” Additionally, facility policies administered by the BIA placed an emphasis on boarding schools

to “acculturate ‘backward’ reservation Indians whose English language skills were poor,” while day schools “were entrusted to teach the more highly assimilated pupils.”

President Kennedy spoke out against termination, temporarily calling it to halt, and promised to “end practices that have eroded Indian rights and resources, reduced the Indians' land base and repudiated Federal responsibility.” Additional pressure brought awareness to the fact that Indians wanted more control over their lives and the education of their children. In 1969, the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education published the report *Indian Education: A National Tragedy-A National Challenge* (also known as the Kennedy Report). Leading the report was Robert Kennedy, and eventually Edward Kennedy after his assassination. The report summarized the devastating failures of the Indian education system since the Meriam Report of 1928, whose recommendations, the report wrote, were still unfulfilled.

**Resistance:**

Running away was easily the most common type of resistance seen from students in the boarding schools. At many schools, visits home were rare, if not unheard of. Homesickness has been attributed as the leading cause of school desertion. Most runaways skipped out within the first few months of the fall term. As one student recounted:

> I was just so homesick, there was a big clock on the wall and I was looking at this clock and I’d say, how many minutes in an hour? [Laughter] And how many hours in a day? And how many days in a month? And how many months before I get to go home?

88 Senese, “Promise and Practice,” 12.
92 Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*, 41.
93 Ibid.
Students had other various reasons for deserting besides homesickness. Isaac Plenty Hoops greatly disliked the food; others complained about poor treatment by the staff or the work details they were assigned to.\textsuperscript{94} Deserting the schools served to plague staff and federal officials who were intent on maintaining high enrollment figures.\textsuperscript{95} Student desertions were prolific in all of the schools and attempts by officials to quell them often backfired. In one instance at Chilocco, students were threatened with expulsion should they runaway—which many took as incentive to leave.\textsuperscript{96} In a span of four months alone at Chilocco, in 1927, 111 boys and 18 girls deserted.\textsuperscript{97}

Some students were repeat offenders: a boy named Martin (Flandreau) was reportedly discovered in a single year to have run away multiple times, and had been found in Elkton, South Dakota, in Chicago, Illinois, in Wilmar, Minneapolis, and in Pipestone, Minnesota.\textsuperscript{98} A matron at Flandreau reported that a student, Mary Badboy, held the record for most desertion attempts for the year.\textsuperscript{99} Jim Whitewolf ran away three times. In an effort to squash desertions, school officials often threatened students with a number of punishments. Whitewolf (having been caught during his first two escapades), was first given the option to choose between a palm switching and spending the day alone in the chapel, and then on his second offense, a severe thrashing or two days labor in the girl’s laundry.\textsuperscript{100} Another student was given “one day in jail for each day’s absence” (he had been on the run for 30 days).\textsuperscript{101} Howard Wanna (Tekakwitha) recounted: “Once, after I tried to run
away, I had to wear a dress for a while, and when we went outdoors I was tied to a tree.”

So desperate were some students to return home to their families, they sometimes risked deserting in harsh conditions and often harsher terrain. Families often worried about their children deserting the schools, both during winter months and the rest of the year. A boy’s grandfather warned the superintendent of Flandreau to keep a close eye on my grandson so he may not run away from your school… It is a bad time as you know for anyone to run away… [Barney] has threaten [sic] that he would run away whenever he has the chance to do so, so do not give him a chance.

Some students took bad weather conditions in stride. One boy, having deserted Haskell School in September of 1909, “solved his problem of being on the run in frigid weather by dropping in at the Flandreau boarding school for winter accommodations." However, for many Indian families, their worry was well founded. Three boys deserted a boarding school in Anadarko in 1891 and were later found to have frozen to death.

Other parents and adults had decidedly different views over runaways. Henry Smith sent an angry letter to the superintendent of his son’s school (Flandreau) in 1924: “What for did he runaway? I want to ask you what you call it when he left his suitcase over there when he came here, he almost [didn’t] have any shoes.” He continued, “I send him when I feel like it.”

Communities on reservations were often sympathetic of runaways and often helped children on the lamb evade arrest and capture. The Iowa tribe in Kansas were so well known to take in runaways from Haskell, that they developed a reputation among school

102 Woodard, “South Dakota Boarding School Survivors.”
103 National Archives, RG 75, BIA, Flandreau, letters from family, Suring, Wisconsin, December 29, 1909, quoted in Child, Boarding School Seasons, 90.
104 Child, Boarding School Seasons, 90.
105 Adams, Education for Extinction, 228.
106 Child, Boarding School Seasons, 90.
107 Ibid.
administrators. In other instances, parents completely ignored compulsory attendance mandates.

At the 200 bed Fort Hall School in 1892, parental opposition to the boarding school was so staunch that only 62 students were enrolled. Roughly 100 Shoshone and Bannock children were being withheld from the school. Things became so hostile that at one point Agent S. J. Fisher reportedly “chok[ed] a so-called chief into subjection” in order to get a hold of his children. By September 26, 1897, the situation had disintegrated into chaos, and the Bureau convinced President Cleveland to send in forty three members of the Fourth Calvary carrying a total of 8,600 rounds of ammunition to quell the resistance. After seeing the troops, the resistance quickly fizzled out.

Students resisted and subverted school authority in other ways as well. Arson, both successful and attempted, was fairly common. In 1897, two Carlisle girls set the reading room on fire. Much to their disappointment, the fire was quickly put out, but the girls quickly made another attempt a few hours later (which was also safely put out). A boy at Flandreau attempted to burn down the small Boy’s Dormitory in 1918. Attempts at arson happened so often that the Bureau was forced to implement fire drills and set up buckets of water throughout the school buildings. The problem continued until 1907, when Haskell officials had three girls charged with arson for planning to burn down the school. The girls were shipped off to a state reform school, and “the lesson evidently sank into the hearts our pupils all over Indian country… for the riot of incendiarism ceased from that day.”

More passive forms of resistance were also prevalent, at least some of which was unintentional. A group of boys at Chilocco ducked curfew to ride the schools newly acquired cavalry horses bareback when they lost control of them and collided with Superintendent Keller’s evening soiree:

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108 Ibid.
109 Adams, Education for Extinction, 216.
110 Ibid 221.
111 Ibid 216.
112 Ibid 222.
113 Child, Boarding School Seasons, 93.
114 Adams, Education for Extinction, 230.
115 Adams, Education for Extinction, 231.
They’re all cavalry horses, jumping was nothing to them. They went right over the tables! [Laughter] Took the lantern lines, the Japanese lanterns caught on us, and we just wiped the whole thing out! [Laughter] And the horses then cut back up through campus, and they slowed to go around the corner we all piled off, and let ‘em go.\textsuperscript{116}

The boys managed to resist the school’s harsh disciplinary standards by running off and avoiding identification. Other acts of resistance and agency were more intentional. Lakota girls at boarding school at Pine Ridge occasionally protested policies by flouting school rules and retaking control of their bodies, plucking their eyebrows and braiding their hair in traditional fashions.\textsuperscript{117} The battle over girls’ bodies continued at Chilocco, when a dormitory full of girls ditched their bloomers after inspection for a school dance near the school. In order to make boarding school life more psychologically bearable, students often formed gangs—which curiously did not necessarily correspond to tribal affiliations and reinforced notions of pan-tribal identity.\textsuperscript{118}

Students also found ways of preserving their cultural traditions and stories. Some labeled school staff with offensive Indian names. A group of girls at Phoenix school began calling their dormitory matron “Ho’ok,” after a legendary Pima witch.\textsuperscript{119} One of the girls would imitate the matron by tying “some large nails together so they would jingle like old Ho’ok’s keys. Then she would call out in a nasal tone, ‘Girls! Girls!’”\textsuperscript{120} Boys at Chilocco were known to run off on weekends and holidays to spend time in the woods. There they would hunt with bow and arrows, and the occasional gun when they could get their hands on it.\textsuperscript{121} They also built hidden away shacks in which to congregate.

\textsuperscript{116} Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, 120.
\textsuperscript{117} Adams, Education for Extinction, 232.
\textsuperscript{118} Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, 129.
\textsuperscript{119} Adams, Education for Extinction, 233.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{121} Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light, 136.
They’d have stomp dances out at night, in the early years. They’d go out and build a fire, and parch corn, and then they’d make little tom-toms out of tin cans with rubber stretched over the top, and they’d have stomp dances around those fires at night…122

An anomaly of federal policy, these “parched corn societies” were never endorsed, but were routinely tolerated.123 Occasionally, more inspired students used bureaucratic means. So dissatisfied were a group of students at Haskell that they wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking to have their school closed—much to the embarrassment of their superintendent.124 Regardless of method and intent, the Indian children in boarding schools across the country fought hard against the assimilationist policies that had taken them away from their homes and families.

Analysis

The tradition of resistance to the assimilation of the Indian education system continues today. Despite the drop-off of literature following the 1970s and the official end of boarding school policy, it is alive and well in varying forms all across the country. Post-enrollment acts of resistance have taken many different forms in recent years: everything from speaking native languages, to raising awareness of boarding school atrocities and experiences, to seeking counseling can be considered resistance. This paper, however, focuses on three specific types: lawsuits against Churches, the federal government, and school staff, the fight for a government apology for boarding school atrocities, and efforts to gain reparations. It also details their importance to Native communities and boarding school survivors.

One of the types of resistance of the post-boarding school experience, and one of the most common types in general, is the

122 Ibid., 137.
123 Ibid., 139.
124 Child, Boarding School Seasons, 93.
seeking of legal recourse. Many throughout the last several years have filed lawsuits against the U.S. government and various religious denominations for abuses committed at Indian boarding schools. In April 2003, Sonny One Star, and a group of five other members of the Yankton Sioux Tribe in South Dakota filed a lawsuit against the U.S. government. The case accused the federal government of “neglecting its treaty-bound duty to protect tribes from ‘bad whites’ during the boarding school era.” The treaty that the lawsuit was founded on was the treaty of Fort Laramie, ratified in February of 1869. Made between the United States and eleven tribes, the treaty stipulated (among other things) that any American citizen found of committing a crime against an Indian would be subject to U.S. laws and punishment.

The plaintiffs stated years of physical and sexual abuse at the hands of priests and nuns at the St. Paul, St. Francis, and Holy Rosary schools on South Dakota reservations. According to one of the plaintiffs: “My brother Frank always had his ear torn; the sister would twist and rip his ears. His cheeks were always red and bruised from being grabbed.” Mike Archambeau, another plaintiff, recounted how he witnessed the sexual assault of one of his classmates as a boy, stating “It didn’t do no good to tell… If I told my mom, I’d get beat up worse. I got beaten at home, beaten at school. The boys would try to rape me after watching the nun.” The $25 billion suit was eventually dismissed.

In 2011, ten Native American plaintiffs filed a different suit against the Marty Boarding School in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, claiming sexual abuse at the hands of the priests and nuns working there. The suit was a continuation of the 2003 suit filed against the federal government. The plaintiffs described some of the abuse they encountered as students at the school:

Adele Zephier said she was sexually abused by a priest who put his hands under her dress, fondled and penetrated her. She was also physically abused by the nuns, one of whom would pick her up by the hair, shake her, and lock her in a

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127 Ibid.
Edna Little Elk...witnessed her cousin, Zona Iron Shell, beaten to death in front of her...Lois L. Long, another plaintiff, was left-handed. She was accused of Satanism and to cure her, her left hand was tied, which caused permanent physical injuries. During baths, she said, the nuns would fondle her in an attempt to “wash the devil out.”

The case was dismissed by circuit court judge Bradley Zell in March of 2011.

This loss came after the same judge ruled that the plaintiffs could not sue for financial damages against the religious orders that staffed the school on the Yankton reservation the month previous. The reason for the dismissal was a series of changes to state legislature concerning child abuse cases, namely a three-year limit to pursuing a civil suit as well as the placement of an age limit of forty for recovering damages from “any person or entity other than the actual person who perpetrated the actual act of sexual abuse.” John Manly, co-council on the case, argued that the bill was “put forth by religious orders” and specifically targeted Native peoples seeking legal restitution for boarding school abuses.

At the same time, as the Zephier case, The Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus agreed to settle a series of cases and pay $166.1 million to Native Americans who suffered abuse at the hands of Jesuit Priests from 1940–1990. 470 former students, represented by Blaine Tamaki, who attended Jesuit-operated mission and boarding schools on Washington, Idaho, Alaska, Oregon and Montana reservations filed a total of 21

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130 Garrigan, “Judge Dismisses Sex Abuse Lawsuit.”

131 Ibid.

lawsuits against the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus in 2009.\(^\text{133}\) Trials in the aftermath of mass atrocities struggle between vengeance and forgiveness.\(^\text{134}\) They transfer responsibility to official bodies in order to cool desires for vengeance into retribution, to slow judgement with procedures, and to interrupt the cycle of blame with the presumption of innocence.\(^\text{135}\) Howard Wanna states

I have sued the Church over my abuse, but because of my cancer I’m going to die with this on my mind, well before any chance of receiving justice. The people we looked up to most as children failed us… But we’ll get ’em back… No amount of compensation can cure us or absolve them, but we want our day in court. We want the public to hear what was happening to many Native American children in this country while non-Native people lived peacefully in their cities and towns and on their farms. Millions don’t know what we went through, and they need a quick history lesson. It’ll be a hard one, but it’s a fact.\(^\text{136}\)

Trials are not meant for healing. Nor does forgiveness or reconciliation play a part. What they can do, however, is create closure for victims. Mark Osiel argues that “trials following mass violence can help a nation consolidate memories and engage in ‘secular rituals of commemoration.’”\(^\text{137}\)

**Apologies**

\(^{133}\) Ibid.  
\(^{135}\) Ibid.  
\(^{137}\) Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*, 46.
In 2008, the Canadian Prime Minister, Stephan Harper (and other members of the federal government), apologized for the role of Canadians in the residential school system that damaged First Nation, Inuit, and Metis peoples.

The burden of this experience has been on your shoulders for far too long. The burden is properly ours as a Government, and as a country...You have been working on recovering from this experience for a long time and in a very real sense, we are now joining you on this journey. The Government of Canada sincerely apologizes and asks the forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly.  

The apology, which was nationally televised, also came with the restitution of 1.9 billion Canadian dollars and the appointment of an independent Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Similar to the TRC in South Africa in the aftermath of Apartheid, the Canadian TRC was assigned the duties of uncovering truths and the extent of residential school atrocities, facilitating reconciliation between the government and native people, raising awareness and promoting public education, and providing a safe, holistic, and culturally appropriate setting for community healing.

Government apologies such as this can be important tools in the healing of communities in the years that follow genocide and mass atrocity. Official apologies for injustice can correct public records and national historical narratives, assign responsibility, and allow public acknowledgement of crimes that were committed. But official apologies (and indeed apologies in general) are very complex, and their effectiveness relies on a number of factors. At its most basic level, an apology requires certain parts: the acknowledgment that a wrong was done, an admission of fault...
and/or responsibility, and an honest expression of remorse for having committed it. If just one of these aspects is missing, the apology crumbles. When done correctly, government apologies can serve an important symbolic purpose. As Nicholas Tavuchis aptly puts it, “an apology, no matter how sincere or effective, does not and cannot undo what has been done. And yet, in a mysterious way… this is precisely what it manages to do.” However, purely symbolic apologies, which carry no resources, promises of behavioral changes, or alterations to lives of survivors, are not effective or found to be very meaningful.

This is the case with President Obama’s apology for the U.S. government’s role in Indian boarding schools. Remarkably lackluster, the apology fell short of actually apologizing. Buried within the Department of Defense Appropriations Act of 2010 (written up in December of 2009), it received little media attention and was not televised or actively advertised to the general public. As Robert T. Coulter, executive director of the Indian Law Resource Center, stated in an interview with Indian Country Today “What kind of an apology is it when they don’t tell the people they are apologizing to? For an apology to have any meaning at all, you do have to tell the people you're apologizing to.” The wording of the apology is also highly problematic:

(3) [The U.S. Government] Recognizes that there have been years of official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the Federal Government regarding Indian tribes; (4) Apologizes on behalf of the people of the United States to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted on Native Peoples by citizens of the United States; (5) Expresses its regret for the ramifications of former wrongs…

141 Ibid., 5
142 Ibid., 112.
This weightless statement omits any mention of federal culpability and distantly apologizes for centuries of transgressions towards native peoples. The only thing it actually apologizes for is that U.S. treatment of Native Americans was as bad as it was. The everyday version of an apology such as this, might be an attacker apologizing to the victim for him having a black eye, while avoiding apologizing for having given it to him.

Refusal to accept responsibility is by definition, not an apology—true apologies cannot be delegated or assumed.\footnote{145} The “apology” also comes with the disclaimer that “nothing in this Joint Resolution—(1) authorizes or supports any claim against the United States; or (2) serves as a settlement of any claim against the United States.”\footnote{146} This is a part of a trend in U.S. politics, an attempt to expedite solutions and to win favor without actually confessing culpability.\footnote{147} Also, the apology neither accepts the blame for Indian boarding schools, nor offers any reparations—which are often necessary when apologizing for mass atrocity and genocide. As Eric K. Yamamoto contends in his article “Rethinking Alliances: Agency, Responsibility and Interracial Justice,” “only when present pain rooted in past harms [is] addressed and, to the extent appropriate, redressed [can] there be justice.”\footnote{148}

The story of resistance in the U.S. apology lies not in the apology itself, but in the efforts to see apology, reconciliation and redress come to pass. Starting on May 16, 2009, tribal communities began a 40-day, 6,800-mile-long journey across the continental U.S. escorting a petition that they planned to personally deliver to President Obama. Stopping at 23 boarding school sites along the way, and ending its journey at the National Museum of the American Indian in D.C., the petition stated:

We ask you to join the leaders of Canada and Australia by apologizing to First Nations people here for what was allowed to happen to children at

the schools, and for the scars of hurt and pain that it left on generations of Native American people.\textsuperscript{149}

Over 2700 people participated in the Wellbriety Journey for Forgiveness. The journey’s goal was to raise awareness of boarding school abuses, open a dialogue and to promote forgiveness for the historical trauma the boarding schools caused.\textsuperscript{150} This series of events featured native music and drums, traditional ceremonies, educational activities, speakers, talking circles, and former boarding school students shared stories of their heart-wrenching experiences. Maintaining public and collective memory of Indian boarding schools is an essential element of modern forms of resistance. After all, “forgetting the extermination is part of the extermination itself.”\textsuperscript{151} The activities held at the events are also in direct opposition to the assimilationist policies characteristic of boarding schools that many of the participants attended in their youth.

Reparations

Reparations stem from the compensatory theory of justice, the idea that victims can and must be compensated, and while reparation in the form of monetary gifts is common, it is not always the case.\textsuperscript{152} As with apologies, reparations also have an important symbolic component: “…The symbolic value of losses—their meaning often acknowledged by story-telling and public memory—may be as important, or more important, than the actual material losses.”\textsuperscript{153} It is also important to note the role reparations play in healing after genocide and mass atrocities. “[Reparations] can meet burning

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\textsuperscript{152} Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, 104.
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needs for acknowledgement, closure, vindication, and connection. [They] provide a specific, narrow invitation for victims and survivors to walk between vengeance and forgiveness.”¹⁵⁴ Monetary reparations may often seem like an oxymoron—no amount of money can bring back what was lost. But they can lessen the financial burden caused by financial and material losses.¹⁵⁵

The failures of the U.S. apology for Indian boarding schools have prompted backlash from multiple directions. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition has been on the forefront of many efforts to demand reparations from the federal government. Similar to the reparations given in the Canadian apology in 2008, the Coalition has petitioned the federal government for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a report “on the effects of the forcible removal of children and subsequent abuse and neglect resulting from the Indian boarding school policy.”¹⁵⁶ Several federally recognized tribes and regional organizations have also shown their support for the creation of the report. As stated by the Cahuilla tribal council in 2014:

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that the Cahuilla Band of Indians does hereby support the creation of a comprehensive national study, to be concluded by issuance of a report on American Indian Boarding School Policy which provides complete documentation of the events that took place at each of the schools, the fate of each of the students, the gathering of testimony from those who suffered from abuse, neglect or other trauma, and recommendations to Congress based on the information gathered from individual victims, communities and experts concerning the nature of

¹⁵⁴ Minow, Between Vengeance and Forgiveness, 106.
¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 103.
the harms and potential paradigms for redress, healing and reconciliation.157

While Truth and Reconciliation Commissions come with their own set of problems and pitfalls (i.e. they often fail “to create the potential closure afforded by criminal trials”), one would be hard pressed to argue against their necessity in regard to Indian boarding schools.

There is a substantial lack of knowledge in the historical record about the details of Indian boarding school policy. We know that 60,000 Indian children were enrolled in boarding schools in 1973.158 We also know that there were 500 boarding schools in the U.S.—153 of which were under the direct control of the federal government. Twenty-five of this number were government-run. However, the number of students who passed through these schools is a mystery. More importantly, the exact number of students who perished at these schools is unknown. Any death tolls that have been put forth, up until now, have been at best stringently conservative, and at worst completely negligent. In some instances, children’s remains were sent back home to families on reservations, and in others, not. At the Chemewa boarding school in Salem, Oregon, Marsha Small discovered 200 unmarked and forgotten graves of students who had died there. Graveyards such as this can be found at nearly every boarding school across the country. Only with the facts can native communities begin to heal.

Conclusion

Denise Lajimodiere’s journey ended a year after it began, at the Pacific Alaska Region National Archives in Seattle, Washington:

Carrying my request, the archivist had disappeared behind a closed door, returned, and gently laid a

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thin, gray government file in front of me on the heavy oak table… I opened a file and held in my hands my father’s Chemawa Indian boarding school report cards and letters from home, and wept.  

More than forty years after the official end of the boarding school era, the historical trauma suffered by victims and their descendants continues. Native communities have felt the aftershocks of the historical trauma caused by boarding school abuse and neglect—cycles of abuse, alcoholism, and suicide—as if it were yesterday. Historical trauma has been passed down through generations, but so has resistance. Where resistance to assimilation and boarding school policy originated for survival and coping, modern iterations have lent their focus on healing native communities in their wake. Lawsuits against the federal government and religious denominations, fights for government recognition and apology, and efforts to gain reparations for centuries of abuse have all had this goal in mind. Plaintiffs have sued for funds to support counseling; those seeking an apology have done so to make sure that the suffering faced by countless children is recognized and not forgotten; the different tribal communities that are currently fighting for reparations want community healing above all else. These post-enrollment acts of resistance are integral to the boarding school narrative and in the coming years, it will help decide how the mass atrocity of Indian boarding schools will be remembered and how native people across the country will heal from the centuries of historical trauma boarding schools have caused.

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Summer in Berlin
By Esther Devai

Germany has had a turbulent past; the country’s history has been dotted by battles, political struggles, and religious upheavals, even long before the formation of the German nation-state in 1871. However, no series of events are quite as firmly fixed in the modern mind as Adolf Hitler’s rise to power, the Holocaust, the Cold War, and the subsequent division of the nation symbolized by the Berlin wall. From its humble beginnings as a hamlet, to its rise as to global prominence during the 1940s, Berlin has been a prime example of the impact of war and politics on the landscape of a nation. Berlin, Germany’s capital city, has been central to many of the political upheavals which form so large a part of the country’s narrative. I have always had particular interest in German history and was thrilled when the opportunity to visit presented itself.

Berlin emerged as an important cultural metropolis in the early twentieth-century, and during the 1910s through the ‘20s was famed for its perceived moral excesses and avant-garde culture. It was at the forefront of industrial change during the late nineteenth-century and that emphasis on progress remained characteristic of the city until Hitler’s rise to power in 1933. Musicians, artists, and scientists thrived in the bohemian atmosphere of the city. In Reading Berlin 1900, historian Peter Fritzsche sheds light on the cultural movements of the time:

Berlin in 1911—nearly four million inhabitants in a brand new industrial conglomeration—contained its own version of disorder…which…challenged nineteenth-century certainties again and again. To account for this unstable perceptual field, writers and artists experimented with new representational techniques. The… antinarratives of the modern novel, the disruptions and displacements of
Expressionist poetry...can be summed up as modernism.¹

Upon our arrival in Berlin, we took the metro to our centuries old apartment and lugged our many heavy suitcases up the creakiest stairs known to man. Every so often a door would open and our neighbors would peek out, curious to see who intruded upon their silence. Once we reached the top, I opened the leaded glass window and took my first view Berlin. The beauty of European architecture, its structure and mathematical precision, a testament to Berlin’s artistic roots, made us eager to explore.

I was very conscious of the historical significance of the places we visited during that day. Every step I took was treading on hundreds of years of history, and seeing the actual buildings, monuments, and landmarks that I had heard of and read about was shockingly real. As time passes, history fades into memory, and while I was previously conscious of the events and places, they truly became living realities as we walked.

Among the sites which caused the deepest impression on me was the Berlin wall. The moment I stepped into the square which houses the crumbling remnants of the structure, I felt a heaviness settle over me that is difficult to explain. The day had grown gray and overcast, and we slowly walked past the old guard tower and double fences topped with barbed wire to view the pile of bricks that represents so much of what is wrong with humanity. I felt the desperation and sadness of that place so palpably, it was as though a cloud formed over me. The bits of the wall that remained were covered in graffiti, a lasting testament to the frustration and anger felt by those imprisoned by its existence. To one side stands a plaque covered in photographs; these are the dead, killed, attempting to escape their cage. Although I had read about the war, the wall and all it represented, being in that space and seeing the faces of those who had been killed in an effort to regain their freedom was entirely different than abstractly studying about them in a textbook. Here was history brought to life. Of all the locations we visited, this left the strongest impression on my mind. This was not merely a memorial, or a display; here was the literal means of subjugation which was used to separate families

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¹ Peter Fritzsche, Reading Berlin 1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 14.
and countrymen. The very place where I walked was the place where hundreds had taken their final breaths. It was a sobering thought.

Our visit to the wall brought to the forefront of my mind the events surrounding not only the erection of it, but also the repercussions it caused during the years following its construction. The emphasis of our current president on building a wall separating our country from Mexico struck me as a sad parallel. The separation of countries in so tangible and visible a manner cannot help but create problems within our social construct, just as it did in Berlin. While Berlin suffered because of familial separation, loss of jobs, and loss of freedom to traverse the city, our modern world is struggling with more intangible issues such as racism, which can only be exacerbated by the drawing of such a clear distinction between one country and the next. I have witnessed firsthand what the ideologies of separation by race, class, or sex can bring, and unfortunately, it appears that instead of learning from the experiences of other countries, enthusiastic approval has been showered on President Trump for a plan which eerily mirrors the events which only recently occurred.

From the Berlin Wall memorial, we set off to find the Holocaust Memorial, or the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, as it is officially known. Strategically placed near the former location of the Reich Chancellery, from which Hitler conducted much of his official business and also squarely in the area where the Berlin wall divided the city, the memorial stands as a moving tribute to the events which so deeply marked the nation’s historical landscape. From a distance, the memorial emerges as a striking visual focus, pulling the eye to what appears to be a cemetery or a city in miniature. Moving closer, the somber gray of the concrete stelae stand in stark relief, casting dark shadows upon the narrow halls between the blocks. As I entered the memorial, the ground sloped sharply beneath my feet, creating an uneasy sense of imbalance. The blocks are free of inscription or chiseling, thus evoking a claustrophobic impression of walls closing in on the viewer, calling to mind a gas chamber, or the suffocating structure of a hidden room. As I followed the narrow walkways, I lost sight of my family, although I could hear their voices echoing from the smooth surfaces. The deeper I entered the maze, the quieter outside sounds grew, until I became surrounded by nothing but gray, constricting, somber weight. This memorial is entirely about
sensation and emotion. All I saw was gray, all I felt was quiet, heaviness, loneliness, and confusion. Although there have been critics of the memorial, particularly in regards to the lack of inscription or plaque on or near the memorial, I felt that it truly captured the essence of what the victims of the holocaust must have felt, although of course, on an infinitely smaller scale. The separation of families, isolation, and ostracization, are all encapsulated in the installation.

The overall impression I had of current Berlin society was one of tolerance and acceptance. I felt as though there was a certain relish for life, and openness to new ideas. The dark chapters that mar German history felt ever present, in that they are openly acknowledged, yet their painful legacies are now used to bolster progress. I felt as though there was a concerted effort to be as completely opposite to the values of the past as possible. Berlin feels young, fresh, and full of energy and purpose. The city comes vibrantly alive at night, with shops, stores, and restaurants open till the wee hours of the morning, and hundreds of young people congregating in droves, laughing, talking, and drinking. At night, the next generation comes out to play, reveling in their freedom, escaping the restrictions of work or school. Here lies the beauty of this city. Berlin is a city full of hope, of looking to the future and making it the best it can be. I have traveled to various countries, and I can honestly say that the German people I encountered were ineffably polite, kind, and warm. There is also a very clear sense of self, a loose, easy movement, which I particularly enjoyed. Berliners are, in a word, cool. I would wholeheartedly recommend any lover of history to visit this beautiful city and experience the historical treasures it has to offer.

Bibliography

Author Bio

Esther Devai is a fashion design student who is passionate about history, languages, and art. She graduated with an Associate’s in Family and Consumer Sciences from Sierra College in Rocklin, California, and will now continue her education and work towards gaining a Bachelor’s degree. She plans to pursue fashion, with possible minors in communications and business. She one day hopes to become a costume designer and open her own boutique. She also enjoys writing, and would someday love to write a children's book. In her spare time she reads every book she can find, particularly historical ones, bakes far too many cakes, and has recently become obsessed with embroidery. If she could go anywhere in the world at this moment, she would choose Egypt.
An Ole Coyote’s Tale: Life is a Journey, not a Destination

By Brock Barrows

The sea I will set off upon is the sea of humanity, with the intent of reaching the shores of all its inhabitants. Like any voyager, there is a purpose and a hope that drives the will to forge forward. My dreams are full of a world that has not gone flat, a world that knows no boundaries, and suffers no restriction. A world where everyone, everywhere, can live collectively as fellow earthlings and be good to one another. Being civilized is no longer a point on a historical scale determining what is “modern,” it is now a matter of existence. I have heard that the meaning for civilization is to be empathetic toward each other. Maybe it is time for a checkup. Maybe it is time to take the pulse of humanity to see if it is healthy. Maybe it is time to set sail with the hope of discovering a new world where all of mankind’s dreams of a perfect home (Earth) come true.

My last summer as a student at CSUSB offered the opportunity of a lifetime, a chance to leave my life in the United States behind and thoroughly immerse myself in Thai culture for the summer. The result was one of the most enriching experiences I have ever had the honor to experience. When you step outside of your comfort zone, you meet people and experience events that transform the way you view life as a whole. Just by witnessing firsthand how other cultures function on a day to day basis; you can gain new perspectives on how you have lived your own life, and what is expected in your own culture. As you travel the globe and leave your home behind, you must completely immerse yourself in your host culture’s “way” of life if you intend to gain as much insight as possible into the people you find yourself living amongst. Living in such circumstances, you may simultaneously find yourself happily engrossed in foreign culture and feeling cut-off or isolated. As a wise and kind man once told me, “This is how we weave the stitches of humanity.”

If I may have but a moment of your time, I wish to take you on a journey to Thailand, the “land of smiles,” where the vast majority of the population follows Theravada Buddhism. Thailand is an excellent place to experience old-world charm blended with
modern-day influences. Let us see if one is ready for the other. Be aware though, this journey may require you to travel by aircraft, trains, buses, tuk tuks (a three-wheeled cross between a motorcycle and a taxi), scooters, your own two feet, and sometimes by the assistance of an elephant through some of the thickest brush on the planet. Thailand has two seasons—hot and rainy. Landing in the middle of July in Bangkok is like stepping into a steaming sauna, no matter how you dress or what you do, you will sweat, profusely and constantly.

My arrival in Thailand began in a chance meeting with Elisa and Luca a couple of weary travelers from Italy making their way around the world. In the words of Luca, they “wanted to be rid of the rat race in our lives, expand beyond their everyday horizons and go on a walk-a-bout, with hopes of getting out to see the ‘humans’ of the world.” For her part, Elisa was on a mission to give each and every one of the people she met a big hug and dig into the story of their lives. She could pry a story out of anyone better than most professional journalists. At first, I just dismissed them as a couple more digital bloggers hitchhiking their way across the globe, but in time, I came to recognize that Luca was well-known back in Italy, as well as a deep thinker who spoke softly. I was with them in Chiang Mai for about a month before his popularity became apparent to me.

Chiang Mai is situated in the northern region of modern-day Thailand. It lies about 200 miles south of what was once more commonly referred to as the “Golden Triangle,” (where Thailand, Myanmar, and Laos converge upon the mighty Mekong River). The city of Chiang Mai was once the capital of the Kingdom of Lan Na, founded in 1296 by King Mengrai. The old city districts are still marked by the haunting remnants of the once mighty walls of Lan Na, ruins that have long outlived the kingdom that built them. For centuries, the Thai people have been forced to relate to a world that has continually pressed at their gates. It is precisely this pressure that has given shape and form to Thai society, through the Thai people’s ongoing efforts to not be swallowed up and consumed by the encroaching world beyond their borders. Consequently, Thailand has lived a constant duality between monarchs and military, carefully swaying back and forth and maintaining a balance that has withstood many challenges, both foreign and domestic.
The remnants of Chiang Mai’s historic fortifications stand as a testament to the numerous threats that Thailand has faced across its history. Beyond the ruins of its walls lies a large moat that has helped protect the inhabitants of the ancient city for centuries. In ancient times, the city was protected by six gates that would open at sunrise and close at sunset. The contrast between the city’s ancient fortifications and its vibrant nightlife today could not be any starker. Today, as darkness falls, Chiang Mai comes to life.
A section of the moat that surrounds Chiang Mai. Author’s photo.

It is in the old city where you get a real sense of Chiang Mai’s character. The “old city” which is rather ironic, considering the fact that Chiang Mai literally means “new city,” pulsates all around with activity. The smell of the food and the displays of all manner of arts and crafts are simply awe inspiring. The city center is brimming with life. It is a place where people mix and mingle together freely, and conversations in a myriad of languages barrage your ears. It is truly a feast for the senses.

Inside the city’s moat and walls are endless wats, the name given to the hundreds of Buddhist monasteries found within the city’s walls by the Thai people. Some of the more notable ones, and most visited, are fourteenth-century Wat Phra Singh, within it lies a spectacular Reclining Buddha sculpture, and fifteenth-century Wat Chedi Luang, famed for the iconic elephants that emerge from the ancient chedi, a place used for meditation. Walking around the city’s wats, taking in the scenery and serenity, one feels somehow transported in time. Yet, despite its rich history, Chiang Mai is as modern as any other cosmopolitan city in the world; a fact illustrated immediately by all the power lines strung loosely, sometimes at eye level. Chiang Mai represents the physical, and cultural synthesis of “old” and “new,” joining together to create a truly beautiful and unique city.
For centuries Buddhist monks from the Kingdom of Siam (modern-day Thailand) have taken refuge within the monasteries during the wet season, while spreading the teachings of Buddha. Every morning at the crack of dawn, hundreds of monks clad in orange/saffron robes make their way through the streets with a basket strung to their sides so people can put food offerings in them for the holy men making their way to the local wat or monastery that they are associated with. The robes the monks wear date back centuries and are seen all over Southeast Asia. The robes themselves are meant to symbolize simplicity and detachment from materialism. One can only imagine what the current condition of the world must appear like to these holy men who are bound to the ground they walk upon, not the riches that can be extracted from it. One should not be shocked to encounter a few of them with the newest iPhone; it is a common sight. After all, this is the new millennium. In Thailand, the vast majority are Theravada followers of Buddhism, and orange was mainly chosen because of the dye available at the time. The tradition stuck, and orange is now the color of choice for the monks of Thailand. I distinguish the term Theravada Buddhism, specifically to bring awareness to the fact that there is more than one particular sect of the religion. There is also Mahayana, which makes up the majority of Buddhists, and the Vajrayana that is most prevalent in the Tibetan Buddhist community.
Wat Sri Suphan, sits outside the ancient walls. Author’s photo.
While planning my trip to Chiang Mai, I investigated the prospect of teaching English to impoverished and/or orphaned children taken in by the monasteries. Many children in Thailand are forced to follow a different path due to unforeseeable and unfortunate circumstances and find themselves living in the compounds of the wats. However, within the wats they are able to obtain an education to which they may otherwise have never had access. Many of them have lost one or both parents to border wars, drug smuggling, and human trafficking. Yet, the constant smiles and happiness these children continue to possess are extraordinary to say the least. During my search for organizations looking for English teachers, the “Friends for Asia” caught my interest. Friends of Asia is a volunteer organization based in Chiang Mai, administered by Todd Cikraji. His mentorship and guidance were instrumental in preparing me to teach English in Thailand. The center he runs is located inside the old city walls, and due to its central location offers participants an opportunity to immerse themselves fully within the cultural heart of the city. In addition to its academic programs, the facility offers many opportunities for recreation, including elephant camp classes. Friends of Asia is an excellent program for anyone who desires to help make a difference but cannot commit to a lifetime of doing so. Unfortunately for me, I was unable to partake fully in the program.
due to a sudden and unforeseen medical issue. It would be another full year before I would be able to begin my journey.

After a long-awaited year, I had my opportunity to make my way to Chiang Mai where I was able to volunteer my time to help the young children at Wat Papao. One of the kids I would see near my living accommodations provided me with enough information to get my foot in the door, leading to a chance that would allow me to teach students for the first time in my life. What an exciting feeling that was, to be halfway around the world fusing two widely diverse cultures together with one of the most primitive of early human needs: the ability to communicate. And there I was in the middle of it, in Southeast Asia.

For reasons of anonymity, I will refer to this young man by the nickname I called him, “Rocky.” He was one of the many kids who tried to improve their social standing through the art of Muay Thai boxing. In addition to his martial arts prowess, Rocky’s English was impressive for his age. Through my interactions with Rocky, I would later learn that he owed his considerably English skills to his elder sister Pim, who spent any free time she had sitting in a library or bookstore trying to master the English language so that she could improve her worth in the community.

In America, societal expectations are highly individualistic. Every child is expected to go to school, get a good job, buy that home with a ‘white picket’ fence and a dog to go along with it. Thai culture expects the opposite; most families work together to provide an opportunity for one child to become educated, and in return, the child lifts the family up the social ladder. This dynamic was obvious in the relationship between Rocky and his sister Pim. Whenever Pim was in town, she would take Rocky to school every day, but she would often depart for weeks at a time in search of job opportunities to support the family.

I had the privilege of finally meeting Pim face to face under rather strange and unpleasant circumstances. While returning from observing a celebration in town, I stopped to pick up street food. I had two choices, one where there were dozens of folks waiting, and the other where an elderly lady sat idly without a single customer. The next morning, I discovered why when I became violently ill with a serious case of food poisoning. For nearly an entire week, I was unable to eat due to crippling stomach pain. I could not even make it to the drugstore to purchase medicine. On the fifth day, Rocky and Pim brought me a set of charcoal tablets. I
took the medication and within a few short days, my health returned. From the minute, they arrived neither wanted to leave my side. Pim would watch over me while Rocky attended school, and he would take over when she had to leave.

It was then I learned firsthand about some of the horrific things one hears happen in the world to which we normally turn a blind eye. Pim and I talked extensively when I was awake, and when I was not, she would read. She was very inquisitive and took every opportunity to expand her vocabulary. It was clear where Rocky got his tenacity. While I lay bed-ridden, Pim explained the economic breakdown of Thai society from the ground level, complete with the ins and outs of Thailand’s labyrinthine patron-client relationships, which underpins both society and economics throughout the country. In short, it came down to capitalism, with a twist of Buddhism; as odd and contradictory as those two terms may sound.

I could not help but notice a hint of sorrow in Pim’s eyes as she told me her story. Even though Thailand’s economic structure has undergone tremendous restructuring over the past few decades, extreme poverty remains a threat that anyone could fall into depending on one’s ability to work. Unfortunately, the peasant farmers that sustain most of Thailand’s crops for export, which incorporates most of Thailand’s GDP, rank among the most underpaid of its citizens. Pim explained that it is possible to travel into Bangkok and make in one weekend, what it would take agricultural workers toiling in the paddy fields a month to generate. This dramatic economic disparity has helped perpetuate the growing rift between urban and rural communities throughout Thailand; young Thai workers are increasingly drawn to Bangkok in order to support their rural families. According to the Trading Economics Agency, wages in Thailand increased to 13877.70 THB by the third quarter of 2017, from the average high of 9282.25 between the years 1999 until 2016. A record low of 6344 THB/Month came in the first quarter of 2001.¹

Statistically speaking, the situation looks good; but from the perspective of the average Thai worker, the disproportionate growth of inequity in the nation is deeply concerning. Thailand’s gross domestic product has quadrupled in size since the dawn of

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the new millennium, and yet wages have only doubled. This discrepancy alone indicates that the improvement in working wages for the average Thai has not kept pace with the nation’s economic growth. The lion’s share of profits have accumulated in the hands of the business classes, and the growing inequity between rich and poor does not appear to be stabilizing. Considering Thailand’s traditionally collectivist, Buddhist culture, the nation’s economic transformation calls into question whether the Buddhist-Capitalist fusion that governs Thai society can be maintained forever. The comments of Vice Minister Kobsak Pootrakool shed light on the current Thai government’s plans for the nation’s future: “to remain competitive, Thailand has to embark on extensive reform of the economy to lay down a future for the country in areas such as infrastructure and advanced manufacturing. At the same time, ensuring that the grassroots can reap benefits of development.” The winds of change can be felt in Thailand, but only time will tell whether or not the consciousness of the people will give way to the benefactor of materialism.

After recovering from my illness, I made my way to Bangkok, Thailand’s capital and central hub for the entire nation, to which all roads in the country inevitably lead. From Bangkok, I boarded a flight to the southern region of Thailand, which is full of sun-drenched beaches with a plethora of opportunities for snorkeling, diving, and sun sports. The purpose of my trip to Koh Phi Don was twofold. One, I desperately desired to feel the sun again after so much rain in Chiang Mai, and secondly to see my Italian friends off. I had only intended a day trip over to the island, but while there, I chanced upon an opportunity to lend a helping-hand at a school that had been severely devastated by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. They needed help in an English-language class due to the loss of a teacher they had hired for the school year. Although I could not commit to an entire year, I told them that I would be more than willing to fill the role until they could find a more permanent replacement, which ended up being only a few weeks. Although my time on that tiny island was brief, it felt as if time stood still long enough for me to notice truly how simple life can be, and how the spirit of that life can overcome and recover from any tragedy.
Loh Dalum Bay, author’s photo.

A ‘home away from home,’ author’s photo.

Ton Sai Bay, Koh Phi Don, author’s photo.
Upon completing my brief term as a teacher in Koh Phi Don, I set my sights on returning to the wonderful city of Chiang Mai. However, I was once again interrupted by another opportunity. Vandee, the mother of one of my students, invited me to visit on my way back to Chiang Mai. I carried with me a folder with copies of her child’s work, a report card, and a letter for her. I thought it was going to be a quick visit, but that was not the case. When I arrived, it seemed I had shown up to an elaborate gathering. I soon learned that it was quite an honor in Thai culture for a student’s teacher to make an appearance and being a foreigner did not make my presence any less conspicuous. So many people were in attendance, I was unable to memorize the procession of new faces. Thankfully, I could show my respect in the way of a “wai,” a communication practice involving a hand gesture to give greetings and respect. Put simply in a wai, you press your two hands together as though to pray, in front of your chest, while at the same time giving a slight bow. The higher the movement of the hands and lower the bow delineates the level of respect being given. It is customary to give a wai when entering someone’s home in Thailand, as well as upon departure. Needless to say, the wai was a very effective tool for me to use in that situation. The proper salutation can make the difference of how you are looked upon in many societies and in Thailand, it is no different.

One of the more particular things I observed during the gathering was that many of the families I met are very close knit. So much so that they tended to congregate in the same neighborhood for several generations. After the festivities came to an end, Vandee and I had the opportunity to talk about her life in Thailand. Strangely enough, her story echoed of Pim’s experiences. Vandee was in her early forties and had her own bar in town. She too spent her early childhood around the Chiang Mai area in northern Thailand. Her parents, who were not at the gathering, lived in Lamphun, the province a few miles directly south of Chiang Mai. She explained to me how she had made a living for herself running a pub and bar known as the “One Bar” in Chiang Mai. It was successful enough that many times she tried to persuade her aging parents to settle down closer to her. Her parents, however, were tied to the land that they farmed for not only their generation, but their parents’ generation as well. She told me that soon, she would take a husband, pass the business over to
her younger sister, then buy a property close to her parents so that she may care and provide for them as they move into their twilight years. She cast her decision in terms of filial piety, but behind it, I saw in her eyes the same thing I saw in Pim’s. I saw someone else who just wanted to find their way home.

You may ask yourself “why Chiang Mai,” of all the places in the world? I would like to tell you that it was some kind of epiphany or dream that guided me to this foreign land. But, alas it was quite simply an advertisement from many years ago when I was ten years old. A Coca-Cola commercial showed the city of Chiang Mai during a festival where thousands of lanterns were released into the sky. While the image was being shown, a “jingle” played with the clip that went something like “I’d like to teach the world to sing, in perfect harmony. I’d like to buy the world a Coke and keep it company.” That stuck with me all my life and when an opportunity came to travel to Southeast Asia, of course it had to be Chiang Mai, Thailand. I believed whatever it was I felt that day existed in that magical land, and I was right.

My thoughts and best wishes will always be with the wonderful people that I had the honor of getting to know as they sheltered, fed, and enlightened me with their serene culture, and tranquil perspective of life in Thailand. I picture in my mind a million paddies (“Lan na” in Thai). As I take in the beauty, I see a home described to me by Vandee in such intricate detail, and I hope that one day Pim and Rocky may find their way there as well. One of the difficult things about traveling and meeting people is that you form bonds with them, but you may never see them again or know where the road may lead them. It is simultaneously an exhilarating, and yet hollow feeling for the weary traveler once they have returned home.
I wish to return to Chiang Mai one day to be present for a couple of the most celebrated and vibrant events in northern Thailand, including *Songkran*, Thailand's New Year, as well as the *Loi Krathong* and *Yi Peng* Festivals, which coincide with each other. *Loi Krathong* takes place on the evening of the twelfth month in the traditional Thai lunar calendar and lasts for three days. The Ping River is transformed into a sea of fiery luminescence as local residents give thanks to the water goddess, Pra Mai Khongka. One of the major highlights of the *Loi Krathong* festival is the release of thousands of sky lanterns into the evening where they flood the night with beauty and nostalgia for the Lan Na people. Because of the recent popularity in the celebration, the Thai government has had to place restrictions on the release of the lanterns due to commercial and environmental hazards. As a result, this event is now sanctioned by the authorities and only takes place at specific locations. Although I did not get the opportunity to see or create the memory of Chiang Mai that I was so enchanted by in the Coca Cola commercial from my youth; instead, I was given an opportunity to cherish the lives of those I would have never met had I not gone. From my encounters with these amazing people, I feel more enlightened in my heart than any lantern could ever illuminate.

All I ask for now, is that you reflect on this Ole Coyote's travels in Thailand. I would hope to be a worthy ambassador of our great institution, as I laid down my paw-print across the land of smiles, stamped with civil mannerism in every step of the way. I
leave you with the same words that were left to me by a nameless monk: “Be good to each other.”

**Bibliography**


**Author Bio**

In June of 2017, after many hurdles and setbacks, Brock obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree with an emphasis on Chinese history. At the time of writing, he is teaching part-time at a high school on the Big Island of Hawaii and also teaches English online to students in Beijing, China. When the school year is over Brock intends to head back out to Southeast Asia to explore many new horizons, while at the same time spreading the Coyote spirit of civility.
Where are you from? What is your nationality? Due to my olive skin tone, dark brown hair, green eyes, and the name Allegra Glaviano, these questions and many others like them have become routine for me. Typically, I stick to simple answers, such as “Italian” or “mixed,” but in truth, I am a mutt, a rich blend of several nationalities and cultures. During my youth, I had the privilege of growing up with both sets of grandparents, and I regularly intermixed with different cultures as a result. On my paternal side, my grandfather is a Catholic Italian and my grandmother a Protestant southern Cherokee. This may not sound particularly crazy until you add my maternal lineage. My maternal grandfather Victor is Jewish originally from Turkey but immigrated to Israel at the age of 14 in 1948, and my grandmother Iris is Jewish of Prussian descent. This diversity of nationality, culture, and even religion has always fascinated me, and urged me to continuously learn more of my heritage. In the summer of 2016, I was blessed with an opportunity to travel to Israel for ten days, experience the culture, explore the land, and learn about my roots. After ten days in Israel, I fell in love with one of the most beautiful countries I had ever had the pleasure to visit.

While I was excited to begin my journey to Israel, I was also nervous. The media portrays Israel as a war zone plagued by ongoing conflicts both within its borders and beyond its frontiers. After touching down in Israel, the very first person to catch my attention was a police officer. Not because there was an incident, rather due to the M16 assault rifle slung from their shoulder. I am not used to seeing firearms, let alone an assault rifle, exposed in public. Police in the United States typically carry a small handgun holstered at their side, but nothing more. Most people only see automatic weapons in movies or on the news after a mass shooting, but to see one hanging on the guy next to you is surreal. However, I did learn that in Israel, ownership of firearms is not a right, and those that do not require them (e.g., soldiers and police officers)
are not permitted to legally own firearms.\(^1\) Men and women are both required to serve in the Israeli armed forces for two years after turning 18. While in the military, they must carry their weapon at *all times*, even when they are not on duty and there is no imminent threat. For example, while visiting a local bar with some American friends, I witnessed two women walked in, both sporting high heels, club dresses, and M16s slung over their shoulders. I was in shock; I had never seen anything like it during my upbringing in America. But at the same time, I could not help but marvel at how awe-inspiring it was. One of my fellow Americans was quick to point out that, as impressive as it was, it was not a particularly approachable look.

Due to Israel’s portrayal in the media and popular discourse, many dismiss the nation as inherently dangerous, but I felt safe—I was safe during my visit. The Israeli Defense Forces, and police are certainly heavily armed and omnipresent in public, but they carry weapons to protect others and defend themselves against tangible threats. The suicide bombings, rocket attacks, and wars that Israel remains embroiled in are all very real, but at least according to my feeling while visiting, Israeli security has the situation firmly under control. In light of these circumstances, I believe that the need for security is clear; in my opinion, neither the safety that I enjoyed while visiting Israel, nor the nation’s very existence could be maintained without it. In retrospect, I should never have been nervous to begin with.

Israel’s expansive security presence was radically different from anything I had ever experienced before, but it was far from the most interesting discovery of my journey to the country. I also discovered that Israel is a wondrously diverse nation. Internationally, Israel is often regarded as a Jewish state, intended solely for adherents of the Jewish faith. By focusing exclusively on the nation’s religious majority, many foreign observers fail to recognize the vast cultural diversity present within Israeli society. This perception causes controversy, conflict, and a misguided interpretation of Arab-Israeli tensions. Jews, Christians, and Muslims all regard Israel/Palestine—specifically Jerusalem—as a holy place, resulting in arguments over which religion rightfully deserves to reside. It is easy for foreign observers to regard Israel

as a religiously based nation-state for adherents of the Jewish faith. However, this simplistic understanding of Israel glosses over the nation’s extraordinary cultural nuance. Israel is a nation-state for members of the Jewish ethnic community, regardless of their country of origin. The state of Israel was founded in 1948 as a secular nation-state for members of the Jewish ethnic group; religion is important, but it is secondary to Israeli national identity. In fact, secular Jews make up a full 80 percent of the Jewish population in Israel. The state of Israel’s purpose is to provide Jewish communities across the world who have been attacked and persecuted for centuries, a home free from persecution. This is why they constantly fight for it. Some believe it to be rightfully theirs according to religion, but many fight merely for a place to call home. Moreover, Israel is home to diverse groups. Not all are Jewish; some are Muslim, Christian, or Druze, just to name a few.

When I first arrived in Israel, I was concerned about not being accepted because only one set of my grandparents were Jewish, and I have Christian beliefs as well. Once again, I was proven wrong. As previously mentioned, many Israelis do not rigidly follow the Jewish faith, but rather adhere to the culture, like I do. My maternal grandfather always uses the phrase “live and be well.” I never fully understood or grasped that concept, until I was in Israel. In Israel, people live surrounded by war and violence throughout the region, and yet, as you walk down a city street or into the small towns, the people share the “live and be well” attitude, they live life to the fullest, without regret. They joke and continuously smile, knowing they have grown up amidst a war zone or have survived persecution, thus believing every day is not promised and therefore “live and be well.”

In addition to the amazing people that made my trip enjoyable, the geography of Israel made the trip unforgettable. I started in the north and traveled southwards. On my travels, one of my first stops was Mount Bental, a towering mountain and former military outpost located in the contested Golan Heights between Israel and Syria. At the summit of Mount Bental lies a ruined bunker left over from the Yom Kippur War in 1973, a solemn reminder of the Golan’s bloody legacy in Arab-Israeli relations.

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From the summit of Mount Bental, I witnessed one of the most surreal moments of my trip. As is well known, Syria has been locked in an intractable civil war for seven long years, and while I gazed across the border, the earth-shattering booms of bombing could be heard as a Syrian town across the border was bombarded. Though it looked much like a Hollywood movie, this was not fiction. I stood in the safety of the Israeli side of the Golan, gazing into the cruel reality of the war zone sprawled out ahead of me just across the border.

In stark contrast to the grim window into the Syrian Civil War offered by Mount Bental, Jerusalem was a beautiful and refreshing sight. While half of my family is Christian and the other half Jewish, Jerusalem is sacred to both sides. However, even though I am not personally religious, Jerusalem is one of the most remarkable cities I have ever visited. Walking through the city, ancient stone buildings dating back centuries, and even millennia, can be seen throughout. Time-worn murals and frescos in the oldest quarters of the city provide a glimpse into the past, and the locale’s natural beauty can be overwhelming at times. While in Jerusalem, I was able to visit the famous Western Wall, which is one of the most sacred sites in Judaism, and a site of pilgrimage for thousands of Jews each year. Pilgrims visit the wall to pray and offer thanks to God by touching the wall in prayer and placing a piece of paper into the wall.

As I walked toward the Western wall, I thought of all the things I was thankful for including the opportunity to be there. I put my prayer in the wall, not because I am Jewish or Christian, but because I was thankful. I would recommend anyone to visit regardless of their religious background.

After leaving Jerusalem, I was not sure if I would see anything else that contained such beauty. Again, I was wrong. I ventured on a hike up to the mountaintop of Masada to watch the sunrise over the eastern Judaean Desert and the Dead Sea. While I was not a fan of the hike, my mind quickly changed when I arrived at the top. Masada enjoys a commanding view over the Dead Sea and the seemingly interminable expanse of desert below. The plateau at Masada is steeped in history. Atop Masada rests the ancient ruins of King Herod, the last king of Judea’s palace-fortress, constructed around 31 BCE. The summit is also famous as the last bastion of Jewish forces during the First Jewish-Roman
War in 73 BCE. Since the foundation of the modern state of Israel, Masada has served as a reminder of the Jewish people’s long, and tragic history in their homeland.\(^5\)

Sunrise over the Dead Sea, as seen from the plateau at Masada, author’s photo.

Just below Masada lies the Dead Sea, which despite its bleak name, is a remarkable tourist attraction. The Dead Sea is the lowest point on land anywhere in the world, and its hypersaline waters make it impossible for fish to survive, giving the body of water its name.\(^6\) Although the water is clearly undrinkable, the mud beneath the surface is rich with minerals, and is particularly soothing to human skin. Moreover, due to the water’s hypersalinity, objects—including humans—in the Dead Sea become exceptionally buoyant. It is impossible to swim properly in the Dead Sea because you will float no matter how hard you try to swim. Likewise, any attempt to wade deep into the water will inevitably sweep you off your feet and force you to float.

The last place I visited was the Holocaust museum and memorial, Yad Vashem. The museum displays the Holocaust both thematically as well as chronologically.\(^7\) I started in a guided tour group but ventured away from the guide as I found it difficult to maintain my composure. It was surreal and deeply emotionally moving to know that my family, and their friends had gone through


such trauma. I was already aware of the Holocaust, but it is one thing to read about a terrible historical tragedy that afflicted your kin, and it is something completely different to see it explored in such gruesome detail. Yad Vashem is structured to represent the Jews during the Holocaust in every possible way, from the architecture of the building to the artifacts inside. As I exited to the car and walked inside the museum, I strode in a downward slant that symbolized the downward shift in the lives of the Jews, going down to their lowest point. I walked inside the doors, and entered a dark room, the floors covered in carpet and a projector displayed images of life before the Holocaust on the wall. The pictures displayed Jewish homes in places such as Poland, and the carpet beneath my feet gave me the feeling of being at home. As I continued off the carpet onto the hard cement floor, the downward slant continued, and the pathway narrowed. The Museum is set up in a type of “S” shape and took me in chronological order through the years. Once I reached the middle, I was at the lowest point in the museum. From there, a slight rise in the grade of the walkway began, and the path started to widen. The exit doors were floor to ceiling windows that allowed light to come in, representing the hope and light that Jews could see as the Holocaust came to an end. The things I saw in that museum…I can hardly explain. But, if I ever have the chance, it is a place I would definitely return to.

Describing Israel is not an easy task. So much of the country is indescribably beautiful and surreal. It offers, religious, historical, and modern experiences for everyone. The people make these activities and experiences amazing; the beauty within the people and the countryside itself is truly astonishing. My journey through Israel was one-of-a-kind, eye-opening, and fascinating experience. I spent ten days in Israel, but to describe fully and discuss my ten days of travel in Israel would be impossible within the confines of this article. The experiences I have shared are just a handful amongst so many others. For me, Israel proved to be memorable, mesmerizing, and extremely educational. I would recommend a visit to Israel to anyone, be they a student of history, a lover of art, or a seeker of breathtaking sights.
Bibliography


Author Bio

After completing her Bachelor’s in History this spring, Allegra intends to enter the CSUSB teaching credentials program in the fall. After earning her teaching credentials, she plans to teach history at the high school level, and perhaps at the college level in the future. She would like to extend her thanks to her editor Martin Votruba for his assistance and guidance during the writing process, and express her gratitude to her family who made her travels possible.
In Memoriam

The Life and Legacy of Norma McCorvey

By Jacqulyne Anton

They say that abortion is a controversial issue, but friends, let me tell you: privacy should not be controversial. It is a constitutional right. A human right.—Norma McCorvey, 1994.¹

I'll be serving the Lord and helping women save their babies. I will hold a pro-life position for the rest of my life, I think I've always been pro-life. I just didn't know it.—Norma McCorvey, 1994.²

Norma McCorvey, better known as Jane Roe, died on February 18, 2017 at the age of 69 due to heart failure. The once anonymous plaintiff in the influential Supreme Court case Roe v. Wade was an unlikely heroine, the antithesis of what some might consider the quintessential feminist icon.³ A poor, working-class woman from Louisiana, burdened with the psychological pain of an unplanned pregnancy, unwittingly became the catalyst in the fight for the legalization of abortion.

Norma McCorvey, born in 1947 as Norma Leah Nelson, to parents Olin “Jimmy” Nelson and Mary Mildred Gautreaux, lived

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³ Roe v. Wade was a landmark case that guaranteed freedom of choice to all American women through the legalization of abortion throughout the United States. See N. E. H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer, Roe v. Wade: The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010).
a life filled with violence, anger, drugs, and alcohol. Norma’s relationship with her mother Mary was anything but stable; Mary was an abusive alcoholic who physically and verbally abused her. Her father abandoned her family when she was 9, causing her mother to uproot her and her younger brother and move to Houston, Texas. At the age of 10, Norma began to lash out and thus began her lifelong relationship with the police. After robbing a register at a gas station, Norma and her friend ran away to Oklahoma City, but were caught when a maid walked into the hotel room and caught the girls kissing and reported them to the police. Norma was made a ward of the court and sent to a Catholic boarding school in Dallas, Texas. It was at this institution that Norma would suffer her first encounter with sexual assault, this time at the hands of a nun from the Catholic boarding school.

Between the ages of 11 and 15, Norma lived at the State School for Girls in Gainesville, where she claims to have had “the happiest [days] of [her] childhood.” Here, Norma had many girlfriends and began experimenting with her sexuality. When she was too old to stay at the State School, she was sent to live with a distant relative of her mother, who proceeded to rape her for a three-week period, before her mother found out and brought her home. Norma and her mother decided not to take legal action against her rapist. Back at home, Norma landed a job working as a waitress at Cybil’s, a drive-in burger joint. It was here that she met the father of her first child and the man that would soon become her ex-husband, Woody McCorvey. After finding out that Norma was pregnant, Woody began to beat her, prompting her to leave him. At the age of 18, Norma gave birth to her daughter, Melissa.

Following the birth of her daughter, Norma began to drink excessively. She would frequent gay bars in Dallas where she made many friends who helped her come to terms with the fact that she was a lesbian. Her mother did not take the news well, and, after Norma took a weekend trip to visit some friends, charged her with abandonment and took her daughter from her. Norma continued to drink heavily and frequented the Red Devil, a lesbian bar; there she entered into her first serious relationship with a woman. Norma had an affair with a male colleague of hers and ended up pregnant with her second child, which she put up for adoption. This pushed her into a period of heavy drug use during which she abused acid

and other hallucinogens. In 1969, Norma slept with a friend of hers and became pregnant with her third child, now infamously known as the Jane Roe baby.

After suffering years of physical and emotional abuse, the pregnancy brought Norma immense psychological pain. Norma began to seek out abortion clinics and discovered that the only one accessible to her had been closed down just days prior. A friend of Norma’s passed her name along to two female lawyers, Linda Coffee and Sarah Weddington; these two women subsequently became the lawyers in the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court case. In February 1970, Norma McCorvey sat down at a restaurant in Dallas, Texas and became Jane Roe. Nervous and afraid, Norma claimed that she was raped and that that was how she became pregnant. Norma was not looking to become the protagonist in the legal case that would become a landmark in legalizing abortion for women across the United States. Rather, she was simply looking for the right to safely and legally end her own unwanted pregnancy.

In Roe v. Wade 410 U.S. 113 (1973), Roe—an unnamed plaintiff whom we now know as Norma McCorvey—brought a class action challenging the constitutionality of the Texas laws criminalizing abortion against Henry Wade, the Dallas district attorney; the case made it to the Supreme Court in 1971. In 1973, the decision on Roe v. Wade declared that all state anti-abortion laws were unconstitutional, stating:

This right of privacy, whether it be founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action, as we feel it is, or, as the District Court determined, in the Ninth Amendment’s reservation of rights to the people, is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.\(^5\)

During this time, the decision in a similar case, Doe v. Bolton, ruled that all abortion “reform” laws—laws that placed abortion rights in the hands of doctors and hospital committees, instead of

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private citizens, or laws mandating that only state residents be allowed to receive abortions—were illegal. Together, these monumental decisions paved the road for an era of women’s reproductive freedom.

It is extremely important to remember that Norma did not choose to become Jane Roe because she wanted to enact social and political change in the development of women’s reproductive rights. Norma was a twenty-one year old, financially unstable, pregnant lesbian seeking out a safe and legal abortion in Texas, and going to court seemed to be the only plausible solution to her unfortunate situation. In *I Am Roe: My Life, Roe v. Wade, and Freedom of Choice*, Norma makes it clear that she did not intentionally become part of what would become one of the most prominent Supreme Court cases in the nation’s history. She was a reserved, unsure, and troubled woman seeking a way out of a pregnancy she wanted no part of. Nevertheless, Norma McCorvey undeniably became the protagonist in the fight against anti-abortion legislature. After the ruling in *Roe*, Jane Roe became an icon for pro-choice supporters to rally behind and was hailed by many to be a feminist hero.

Norma McCorvey remained anonymous until 1980, when she accepted an interview with a reporter from Channel 8 news in Dallas. The interview came at a time when Norma was coming to terms with being Jane Roe, after a lifetime of feeling like she was living a life with two separate identities. In *I Am Roe*, Norma states, “[I]lying awake at night, I thought about myself and Jane Roe. I realized that she was a big part of me, and that I would probably never get rid of her. She and I would have to come to some sort of agreement eventually. And do things together.”6 In 1987, Norma did a thirty-minute interview with Carl Rowan for a public television special called “Searching for Justice.” It is in this special where she admits that her unwanted pregnancy was not the consequence of rape, but rather that she was desperate and looking for a way out of the pregnancy. Sarah Weddington issued a statement calling the lie “irrelevant,” stating that she never “touched the issue of rape and only emphasized the question of

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whether the Constitution gives to the state or leaves to a woman the questions of what she can or must do with her body.”

After the decision of *Roe*, abortions became a normal medical procedure. In 1973, there were 16.3 abortions per 1,000 women, and by 1980, there were a total of 29.3 abortions per 1,000 women. Legal and safe abortions were now accessible to all women: poor women, working women, upper class women, non-educated women, women with college degrees, even women who felt they were unable to take on tremendous responsibility raising a child requires. Abortions were relatively inexpensive and could be paid for by state Medicaid plans; women in need of an abortion no longer had to search for illegal and dangerous back-alley abortions.

Before *Roe v. Wade*, unsafe abortions were a common occurrence amongst women in the United States; a survey taken in New York City in the 1960s reveals some of the more abhorrent abortions practices. Women would ingest turpentine, bleach, detergents, and Quinine and chloroquine (medicines used to treat malaria) in order to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Furthermore, women would place potassium permanganate in the vagina, causing severe chemical burns, and squirt toxic solutions such as soap and turpentine into the uterus, often causing kidney failure and death.

*Roe v. Wade* was a monumental victory for pro-choice supporters across the nation that furthered their determination to fight for women’s reproductive rights. Feminist activists lobbied for what would come to be known as, the Freedom to Access Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act which:

prohibits the use or threat of force and physical obstruction that injures, intimidates, or interferes with a person seeking to obtain or provide reproductive health services or to exercise the First

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Amendment right of religious freedom at a place of religious worship. It also prohibits intentional property damage of a facility providing reproductive health services or a place of religious worship. FACE authorizes the Attorney General to seek injunctive relief, statutory or compensatory damages, and civil penalties against individuals who engage in conduct that violates the Act.\textsuperscript{10}

Nineteen years after the decision of \textit{Roe v. Wade}, Norma McCorvey began to doubt her stance on abortion. In 1992, Norma and Connie—who were living together as roommates, but nothing more. In \textit{Won by Love: Norma McCorvey, Jane Roe of Roe v. Wade, Speaks Out for the Unborn As She Shares Her New Conviction for Life}, published in 1997, Norma states that by 1992 she had “grown weary of the homosexual lifestyle.”\textsuperscript{11} During this time, Norma worked at A Choice for Women, an abortion clinic in North Dallas, where her reservations towards abortion burgeoned. In \textit{Won by Love}, Norma details her time as a women’s rights activist as one of hostility with the other female leaders of the movement. She claims that they resented her lack of education and limited knowledge on the issues she was advocating for. She even states that a few of them expressed their resentment towards her for letting Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffee use her as the plaintiff because they saw her as unfit for the role.\textsuperscript{12}

In March 1995, Operation Rescue—a pro-life Christian advocacy group—moved into the empty office space next to the abortion clinic that Norma was working at. Norma had previous altercations with Phillip Benham, the then leader of Operation rescue, however, within a couple of months, Norma’s hostile attitude towards the pro-lifers began to diminish. Emily, the seven-year-old daughter of the marketing director for Operation Rescue, formed a friendship with Norma that would end in Norma’s adoption into the Christian faith. In July 1995, Norma McCorvey


\textsuperscript{12}McCorvey and Thomas, \textit{Won by Love}, 94.
went to church with her friends from Operation Rescue and “accepted Jesus into her heart,” finalizing her transition to pro-life ideology.\textsuperscript{13} Norma repented for her sins, denounced the sinful nature of abortion and her relationship with Connie. On Tuesday, August 8, 1995, Norma televised her baptism and publicized her conversion for the world to see. Three weeks later, Norma did a Nightline special for ABC news where she stated that, “[she] still supports a woman’s right to choose an abortion, in the first trimester only.” She claims that her conversion was about Jesus, not to make a political statement on abortion.\textsuperscript{14} However, a couple months later, she would retract her statement and insist that abortion, in any form, is a sin, that it is shameful and wrong. It is difficult to say whether or not Norma McCorvey herself had a direct impact on the increase of nationwide anti-abortion sentiment after her conversion, however, it is impossible to deny that she gained a significant following in the pro-life movement and was a major proponent in the fight against pro-choice legislation. In the years following her conversion, Norma led many protests, advocated for \textit{Roe v. Wade} to be overturned, and spoke out against the legalization of abortion.

In April 1996, Jane Roe returned to the Supreme Court as Norma McCorvey—a poor, working-class woman from Louisiana, a sexual assault survivor, a former pro-choice activist, and a newly devout Christian—and attempted to get the members of the Supreme Court to overturn their decision on \textit{Roe v. Wade}. She testified in front of Congress in 1998, and again in 2005.\textsuperscript{15} In the year 2000, Norma met with the lawyers from The Justice Foundation with the objective of seeing \textit{Roe} overturned. They collected over 1,500 affidavits from women regarding their experiences with abortion, none of them good. Norma, The Justice Foundation and the women who wrote the affidavits founded Operation Outcry, a movement which “seeks to end the pain of abortion in America and around the world by mobilizing women

\textsuperscript{13} McCorvey and Thomas, \textit{Won by Love}, 312.
\textsuperscript{14} McCorvey and Thomas, \textit{Won by Love}, 350.
and men hurt by abortion who share their true stories of the devastating effects of abortion.\textsuperscript{16}

In 2003, she filed a motion with the U.S. District Court in Dallas to have the \textit{Roe} decision overturned, asking them to consider new evidence that proves that abortion hurts women; an appeals court denied her motion in 2004. Norma was persistent, and in 2005 she testified in front of Congress for the second time:

Senators, I urge you to examine your own consciences before Almighty God. God is willing and able to forgive you. He sent his only son, Jesus Christ, to die on the cross for my sins as Roe of \textit{Roe v. Wade}, and for our sins in failing to act to end abortion and to truly help women in crisis pregnancies.\textsuperscript{17}

The Supreme Court rejected her appeal later that year. Nevertheless, Norma continued to take part in a number of anti-abortion protests, ranging from peaceful to violent and disruptive. In May of 2009, she was arrested on trespassing charges after joining more than 300 anti-abortion protesters when President Barack Obama spoke at the University of Notre Dame. Later, in July of 2009, she was arrested for protesting at Sonia Sotomayor's Supreme Court nomination hearing. A report published by the Guttmacher Institute in January 2012, states that there was an unprecedented amount of attention given to issues regarding reproductive health and rights at the state level.\textsuperscript{18} Over 1,100 reproductive health and rights-related provisions were introduced in the 50 states combined. By the end of the year, 135 of these provisions had been enacted in 36 of the states, showing an 89 percent increase from 2010.

Whether you view Norma McCorvey as Jane Roe, the women’s reproductive rights activist who sought a solution to an unwanted pregnancy, or as the working woman from Louisiana who struggled with her sexuality and found herself burdened by


\textsuperscript{17}Norma McCorvey, quoted in Subcommittee on the Constitution of the Senate Judiciary Committee, \textit{The Consequences of Roe v. Wade and Doe v. Bolton}, 9

her third pregnancy at the age of twenty-one, her decisive impact on the trajectory of women’s reproductive rights in the United States is undeniable. Norma was an enigma, a whirlwind of uncertainty and determination. She unintentionally became one of the most prominent faces of the pro-choice movement, but later renounced her position sought to reverse the supreme court ruling that had been won in her name. Whether she is remembered as Jane Roe or Norma McCorvey, her legacy will continue to foster heated debate, and the supreme court case for which she is widely remembered, will remain a historic landmark of political and social reform in the realm of women’s reproductive rights across the nation.

Bibliography


Author Bio

Jacquelyne Anton is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino and is set to graduate in the fall of 2018. She is working towards a Bachelor’s degree in History, with a concentration in U.S. studies and a minor in Political Science. Upon graduation, Jacquelyne will go on to get her teaching credentials and become a high school teacher. She will continue her education, receiving a Master’s Degree, and eventually her Doctorate in History. She is a feminist activist who is passionate about issues such as gender inequality, LGBTQ rights, interpersonal violence, mental health, and racial disparities. During her free time, Jacquelyne can be found traveling around the world with her close friend.
In Memoriam
Public History

Manzanar: Lasting Remnants and Reflections on an American Injustice

By Rocío Gomez

If there is something to say about the National Park Service (NPS) it is that it undoubtedly serves a great purpose. Preserving and conserving public lands for Americans of all ages and for generations to come is a noble legacy whose future rests in the hands of today’s youth. If the proper care is exercised, the public
will remain captivated by the country’s natural splendor for many years to come. However, not all NPS units are meant to inspire us with the splendid grandeur of arresting natural landscapes. Part and parcel of preserving and conserving the natural beauty of the land is preserving the natural and cultural heritage of the country.

As a Latino Heritage Intern at Manzanar National Historic Site (NHS), my duty as a member of the interpretive team is to share the history of the incarceration of over 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry during World War II. Two-thirds of those incarcerated were Nisei, the first generation of persons born in the United States to immigrants from Japan, known as Issei.

Situated along U.S. Highway 395 in the Owens Valley of California, what was once known as the Manzanar War Relocation Center was also the site of the short-lived and bustling town of Manzanar, and the home of the Paiutes of the Owens Valley for over a thousand years. Memories of displacement and oppression resonate in the layers of history featured on display inside Manzanar’s visitor center. As expansive and developed as this site is in telling the story of Japanese American incarceration, my time here has taught me this history has yet to become a widely recognized or discussed topic in the United States more broadly.

Inside Manzanar’s visitor center, working at the front desk can be a deeply gratifying and fascinating experience. Through our interactions with the visitors, we can gauge how far we have come as a society in terms of acceptance and cultural awareness in the United States, but I have experienced encounters that prompt me to sometimes question how far we have actually come. The treatment of the word “American” by some members of the public who visit Manzanar forces me to question whether or not we have surpassed the prejudiced rhetoric that fueled the discriminatory government policies the public learns about at Manzanar. Furthermore, from my time spent here, it has become apparent that the history of Manzanar has become disturbingly relevant, seeing as many people who walk into our visitor center will openly discuss and draw comparisons between and associate the current political climate in the United States with different chapters of Manzanar’s history.

My experience at Manzanar has exposed me to numerous different perspectives on what visitors think about the Japanese American experience during World War II and our role in interpreting that story. Manzanar NHS presents an abundance of
episodes in American history that challenge the visitor to contend with the way white Americans have passed judgment on marginalized communities in the past and the present. A true measure of the efficacy of our site to incite this thought process lies in the inquiries and comments our visitors share with us. In this article, I will provide personal accounts of how my status as a person of color (POC) and my perceived ‘otherness’ have enhanced my learning experience through my projects and strained interactions with visitors as I attempt to interpret Manzanar’s history. Additionally, I will also provide historical accounts from the site to demonstrate Manzanar’s ability to facilitate imperative conversations about the progressiveness, or lack thereof, of American society, further emphasizing the National Park Service’s role in preserving places that serve as benchmarks of American history.

A Summer of Pride

2017 was the first year that Manzanar NHS partnered with the Latino Heritage Internship Program (LHIP), an initiative of the Hispanic Access Foundation (HAF) that seeks to provide Latinx students an opportunity to work at NPS units in an effort to bring diversity to the field of preservation and conservation.1 LHIPsters2 are sent to a number of different NPS units nationwide and are expected to perform a wide range of duties for ten weeks during the summer at their respective sites. The tasks performed range from interpretation to wildlife analysis, land preservation, and media. LHIPsters are also encouraged to facilitate events aimed at attracting the local Latinx communities and reminding them how vital their support and attendance is for the NPS.

According to an NPS survey examining park unit visitation from April 2008 to March 2009, Hispanic visitors averaged about 9 percent compared to 78 percent of attendance by White /non-Hispanic visitors at national parks.3 The numbers for African

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1 “Latinx” is an inclusive term used to identify females, males and gender-non-conforming members of the Latin American community who do not identify with the traditional “Latina” and “Latino” labels.
2 LHIPsters is an informal name used when referring to LHIP interns.
American, Asian, and Native American visitors were even lower. Perceptions of lack of safety, over-priced entrance fees, and the need for more information on recreational activities are cited among several other reasons accounting for low Latinx park unit visitation.\(^4\) This is also the case at Manzanar and engaging with Spanish-speaking Latinx visitors has become a rare treat. Conversing in the language I was raised with brings me great comfort, and it gives me an opportunity to share my knowledge with a demographic I believe the site’s history will deeply resonate with. However, U.S. Highway 395’s direct access to Los Angeles, which is only four hours away, has helped foster a diverse visitor population at Manzanar, including growing numbers of Latinx visitors, a hopeful sign that the times are changing since the survey.

In the first ten weeks of my internship, I was very fortunate to have worked on projects that expand on the Owens Valley’s history. Additionally, because so many facets of American history have transpired on this land, my time spent here has reinforced my conviction that this site is appropriately suited for honest discourse on the state of the union and the American public in any decade.

“**A Paiute Story from Manzanar**”

Before I started my internship at Manzanar NHS in June 2017, I desired to familiarize myself with the projects that I would soon be assigned to. I made several inquiries a few months in advance and found out I would be working on an exhibit showcasing the Button family. The Buttons are a local Paiute-Shoshone family from the Lone Pine Paiute-Shoshone Reservation. Park ranger Rose Masters sent me the copy of an oral history conducted by Manzanar NHS in 2007 with the family matriarch, Irene Button, and her son Richard. When I finally arrived at Manzanar on June 3rd, I was already acquainted with the family’s story. Within the first week of my arrival, the park ranger I was assigned to work with, Mark Hachtmann, contacted the family, so we could meet with them as soon as possible.

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\(^4\) And Ethnic Diversity of National Park System Visitors and Non-Visitors

Ibid., 14.
Throughout the course of those first ten weeks, Ranger Mark and I met with the Buttons at least five times. Their family history is deeply rooted in the Owens Valley, and we wanted to ensure that the exhibit showcased their story in a tone and manner of which they would approve. With such an intimate connection to the land, it was prudent of us to remind the public that although the Button lineage spans over a thousand years in the Owens Valley, their story is not to be romanticized. Their wish was to be portrayed as a modern family who are proud to have retained a culture the government vehemently tried to suppress through official policies up until the mid-twentieth-century. The artifacts they donated for the exhibit reflect the story of a family that shares universal values with the rest of the world, a prime example of which is featured on display as the heart of the exhibit; the Paiute cradleboard. The cradleboard was made in the 1970s by one of Irene’s sisters, and it was used by one of her grandchildren.

Featured as a permanent exhibit at Manzanar NHS, “A Paiute Story from Manzanar,” displays the Button family’s story and personal artifacts. At the public reception for the exhibit, over seventy members from the Paiute and Paiute-Shoshone tribes in the Owens Valley were in attendance. That day was not only a celebration of the Buttons, but of the Native Americans whose
history in the Owens Valley is wrought with oppression, displacement, and reemergence.

The Button family’s story communicates to the public that their resilience is derived from memory and their past. The Paiute of the Owens Valley have been dealt a myriad of injustices in the last two centuries, and the exhibit serves as a visual reminder that despite the vehemence of the oppressive forces to either rid the valley of Paiutes or indoctrinate them into an “acceptable” way of American life. However, even in the face of generations of discrimination and marginalization, the Paiute people still hold true to their culture and their history. Their story is not one to be forgotten or erased, and the Paiutes will continue to hold a claim as an integral part of this land and American history.

**Japanese Gardens**

My second assignment during my initial ten weeks at Manzanar was to create a Japanese Garden Tour Guide for the gardens that were built by the Japanese and Japanese American incarcerees at Manzanar from 1942–1945. There are eleven gardens, or rock ponds, that have been uncovered and stabilized to date. These gardens stand as lasting remnants of the incarcerees who found comfort in setting their sights on the small pockets of landscape they built and cultivated during their incarceration. I expanded on work done by Jeff Burton, the Cultural Resources Manager and archaeologist at Manzanar. He had previously mapped out four different routes on-site to guide visitors and provide direct access to the gardens. According to how long it would approximately take the average visitor to go through each route; a time limit was given to each route. My assignment was to produce a garden tour map with these four routes and provide a bit of history and information to highlight the significance of the gardens.

Figure 2. Mess Hall Garden at Block 9, built by the stonemason from Los Angeles, Ryozo Kado, for the incarcerees who were evacuated from Terminal Island.
Many Japanese and Japanese American incarcerees created spaces that distracted them from the dull surroundings of their imprisonment. Several of the gardens were built by incarcerees who were previously landscapers or gardeners either in the United States or back in Japan. The gardens provided a sense of normalcy and a relief from the sea of brown barracks that seemed to stretch to the base of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. At a time when the country was against an entire community for their “otherness,” the construction of these gardens could also be seen as a sign of the harmonious fusion of Japanese and American culture that so many Nisei struggled with.

Jeff Burton points out in Manzanar’s garden management plan that the gardens are a crucial visual aid in interpreting the complexity of this duality. “The Japanese gardens attest that the incarcerees embraced their Japanese heritage even in the face of persecution, even when the dominant culture had defined “Japanese” as something to be afraid of, and ashamed of. Reflecting the dual heritage of their creators, many of the gardens integrate “American” elements like rectangles of green lawns with “Japanese” elements like naturalistically designed ponds and rocks.”

Figure 3. Garden at Block 15, near barracks 7, ca. 1943.

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Nintaro Ogami was the foreman that oversaw the landscaping of the hospital complex’s garden. When his son, Arthur Ogami was informed that the NPS intended to preserve his father’s gardens, he remarked, “I think it’s a real nice idea, for the gardens to be renovated and re-beautified again…It just gives you a good feeling. And it also shows that people cared. Even though we were confined, people care about themselves about their surroundings…I think that people [who came] to Manzanar…in confined areas, we still had the desire to make things comfortable.”6 Deeply rooted to the valley, the gardens are fragments of time that will endure as symbols of resilience against oppressive forces, a reality the Owens Valley has been a witness to for the past two centuries.

**Finding My Place in Manzanar**

These projects not only widened my breadth of knowledge on the Japanese American incarceration, and Owens Valley history; they also broadened my perspectives on the obstacles faced by the children of immigrants in integrating into American society. My parents raised me with their own ideas about what being American meant to them, and they sometimes contrasted the lessons I learned in school about what being an American should mean to me. This

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left me longing for a sense of belonging in my youth. My parents emigrated from Mexico and growing up in the United States, I struggled with my identity and at times would reject my Mexican heritage to appease societal expectations in an attempt to seem more American. Much like myself, many U.S. born children of immigrant families must find a balance between two components that American society has projected as being mutually exclusive: assimilating into American society and retaining our cultural heritage. Growing up, my parents could not understand my siblings’ and my own frustration to find a sense of belonging in this country. To them, we were raised in America; therefore, we are American. But the simple fact that our parents were not raised in a multicultural environment may have hindered their understanding of our feelings of invalidation by the oppressive nature of American society. Since I began interning at Manzanar, I have finally found my own perspectives on this internal struggle reflected in this history. In discovering that I share the same internal struggle with many Nisei incarcerated I forged a personal and spiritual connection to the site.

In the past several years, I have come to terms with my own identity as a Chicana; I know who I am and where I stand, and I do not need the validation of others to know my worth. But as I inhabit this space at Manzanar, I find that I continue to be reminded of my “otherness” by some visitors. Sometimes, my presence and non-white features prompt the need for some of them to need to figure out what “I am” through both transparent and subtle inquiries.

These particular exchanges with visitors can be disappointing, but this experience has shown me that many Americans are still unsure on what to make of non-white persons working in the NPS and, to a greater extent, society as a whole. And yet, there are visitors who still either struggle or do not care to associate non-white persons living in the United States with the term “American.”

**The Visitors and Rocío**

Close to the end of my original ten-week internship at Manzanar, I received an extension to stay on for another year. As a result, I started working more shifts at the front, giving the other rangers an opportunity to focus on other projects.
The lobby entrance of the visitor center leads into the bookstore, run by the Manzanar History Association. As soon as visitors step beyond the threshold of the bookstore and into the hardwood floor to the exhibits they are met with an imposing black and white image of a woman with a stern look on her face. She points to a sign hanging above her porch that reads, “JAPS KEEP MOVING. This is a white man’s neighborhood.” It’s a fitting remnant of the pre-war animosity toward Japanese Americans who followed them throughout the course of the war.

This image, being the first to welcome visitors, sets a sobering tone as people navigate through the exhibits to learn a history that may be difficult to digest. Some visitors who are eager to articulate their abhorrence for the mass evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans will either share their thoughts before going into the exhibits or after having walked through them. Our role as interpreters is not to engage with visitors by expressing our own opinions, but rather share our knowledge about the site to facilitate a discussion. Every now and then, in my efforts to do just that, some conversations that start with a simple inquiry about the site will gradually morph into questions concerning my ethnicity. What I am is not their business to know, so why do they ask? At first, these encounters were a benign occupational hazard to me, a small hint that people are simply not
accustomed to seeing non-white employees working at NPS units. It only became disconcerting when I realized some visitors would disregard social decorum and sound judgment just to ask me, in as many or few words, “What are you?”

In September of 2017, a man and his family approached the front desk, so I proceeded to greet them and offer a park brochure, and he followed up with a question. Admittedly, I do not remember the precise nature of his question, but I do remember the terribly puzzled look on his face. I could not entirely pinpoint why, but it made me deeply uncomfortable. Then I found myself discussing the Button family exhibit. By this time, the exhibit had been finished, and I was proud to mention it to the visitors. The moment I said, “Paiute family” the man’s expression morphed from confusion to amazement in one split second. Pointing his right index finger near my face, he interrupted and exclaimed, “Ah! So you’re Paiute?” I was not so taken aback by his interrupting me as I was by the blatant manner in which he so proudly (and falsely) determined what my “race” is.

“No,” I responded curtly. In the time I spent describing a project, I was proud of having worked on he was just trying to “figure me out.” He lowered his index finger in dismay. “Oh,” he said. I took the liberty to explain in detail, “No, I’m not Paiute. I was just talking about our latest exhibit showcasing a local Paiute-Shoshone family from Lone Pine.” He seemed thoroughly uninterested in what I had to say after my admission. I encouraged him to take his family to look at the exhibits inside. “Okay. Thank you,” he said sheepishly and walked away. Within that same month, I had another similar exchange, but this next query was far more bewildering.

It was a particularly busy day inside the visitor center. There were three of us at the front desk, and we were either helping with purchases or answering visitors’ questions. I was standing behind the register when I greeted a family of five. As I offered the man, whom I presumed to be the father, a map of the grounds, he took a similar action to the man in the previous encounter. He began to quietly examine me, even squinted his eyes to narrow his peripherals. Needless to say, this was quite vexing. Then he asked, “Are you related to someone here?”

Fortunately, composure took hold of my demeanor this time before I responded. “No. Are you asking if I’m related to a park ranger who works here?”
“No,” he said abashedly, but not completely without guilt. “I mean to someone who was interned here.”

“Oh, no. Not at all!” I feigned naiveté, but my disbelief was genuine. As he walked away I questioned why someone would think to ask such a question? Quite frankly, I do not know what prompted him to ask that me this in that moment, but in hindsight, I came to the conclusion that the only reason this gentleman could have thought to conjure up such a bizarre question is because he may have thought. “Why else would she be here?”

The manner in which some visitors approach me, and the topic of ethnicity is not dissimilar to the way they talk about Japanese Americans, or as they are simply referred to at times, the “Japanese.” It’s been noted by myself and the staff here at Manzanar that, more often than not, people who visit this site are genuinely interested to learn about the Japanese American incarceration. Nevertheless, it remains a habit for many of them to single out this chapter from American and designate it as Japanese history. As a consequence, there will be a tendency for people who are not of Japanese ancestry to distance them from this history and regard it as a strictly Japanese experience.

At Manzanar, we educate the public on a very difficult chapter in American history, and the dissociation of Japanese Americans from the term “American,” albeit perhaps done unintentionally, is a common and persistent remark. It serves as a reminder that even in an age of progress and increasing cultural awareness, unfamiliarity with such a pivotal chapter of American history is very persistent and present in the many inquiries we receive at Manzanar.

The Visitors and Japanese Americans

“This is a terrible stain in our nation’s history,” is a common remark from some of our visitors. After walking through the exhibits, many visitors feel comfortable enough to articulate their thoughts to us at the front desk.

“What a horrible thing.” “What an awful stain.” At first, I felt ill-equipped to respond to these comments, but rangers have since given me advice on how to approach this matter. As visitors approach us to speak their thoughts and reactions to the site, and we are to let them have their moment and answer any questions they may have. While I have worked enough shifts at the front
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desk to learn how to facilitate visitors’ discussions, there are times that I find it hard to grapple with certain comments on the subject matter. And quite frankly, the “stain” remark is one that I have the most trouble acknowledging.

A stain is a mark that physically alters or corrupts the appearance of something. With the proper tools and enough determination, any stain can be removed. But therein lies the detail; this history cannot be removed. It was too great, too turbulent, and too traumatic an episode to be wiped clean. It cannot be a stain because it is a part of the fabric. I can detect the sincerity behind this apologetic remark, but it is a personal frustration with this widespread perception that keeps me from recognizing it. Even more frustrating, as other rangers clearly pointed out, is a remark that is as old and persistent as the history of the Japanese community in the United States.

“Do you get any Japanese that come here?” When visitors ask this question, we know their intention is to ask if any of the former incarcerees themselves have since returned to Manzanar. Anytime we encounter this question we respond with, “We get groups of Japanese tourists sometimes. Sure.” Or, “Do you mean to ask if we get any visitors from Japan?” We use this as an opportunity to educate visitors on the problematic nature of their query. Their use of the term “Japanese” in referring to the people who were incarcerated immediately invalidates the Nisei camp experience. They were born and raised in this country and were taught the constitution. They were told everyone had the right of due process, but after the attack on Pearl Harbor, they all became “Japanese,” and living behind a barbed wire fence was a constant reminder for many that they were believed to be deserving of imprisonment because they shared a common ancestry with the enemy. Therefore, they were deemed insufficiently American.

One way of allowing the visitor to recognize on their own the indiscretion in their question is by modifying the response previously mentioned. “Well, we have a lot of tourists from Japan throughout the year, but do you mean to ask whether people of Japanese ancestry, or former incarcerees, ever come back?” Many people will apologize for the wording of their initial question and say, “Yes. Sorry, that’s what I meant.” Sometimes, visitors are visibly annoyed at the fact that we have broken down their inquiry and made a “big deal” of it, and curtly respond, “Yeah. Sure.”
In our quest to educate the public, or facilitate visitor inquiries and discussion, we occasionally receive visitors who become so captivated by this history that they hold us hostage with their curiosity. However, these particular visitors’ level of interest borders on them attempting to validate their own perspectives and methods of rationalizing the incarceration. Eventually, they will ask if any people who were not of Japanese ancestry were incarcerated along with the Issei, Nisei, and Kibei. Although this is the intended thinking that prompted the question, the manner in which they ask it reflects another troubling factor about how the Japanese living in the United States and Japanese Americans are still perceived by the general public.

“Were there any Americans who were interned in the camps?” This question is seldom asked, but the fact that it’s been presented even a few times means it will continue to be put forth. We approach this question the same way we do the previous one; by phrasing it in such a way that allows them to recognize it’s problematic wording without embarrassing them. “Well, more than half of the people who were incarcerated were American—Japanese American. Are you asking about people who aren’t of Japanese ancestry and if any of them were incarcerated?” The recipients of this response vary in their reactions. Park ranger Sarah Bone and I discussed this matter, and she suggested that, due to the frequency of this question, we have devised a calculated response that will work for the average visitor. Most of the people who ask this question will either apologize for their phrasing or acknowledge their indiscretion.

The fact that these questions are asked in this particular manner is very telling about the way our society has conditioned the public on what to make of non-white Americans. When people ask whether there were any “Americans” who were incarcerated, they are simply attempting to confirm their suspicions if any non-Nikkei people were incarcerated. They are right in their assumption, and even though these questions derive from genuine

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7 *Kibei* is a term predominantly used in the 1940s to describe Japanese Americans who returned to the United States after receiving most of their education in Japan.

8 Sarah Bone (National Park Service ranger), in discussion with the author, February 2018.

9 *Nikkei* is a term used to describe Japanese emigrants and their descendants living in the United States and Canada.
and sincere conversations, the fact remains that in asking this question they unintentionally perpetuate the idea that the only “Americans” during World War II were the non-Nikkei.

Not many people are aware that two-thirds of the Nikkei incarcerated were American citizens. On one particular occasion, an older gentleman came in with his wife and young daughter. He seemed determined to learn as much as he could about the site, asking very specific questions regarding the way the camp was powered and how we get our water on site today. They were peculiar queries, but nonetheless, we accommodate in any way we can. After an MHA, employee went to look for a ranger to answer these questions, the gentleman moved on to the topic of incarceration. Due to the nature of the conversation, I could sense he was about to ask the dreaded question. To some, this suspicion might seem like a reach, but this question has been asked enough times that it’s clear to us when someone is about to ask.

The gentleman was leaning over the front desk with his arms crossed. “Are there any—,” he seemed frustrated, trying to find his words. “Were there any—,” and he closed his eyes to concentrate, “Were there any plain Americans who were interned in the camps?” He stressed the word “plain.” I did the same in my response.

“Well, more than half of the people incarcerated were plain Americans. Are you asking whether any non-Japanese were incarcerated in the camps?” Seemingly embarrassed, he nodded and apologized. “My mistake. Yes, people who were not Japanese.” After sharing stories of non-Nikkeis who were incarcerated, the man and his family took their leave.

The tendency for people to dissociate the Japanese community living in the United States from the term “American” alludes to an enduring perception of this chapter of American history as solely “Japanese” history. Manzanar’s superintendent, Bernadette Johnson, claims that this may be what is preventing other historically marginalized communities, non-white Americans, from finding some relevance in the story. If they see this as something that only happened to the Japanese community, it’s not relevant to them. By labeling groups that are not white as “hyphenated” Americans (Japanese-American, Mexican-

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10 Bernadette Johnson (Superintendent, Manzanar National Historic Site), in discussion with author, February 2018.
American, etc.) creates that ‘otherness’ that can distance people from this history.

Teachers who visit Manzanar generally possess a solid understanding of this history and will enthusiastically ask about any teaching resources they can use for their lesson plans. They are also the ones who insist on the importance of teaching the history of incarceration in classrooms, and that it would better prepare today’s youth to become more involved and engage in policies that offer better and brighter futures for all Americans. It is inspiring to see so many school groups come to Manzanar and express such an honest and genuine interest in the history. But even so, it is obvious that in order for this site to have more impact, more people have to stop referring to this as a chapter of “Japanese” history and recognize that, because it affected Americans and people on American soil, this is a part of American history.

At our disposal are tools that aid us in rendering Manzanar’s story relevant to more people and bridge the cultural rifts that divide American society. In my efforts to bring in the Latinx audience during Latino Conservation Week in the summer of 2017, I chose to highlight the story of a young Mexican American, Ralph Lazo. He is the only known non-Nikkei person, who was not a spouse of an incarceree, to move voluntarily to an incarceration camp.

Ralph Lazo, a True Ally and Loyal Friend

Ralph Lazo’s act of solidarity was motivated by his loyalty to his Nisei friends and a deep sense of injustice for what was done to the Nikkei community. Growing up in Los Angeles, Ralph had fostered a strong connection with the Nikkei community, which greatly influenced the reasoning behind his decision to join his Nisei friends in camp.
Ralph’s father, John Houston Lazo, was a World War I veteran and raised both Ralph and his older sister, Virginia, after his wife, Rosa, died in 1933.\(^{11}\) John was a muralist, a painter, and was known to work long hours to support his family, a circumstance that led Ralph and Virginia to fend for themselves and essentially become latchkey kids.

While attending Central Junior High in Los Angeles, Ralph established a friendship with the Nisei students that would carry on into Belmont High School. His social group was predominantly comprised of Japanese and Chinese Americans. He was an active young man, having spent much of his time volunteering as a leader in after-school sports programs, even having joined a Filipino community church basketball team.\(^{12}\) He felt right at home with

\(^{11}\) Rosa Padilla de Lazo death registration, *Chihuahua, Mexico, Civil Registration Deaths, 1861-1987* (Chihuahua: Civil Registry of the State of Chihuahua,) 24.

the Nikkei community. Since his father worked long hours, Ralph often found himself having dinner with his Nisei friends and their families at their homes. When President Roosevelt signed the Executive Order 9066 in February 1942, approximately two months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, all of Ralph’s Nisei friends and their families were forced to evacuate the West Coast.

Ralph’s sister, Virginia, claims that some of his friends goaded him on accompanying them to camp. In jest, one of his buddies allegedly asked him, “Ralph, what are you going to do without us? Why don’t you go along?” It’s unknown what his response was, but I suspect he concurred with their sentiments. After his friends were relocated, Ralph would be virtually left on his own. He had other friends at Belmont High, but he was not as close to them as he was with his Nisei companions. In knowing that they had done nothing wrong to deserve such unjust treatment, Ralph later recalled his reasoning for going to camp with his friends, “It was immoral. It was wrong, and I couldn’t accept it. They hadn’t done anything I hadn’t done…they were Americans, just like I am.” He was seventeen and had just finished his sophomore year at high school when he made the decision to join his friends in camp.

Ralph was not questioned when he registered himself at Santa Fe Station in Los Angeles. In later years, he claimed that the Wartime Civil Control Administration simply did not ask him whether he was of Japanese ancestry. He characterized this as a stroke of luck based on his physical appearance, joking that, “Being brown has its advantages.” His friend from Belmont High School, Yoshindo Shibuya, recounted the bizarre circumstance of finding out about Ralph’s intentions to go to Manzanar. He stated that he had written to Ralph from camp detailing their living conditions. He expressed his wish to see his old friend again, to which Ralph responded by saying that he would visit Shibuya in camp and to save a place for him for when he arrived. A while later, what Shibuya understood as a joke became a reality; Ralph Lazo turned up in Manzanar on June 1, 1942. He was placed in the

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15 Ibid., 5.
bachelor quarters in camp and was soon taken in by the Nikkei community once again. Apparently, no one questioned his being there, and his presence was not just welcomed, but genuinely embraced.

Once he enrolled in Manzanar High School, Ralph took on several roles: he started delivering mail for $12 a month and later became a recreational director for $16 a month; he became a high school cheerleader; he was an emcee and hosted special events; he was even elected student body president.

Ralph’s story merits closer attention as a prime example of loyalty and solidarity. I share this story with people every chance I get, to remind people that Ralph saw the Nikkei community as Americans. He knew of their loyalty, and that they did nothing to merit unjust treatment. Ralph had seen the injustice his friends suffered and felt that they should not go through this experience alone. His presence was most appreciated, and his loyalty to his friends after camp speaks volumes of his devotion to the community that embraced his for most of his life. His story is a remarkable one in that he made a stand the only way he knew how; by becoming a part of it. In interviews he said in jest that joined his friends to go along for the ride, but once he was at Manzanar, he began to realize the magnitude of the situation. He was the only person that was allowed to leave the camp any time he wanted, but he did not. He chose to stay, and by staying, he took a stand for his fellow Americans and ensured they would not have to go through the experience alone. His story is a prime example of what can happen if we take a stand for others, and as we find ourselves in times of emboldened prejudice and ignorance, it is necessary that we take a stand for others who face injustice and oppression. It is just as pertinent now as it was in 1942. If Ralph Lazo could relinquish his freedom to stand alongside his friends, surely, we can find other ways of speaking up against injustice.

To further eliminate the perception that this history is not universally relevant, we must analyze the case of Robert E. Borchers.

A Marine Heeds his Sense of Justice

Marine Private First Class (Pfc.) Robert E. Borchers was recovering in a hospital after contracting malaria while fighting on
Guadalcanal. He was a white American, and upon hearing that over 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry were forcibly removed from the West Coast into sites of confinement, he wrote a letter to the American Legion, a wartime veteran’s organization with a strong anti-Japanese stance during World War II, expressing his disappointment in what he claimed was a most un-American act. The letter was published in a December issue of *Time Magazine* in 1943. His remarks were so inflammatory that he was court-martialed for having taken such actions against the American government:

I am one of the fortunate Marines who have recently returned to this country after serving in the offensive against the Japanese on Guadalcanal…We find…a condition behind our backs that stuns us. We find that our American citizens, those of Japanese ancestry, are being persecuted, yes, persecuted as though Adolf Hitler himself were in charge…I’m putting it mildly when I say it makes our blood boil…We shall fight this injustice, intolerance and un-Americanism at home! We will not break faith with those who died…We have fought the Japanese and are recuperating to fight again. We can endure the hell of battle, but we are resolved not to be sold out at home.17

17 Ibid., 1.
Borcher’s son, Robert F. Borchers, was invited to speak at Manzanar’s Veteran’s Day Program in November 2017. He claimed he did not know about his late father’s actions until he became an adult. Hearing his father’s story instilled in me a great sense of pride in knowing that another non-Nikkei American, like Ralph Lazo, had taken such a bold stance in speaking up against injustice. Pfc. Borchers, however, was not the only serviceman who complained to the American Legion regarding the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry.

In the 1940s, the Department of the Interior, coincidentally the same department that oversees the National Park Service—War Relocation Authority published a booklet titled “What We’re Fighting For” containing several letters written by servicemen expressing great discontent in the government’s treatment of Japanese Americans. Pfc. Dudley C. Ruish also took the time to
challenge the parties involved in making the decision to remove the Nikkei community from the West Coast and to praise Japanese American soldiers. Here are excerpts taken from his letter that was originally published in the Star-Bulletin in Hawaii:

I can see what the Japanese-Americans in our armed forces are fighting and dying for. They are not only fighting for America, but they are fighting for the right of their families to live side by side with more fortunate races that have made our nation the great nation it is today…Probably their last thoughts, as they fall mortally wounded, far from their homes in Hawaii, are, “Well, perhaps this will prove we are American.” ...I speak only for myself as I write this letter. I don’t know what my fellow soldiers think on the subject, as I have never brought the subject into open discussion, but knowing my fellow soldiers as I do, I think they would certainly be against those hair-brained schemes of radicals who have nothing better to do during this war than to sit around thinking of ways and means of persecuting a minority.\(^{18}\)

There’s great comfort in knowing that these statements were made during a time when they were most pertinent. What makes Borcher’s story more heartwarming was the fact that many Japanese Americans behind barbed wire acknowledged his efforts and wrote to him in gratitude for his stance. A young Taiko Omori wrote to Borchers while she was attending high school at the Poston War Relocation Center in Arizona, “I am one of the very grateful ones who wish to express my sincere thanks to a person who well understands our conditions and who is fighting for our cause. Don’t know how to express it really but just in a few words, thanks a million!!”\(^{19}\)

Ray K. Nakabayashi also expressed his gratitude in a similar fashion by stating, “…it is very satisfying to me to see that

\(^{18}\) Dudley C. Ruish, “Somewhere in the Pacific,” in What We’re Fighting For, 12.

the Marines like yourself have expressed so boldly on a matter like that.”

Pfc. Borchers was so enraged by the incarceration of thousands that he felt compelled to make his thoughts known. His letter may have brought the court-martial charges against him (which, according to the rangers, still stands to this day) but it also inspired other servicemen to write in defense of their fellow Nisei soldiers. He risked a great deal in speaking out, and although he was punished, he was also heard by the people his words meant the most to.

A great injustice like this warrants more attention in the classrooms of American history. Not doing so is a blatant disservice to the 120,000 lives that were unfairly treated for only sharing a likeness to a foreign enemy. Had there been more Ralph Lazos and Robert E. Borchers during World War II, it’s possible that the actions taken against the Nikkei community would have been less severe. Regrettably, this was not the case. Nonetheless, many former incarcerees and their descendants have resolved not to let this past be forgotten. This brings me to the most rewarding aspect of my job Manzanar; helping former incarcerees and their families reclaim their history and share their stories.

Japanese Americans and Closure

Manzanar NHS maintains an account on ancestry.com and possesses access to all the rosters from all ten former War Relocation Centers. These two assets may be the most powerful tools we have at our disposal. Occasionally, a visitor will approach the front desk and one way or another, reveal that a relative of theirs, family friend, or they themselves were incarcerated at one of the ten camps. We offer to look up said individual’s roster with the aforementioned assets. This service is not widely advertised, and when we tell visitors, we can provide this service, free of charge; they are thrilled to know of it. They give us the names of those for which they wish to seek more information.

Many times, it will be the name of a parent or grandparent for which we are asked to search. “My dad was a kid in camp, but he never really talked about it,” is a common remark heard from people looking for more information on their family’s history.

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Once we print it out and show them the individual’s roster, they are generally overcome by a range of emotions. With this information in hand, they are free to put together a piece of the puzzle that had been lost. It is a great privilege to assist families in taking home a part of their family’s history.

Additionally, there are times when a connection to the incarceration is difficult for some to admit. Such was the case of one Japanese American gentleman whose name I regrettably do not remember. He was an elderly man, and he walked up to the front desk asking to see Alisa Lynch, our Chief of Interpretation at Manzanar. As I called to ask her to come to the front desk, the man burst into tears and turned away from me. He walked toward the books and continued to weep silently. I offered him a tissue, and as he approached me again he said with great sorrow, “It’s been so long since I was here. I was just a child.” Sometimes people become very emotional, and all we can do is let them have their moment and speak. “You know,” he continues as he leans over the front desk, “I haven’t been back here since 1945.” He looked down at a 1944 aerial photo of Manzanar placed underneath the glass.

I thought I might ask him some questions before Alisa arrived. “Where did you and your family live?” He pointed to a cluster of barracks near the mass hall garden at Block 9.

“We lived right here.” He was quiet for another moment before he repeated, “I was just a child.” I asked him to take a seat on one of the chairs next to the desk. A short moment later, Alisa came out and took a seat next to him. She let him have his moment.

They both left to walk around the site, presumably to find his old barrack. They had been gone for a few hours when Alisa finally returned to the visitor center and talked about their walk. She said the reason he had not returned since he and family left Manzanar was because his wife, also a **Nisei** incarceree, had a difficult time in camp and wanted to forget all about her experience. Alisa said the man finally returned to Manzanar because his wife had recently passed away, and that he might have come back in search of closure. Many **Nisei** who were incarcerated associated the camp years with shame and did not want to share these particular experiences with their children. We know this
because of our encounters in the visitor center with the *Nisei’s* descendants, the *Sansei* and *Yonsei* generations.  

Witnessing this man’s reaction was overwhelming. In that moment, he was reliving a childhood spent in incarceration, and I was incapable of consoling him. He found the courage to return to the site that had brought pain and shame to so many others. This sense of shame, however, is gradually being washed away by the efforts of many who continue sharing the story of incarceration. At Manzanar, we fulfill this mission every day. We preserve this history to remind Americans of the fragility of our constitutional rights. The National Park Service, and institution helmed by the Department of the Interior and considered the greatest of American ideas, is essentially preserving the consequence of one if its greatest mistakes. The evacuation and incarceration of 120,000 *Nikkeis* was authorized by the federal government that also oversees America’s national parks. If that is not considered a grand stride in self-reflection, I do not know what is.

**Conclusion**

The Japanese phrase *Shikataganai* means “it cannot be helped.” This phrase was passed on by many *Issei* to their *Nisei* children who were struggling to come to grips with the reality of having the rights promised to them at birth stripped away in the blink of an eye. It is a simple phrase that clearly illustrates the profound concept of accepting one’s fate with dignity and mustering all the strength one can to move on despite their circumstances. I will go so far as to argue that *Shikataganai* may have lost its relevance in the modern world. It will always remain congruent to the story of endurance, but we find ourselves in a time of “taking action.” As we continue to witness injustice and oppressive forces at play, many more people are willing to stand before them and say, “Not if I can help it,” instead of, “it cannot be helped.”

Undoubtedly, there are people who will continue to rationalize the mass incarceration of the *Nikkei* community. There will also be people who will continue to pass judgment on non-white Americans. To give these people something to consider, I will share the parting words from an editorial titled “No Japs

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21 *Sansei* is the generation of Japanese Americans whose grandparents immigrated from Japan. The *Yonsei* is the generation whose grandparents were *Niseis.*
“No Japs Wanted?” It was written in 1945 and aimed at individuals and groups like the Japanese Exclusion League and the American Legion which made no effort to hide their contempt for the Nikkei community. These words resonate with current events and even reflect the contempt expressed toward a particularly marginalized and oppressed community in the United States, Muslim Americans. These words are as damning now as they were in 1945.

The professional Jap Haters, in speaking for 10,000,000 Yanks, have overlooked a number of points. They have overlooked the fact that it is perfectly possible to hate the man you are fighting, to call him a barbarian, without hating and discriminating against Americans of the same ancestry. They overlook the fact that Americans have been fighting not a racial war, but a war against the powers that advocated the “superior race” myth as a basis for their existence. And they overlook the fact that fighting men everywhere judge their fellow soldiers not by the color of their skins, but the way they fight…Those who came back, looking at a “No Japs Wanted” sign, certainly wonder if it was all worthwhile [sic], if perhaps they would not be better off back in the army, where a man’s record means more than his ancestry. To the Japanese Exclusion League and its fellows, then, this message: Keep the American soldier out of your plans for an economically adjusted “pure” America. Soldiers judge men by their actions alone. Nisei fighting men belong. Not all civilians do.22

My exposure to Manzanar and its history has impacted me in countless meaningful ways. I feel my life has been enriched, and I have had the pleasure of working with wonderful people who feel just as strongly about the injustices embodied by the camp as I do. What has become evident to me is the importance of NPS units and their role in educating the public on American history? Manzanar provides the space for us to learn and reflect on our nation’s past.

If people can look at a troubled and turbulent past and draw parallels to the word of today and think, “It’s happening all over again,” that means there is still work to do. The stories from Manzanar may compel us to examine our roles as members of the American public, but it is what we decide to make of that which measures our progress.

**Bibliography**


Author Bio

Rocio Gomez is a CSUSB alumna and earned her BA in History with a concentration in Chinese history in 2016. She began working at Manzanar National Historic Site under the Latino Heritage Internship Program in the summer of 2017. Her experience as a person of color working in the National Park Service prompted her to share both her experiences and observances at Manzanar. She hopes to encourage others to learn from the past and stand up for others in their time of need. She will remain at Manzanar until the end of summer in 2018 and plans on seeking employment with the National Park Service once again.
The Irish Nationalist: Motivations, Experiences and Consequences

By Sarah Slawson

The story of modern Ireland is one that is fraught with the question of Irish identity. English influence in Ireland dates to the Norman invasions under Strongbow, an adventurer seeking autonomy from the English crown, in the twelfth-century.¹ From these precarious beginnings, England gradually extended its power over Ireland, culminating in the Act of Union in 1801. This political, social, and economic domination lasted more than a century until Britain yielded to the Irish Republican Army, signing the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921, which granted autonomy to the 26 provinces in what is now the Republic of Ireland.² This treaty would not have happened had it not been for the efforts of many Irish men and women who fought for independence, a struggle that manifested in the twentieth-century in the 1916 Easter Rising and subsequent War for Independence. Through the course of their struggle, these men and women faced many hardships and events that shaped their individual narratives. In order to preserve the memory of this crucial period of Irish history, the Irish Bureau of Military History collected witness statements from veterans of the 1916 Rising, all of which were recorded and subsequently organized in an online archive.

This archive is a collection of 1,773 witness statements from Irish citizens who were involved with the nationalist movement or in nationalist activities between 1913 and 1921. In addition to firsthand accounts, this rich archival resource also includes photographs and voice recordings collected by the state from 1947 to 1957. These statements recount the stories of the individuals engaged in the Irish nationalist cause during this crucial period of Irish history. The collection of these statements was intended, “to assemble and co-ordinate material to form the basis for the compilation of the history of the movement for Independence from the formation of the Irish Volunteers on 25th

² Ibid., 3.
November 1913, to the 11th July 1921.\(^3\) Although the number of statements is impressive, it is important to note that not all of the nationalists who took part in the 1916 Rising were interviewed, partly because the statements were not collected until twenty-five years later. Another issue is that many prominent figures such as Tom Barry, one of the most infamous members of the Irish Republican Army rejected the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, and thus refused to be interviewed.\(^4\) Barry’s refusal reflected his broader rejection of the auspices of Anglo-Irish Treaty, sentiment that led to the Irish Civil War fought between pro and anti-treaty forces between 1922-1923 as nationalists struggled to envision a portioned Ireland. While it is unfortunate, from a historical perspective, that certain key individuals refused to provide their own accounts of the struggle, broadly, these statements provide insight to the motivations, experiences, and consequences for Irish nationalists illustrated in great detail. These witness statements are especially important for the elucidation of the vital role women played in the 1916 Rising.

Marie Perolz was one of the three hundred women who took part in the 1916 Rising. These women, who came from every class in society, were known as “basket girls.”\(^5\) Prior to the release of their witness statements their experiences were neglected within the larger memory of the Easter Rising. Despite this, it is clear that these women contributed to the Rising in many ways and were seen as the “silent and secret army” due to their indirect modes of involvement.\(^6\) Membership in the Irish republican paramilitary organization Cumann na mBan was one way that many of these women furthered the nationalist cause.\(^7\) Members of Cumann na mBan were responsible for hiding arms, transporting these weapons and explosives, maintaining safe houses for the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and providing food and shelter for the

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\(^6\) Ibid.

members of the IRA.\(^8\) These operations played a crucial non-combatant role in supporting Irish revolutionary ambitions. All these components—motivations, experiences, and consequences—are apparent when examining the witness statement of Marie Perolz. Motivating factors for these individuals include, but are not limited to, cultural interest and previous Irish nationalist struggles.

**Motivations**

Cultural interest was one component that drew many Irish youth into the nationalist fold. Multitudes of young men and women were first enculturated to the Irish identity through the school system. In her witness statement, Perolz recounts that though her father was a Protestant, she was sent to the Catholic Presentation Convent. Perolz states that “it was the Presentation nuns who made a rebel of me, Sister Bonaventure especially.”\(^9\) This statement illustrates the importance of personal relationships between nationalist educators and their pupils. These close-knit relationships assisted in the enculturation of Irish nationalists by engendering a sentimentality of Irish Catholics as an oppressed nation under Protestant English rule. Perolz conveys that activities centered around Irish culture and language were a significant part of her youth. She states, “I attended classes in Irish in 87 Marlborough Street…I was in *Cumann na mBan*, took part in the National Players, played Irish parts, taught classes in Irish in Strand Street. What I learned on Monday I taught on Thursday.”\(^10\) The passage of knowledge and ideas from one person to the next, facilitated by the school system, community organizations, and activities such as parades, fueled the nationalist cause.

Perolz speaks of a nationalist parade in 1898, which celebrated the anniversary of the United Irishman Rebellion a century prior, as inspiring her own nationalist activities.\(^11\) She remembered, “That thrilled my heart, which nearly burst with joy

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8 McTeirnan, “Women of rebellion: how the other half fought,”
10 Ibid., 1-2.
11 Ibid.
at the sight of the flags, tableaux, etc.\textsuperscript{12} For Irish youth, remembering the uprising in such a celebratory fashion glorified Ireland’s struggle for independence and heightened nationalist sentiment. Perolz herself was directly involved in the 1916 Rising and her experiences during the revolution illustrate the diverse roles that were played by women in the Irish nationalist movement at the time.

**Experiences**

In the months leading up to the 1916 Rising, Perolz served the nationalist movement as an intelligence operative.\textsuperscript{13} The Irish republican intelligence network had been constructed by Irish Republican Brotherhood member—and future revolutionary guerilla leader—Michael Collins, after his incarceration prior to the 1916 Rising. Irish historian T. Ryle Dwyer asserts that Collins was an integral part to the success of the IRA intelligence network. Collins, Dwyer notes, “was the brains behind the whole network and his industry was phenomenal. He retained personal control over work similar to that done by three different intelligence agencies in Britain, MI5, MI6, and MI9”.\textsuperscript{14} This was the intelligence network that many nationalists like Perolz worked in. Through the nationalist intelligence network, Perolz found herself in close contact with many prominent leaders of the revolutionary movement. In her witness statement, she recalls a time when she directly consulted one of the movement’s most senior leaders, James Connolly, about a police officer in Dublin Castle—the seat of British power in Ireland—who was willing to serve as an informant.\textsuperscript{15} She asked Connolly, “Can I use him?” to which Connolly replied, “Yes, but don’t let him use you.”\textsuperscript{16} The police officer in question, called Myles, would pass along his information while strolling down the street with Perolz. She says that as the information was passed along, the pair pretended to not know each

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\item \textsuperscript{12} Perolz, Witness Statement, 1.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Perolz, Witness Statement, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{14} T. Ryle Dwyer, *Big Fellow, Long Fellow* (Dublin: Gil & Macmillan, 2006), 69.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Perolz, Witness Statement, 5.
\end{itemize}
other, preserving the secrecy of the meetings.\textsuperscript{17} Perolz’s intelligence was significant enough, that in the days leading up to the 1916 Rising she reported directly to Connolly. Through a vast web of informal agents like Perolz, the nationalists were able to assemble a network of informants and spies throughout Ireland, under the very noses of their British adversaries.

While some Irish nationalists confronted British forces head on, others chose to serve the nationalist cause as couriers, authors, or educators. Prior to the 1916 Rising, Perolz played less visible—but equally necessary—roles within the movement. Perolz states, “At that time with Nellie Clifford I was running a bureau for Irish fellows to get them jobs and get them out of the British Army.”\textsuperscript{18} Later in her statement, Perolz says that she caught up with the family of one of these men, a German family residing in Ireland, known as the Keppels. When she needed lodgings the night before the 1916 Rising, the Keppels would not let her stay with them.\textsuperscript{19} Though Perolz assisted one of the Keppels in escaping the British Army, the family was unwilling to provide lodging to an active Irish nationalist. Perolz does not explicitly say how she felt about being turned away by the Keppels, or why they turned her away. However, it is clear that in the tense days leading up to the 1916 Rising, it may have been too risky for the family to lodge a woman known to be affiliated with the Irish nationalist cause.

In addition to her roles in intelligence, and building grass roots support for the movement, Perolz was also tasked with the procurement of weapons for the nationalist leadership. On one such occasion, Perolz was tasked by Connolly to purchase guns from an individual named Grant. She was told that she could find this man at Stephen’s, the local bicycle shop. When she finally caught up with Grant, she was informed that he had already distributed them.\textsuperscript{20} The disorganization illustrated by this miscommunication proves that the system was not infallible. The same disorganization would continue to plague the Irish nationalist movement and contribute to the failure of the 1916 Rising. Perolz was lucky on another occasion and was able to procure several

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\textsuperscript{17} Perolz, Witness Statement, 5.
\textsuperscript{18} Perolz, Witness Statement, 4.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 6.
\end{flushleft}
revolvers for the cause. The man who supplied the guns, Mr. Murphy, provided so many weapons and so much ammunition that Perolz could not carry it all and needed to enlist the assistance of her brother-in-law to transport the supplies. Mr. Murphy refused the money offered to him by Perolz though she left it inside a book on the bookcase.\(^{21}\) Throughout her witness statement, Perolz demonstrates the active role that she took in all levels of resistance against the British in Ireland. Moreover, the staggering number of roles she played, is a testament to the ad-hoc and exceptionally flexible nature of the Irish nationalist movement. As demonstrated through Perolz’s witness statement, the consequence for participating in the 1916 Rising was often severe.

**Consequences**

As a member of the Irish revolutionary movement, Perolz was apprehended in the wake of the uprising’s defeat. She knew in advance that the authorities were coming to arrest her, and before they arrived Perolz warned her family not to give away any information to British authorities, even under threat of arrest. Even after the failure of the 1916 Rising, Perolz remained staunchly committed to the cause and unwavering in her belief that the nationalist mission should continue uninterrupted.\(^{22}\) In her witness statements, Perolz lists the various prisons and holding facilities she and the other prisoners were taken. When the prisoners were treated well in Lewes Prison, Perolz recounts that a fellow nationalist, “Helene Moloney said we should not admit we were well treated.”\(^{23}\) Helene, like many captured members of the 1916 Rising, desired to preserve the support garnered from nationalist sympathizers in the aftermath of the revolution’s defeat. While she was being held at Kilmeinhem, Perolz was informed that the leaders of the Rising were being executed. Among the leaders executed was James Connolly, Perolz’s superior in the days leading up to the Rising, and one of the most prominent leaders of the entire nationalist movement. Only the kindness of a fellow

\(^{21}\) Perolz, Witness Statement, 7.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., 11.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.
prisoner, Brighid Foley, prevented Perolz from starving herself in
grief upon hearing of her comrades’ executions.24

When Perolz was brought to trial, she was interrogated by
Lord Midleton, a leading member of the pro-British Irish Unionist
party. Midleton asked Perolz, “And how did you come to get
mixed up with this business?”

Perolz responded, “If I only saw two dogs fighting in the
street I’d have to take sides.”

To which her interrogator replied, “And which side would
you take?”

Perolz responded, “That of the bottom dog, of course.”25

This dialogue exemplifies how the nationalist movement
viewed their struggle against Britain. Irish nationalists, such as
Perolz, believed that Ireland was the bottom dog fighting the
mighty British Empire. This mindset was shared by many
throughout Ireland who were outraged by the British response to
the 1916 Rising, particularly the summary execution of the
Rising’s leaders. After her trial, Perolz states that she was released
back to Ireland where she returned to the service of the nationalist
cause. Although, her statements do not indicate that she took part
in any other key events in Irish nationalist history following her
release.

Conclusion

The Irish Bureau of Military History archives provide a unique
window into the lives of Irish nationalists involved in the struggle
for independence between 1913 and 1921. This collection is one of
the most important primary sources of information on the period
available anywhere in the world.26 Without it, the memory of the
Irish revolutionary period would be at best incomplete, and the role
of rank-and-file nationalists like Perolz might have been forgotten
completely. Thanks to the numerous witness statements collected,
archived, and digitized by the Irish Bureau of Military History, the
firsthand accounts of Perolz, and thousands of others like her are
immortalized for the benefit of future generations.

24 Ibid.
For centuries, the Irish nationalist movement attracted men and women who were willing to sacrifice and life and limb in pursuit of an autonomous Ireland. Marie Perolz provides an excellent example of the unique and imperative role played by women in this nationalist movement. Irish nationalists unequivocally hungered for Irish independence, though violent tensions often erupted over the specific form independence would take. Their motivations drove them, their experiences shaped them, and the consequences of their actions made their plight impossible to ignore.

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Author Bio

Sarah Slawson is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino, and will be graduating in Spring 2018. She will be graduating with a Bachelor’s in History and a minor in Business Administration. After graduating, she plans on taking a year off to put her hard-earned skills to use. Once she has discovered her true calling, she will pursue a Master’s degree in her field of choice.
Western-Constructed Narratives of Hawai‘i

By Megan Medeiros

What comes to mind when you hear someone talking about Hawai‘i? Perhaps, you envision an idyllic tropical locale filled with beautiful landscapes and sun-drenched beaches just waiting to welcome you to a summer-time escape from reality? Or maybe you think of a secluded island, where play comes before work and people exude a carefree “aloha spirit”? In reality, Hawai‘i is simultaneously neither and so much more. The widely held public conception of Hawai‘i as a mystical tropical paradise is a misleading construction concocted by Westerners who possessed, at best, ephemeral and, at worst, completely fabricated conceptions of daily life within the Hawaiian Archipelago. How did this happen? How did such manifestly inaccurate representations of Hawai‘i come to dominate popular perceptions of the islands and its people?

The best way to understand this process is to apply the principles of “othering” put forth by renowned scholar Edward Said in his most famous work, Orientalism. In Orientalism, Said argued, that “the Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.”¹ Just as the narrative of the Orient was constructed by Westerners, so too was the narrative of mystical Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i is one of many regions of the world in which exoticizing-narratives, constructed by Westerners, have long since supplanted and obscured the factual reality of daily life on the grounds of Hawai‘i to the world at large.

Just as Western constructed conceptions of the so-called “Orient” obscured the reality of daily life in the Middle East, Western narratives of Hawai‘i have had precisely the same effect on Hawai‘i and its people. A New York Times article from 2017, titled “The Hawai‘i Cure,” describes a journalist’s “authentic” experience of Hawai‘i—which included the Chief’s Lū‘au buffet, strolling through Waikiki, soaking in a volcanic hot spring, snorkeling, and a number of other activities that are in no way an

authentic Hawaiian experience. As Inupiaq scholar Ted Mayac, Sr. wrote about the King Island people’s parallel experience, “they have stolen my history and misrepresented it.” The continual misrepresentation of Hawai‘i, specifically through Western media, is the reason why visitors often believe their tourist experience is authentically Hawaiian.

This study analyzes three Western-constructed narratives of Hawai‘i that emerged during the late-1800s and mid-1900s, and offers a juxtaposition to Hawaiian history. The three narratives analyzed herein are not intended as an exhaustive list of every constructed narrative imposed upon Hawai‘i; rather, these narratives represent notable examples of recurring themes common throughout Western conceptions of Hawai‘i. In each of the narratives, I analyze different themes which contributed to the misrepresentation of Hawaiian culture through mass media. I do this through a process of analyzing photos, magazine articles, and newspaper advertisements, as well as referencing scholarly works which support any claims. Lastly, I hope to not only analyze the blatant, obviously constructed narratives surrounding Hawai‘i and Hawaiians, but I also aim to tell a portion of the archipelago’s true history as experienced by Hawaiians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The first narrative, which is a recurring theme in both the present day and historically, is the creation of the “hula girl” image. This narrative led to the sexualization and objectification of Hawaiian women as a means to promote tourism to the islands. The second narrative I examine is the presentation of Native Hawaiians as “a primitive people” while simultaneously representing its leaders as “savages.” Although the concepts of “primitive people” and “savage” leaders may seem identical at first glance, these closely linked portrayals of Hawaiians served

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4 Regarding the spelling of Hawai‘i vs. Hawaiian: In the Hawaiian language, the [‘] represents the letter of the Hawaiian alphabet called the ‘okina, a glottal stop necessary for pronouncing and spelling the title of the country and various other Hawaiian words. The term “Hawaiian,” however, does not utilize the ‘okina and therefore is spelled without.
different political purposes for Western colonizers. The final narrative deals with the feminine representations of Hawai‘i as well as the development of “aloha attire” and explores what these themes represent. These externally imposed conceptions of Hawaiian identity serve to support the woefully inaccurate belief that, historically, the Hawaiian people were passive and more-than-willing to give up their culture and lands to foreign intruders.

These Western-constructed narratives, combined with the slow stripping of culture from Hawaiians, and the overwhelmingly inaccurate portrayal of Hawaiians in media throughout the first half of the twentieth-century, led to an identity crisis for generations to follow. Harold Napoleon, an indigenous Alaskan Yu’pik scholar, who wrote an academic piece regarding Yup’ik history, claims that “they lost almost everything: their cultures, their languages, their spiritual beliefs, their songs, their dances, their feasts, their lands, their independence, their pride—all their inheritances.”5 Similarly, during the first half century of American rule, Hawaiians lost almost everything and struggled with how Hawai‘i was being presented to the world. In a BBC article titled “Aloha to the US: Is Hawai‘i an Occupied Nation?” native Hawaiian Trustee of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Peter Apo, said that "the only thing [he] knew about Hawaiians was what [he] saw in television and the tourism ads."6 Like Apo, many native Hawaiians faced an identity crisis as a consequence of the media propagating an exoticized narrative of their people. Under the auspices of American governance, externally-imposed narratives aggressively supplanted native Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiian people risked losing their cultural identity. The media helped to distort what it meant to be Hawaiian or even a non-Hawaiian resident of Hawai‘i. It is the purpose of this paper to tell an accurate history based on factual analysis, literature review, and a concrete historical narrative—rather than media portrayal.

The “Hula Girl” Image

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A quick Google image search for “Hawaiian girl” will immediately swamp your browser with a plethora of half-naked, ideal-bodied, “hula girl” women. The popular depiction of a Hawaiian woman has been conflated with that of a hula girl, and the practice of hula has been culturally misappropriated. From the moment you board an airplane bound for Hawai’i or see postcards, photographs, advertisements, or films depicting the archipelago, you are bombarded with imagery in which Hawaiian women are visually appealing. This proliferation of exoticized portrayals of Hawai’i and its people has led to the creation of the sexually-objectified hula girl narrative. In the early 1900s, shortly after the U.S. annexation of the islands, the periodicals such as Mid-Pacific Magazine were already marketing Hawai’i as a “white man’s paradise” to an eager American public. Hawai’i was portrayed as a “place that white men benefit from visiting and settling, and in which dark women await the embrace of heterosexual men, especially white men from the continental United States.”

This Mid-Pacific Magazine article is an early, concrete example of how Hawaiian women were objectified as sexual possessions.

The hula girl represents the epitome of Western conceptions of the women of Hawai’i. Images of “Hawaiian women” circulated in a variety of media sources such as postcards, photographs, magazines, advertisements, and film. These media outlets capitalized upon Western-constructed narratives that presented Hawaiian women as purely sexual in nature. In the book Staging Tourism, prominent scholar and Professor Dr. Jane Desmond explores the tourism industry in Hawai’i and writes:

Hula girl images on postcards and in photographs in this period thus ran the gamut from beautiful to alluring, to sexual, to pornographic. But they all presented a gendered and sexualized image of the native. The Polynesian looking “hula girl” during this period as the dominant signifier of Hawai’i—a feminized site of nature and romance.

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8 Ibid., 65.
9 Jane Desmond, Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 48.
In the first decade of the twentieth-century, the sexualized hula girl rapidly emerged as the dominant symbol of Hawaiian culture abroad. Within a few years of the genesis of the Hawaiian hula girl image, it transformed into the “hapa ha’ole” hula girl—a whitened version of a Hawaiian hula girl. And thus, despite the fact that those being photographed and filmed as a hula girl were often white women, it remained the dominant representation of native Hawaiian women.

The images above show hula women presented in two contexts. The photograph on the left was taken in 1899, while the photo on the right was taken just over three decades later in 1925. The image from 1899 features three women dressed in traditional kapa skirts, and adorned with lei, lei po’o, and kupe’e (neck garland, head, and bracelet garlands). They are also surrounded by the customary hula instruments: ‘ulī‘ulī, ipu, and pū‘ili (A gourd rattle containing seeds with colored feathers at the top used for the hula ʻulī‘ulī, a dance drum made of two gourds sewed together and a pair of bamboo rattles, respectively). These three women have
serious expressions, and two of them are posed in masculine, dominant stances in which their hands are on their hips with their elbows out. This has been theorized as a male power signal in which an individual takes up a significant amount of space as to demonstrate physical superiority. The third woman is posed in a closed off, arms crossed and slouched posture. Although the three women do not appear to be wearing shirts, nudity is clearly not the focus of the photo.

The serious, resolute composure of the women in the 1899 photo stands in striking contrast to the second photo from 1925. The second photo features a fair-skinned “Ha’ole Hula Girl” posed for a postcard in 1925. In contrast to the 1899 picture, this woman is laughing and has an inviting demeanor. The instrument she is holding is a ‘ukulele, which is peculiar considering that hula dancers do not use this instrument for hula rather the singer or band accompanying the hula girl did. Also, the raffia skirt used here is not Hawaiian, and it is clearly intended to draw attention to her body curves and bare thigh. The evolution of the “hula girl,” evidently displayed through the comparison of these early images, exemplifies the sexualization of Hawaiian women and cultural misappropriation experienced by Hawaiian culture in the decades following annexation.

The sexualization of Hawaiian women was not limited to postcards and images. One study counted sixty-six films made in or about Hawai’i between 1898 and 1939. These films portrayed hyper-sexualized native women as an integral part of the archipelago’s exotic landscape. Curiously, the portrayal of islands as feminine, and the sexualization of island women is not unique to the Western narrative of Hawai’i. Mainland groups tend to label islands as exotic, mystical, and mysterious—all of which are feminine descriptors. Journalist and professor Judith Williamson, wrote an article about femininity and colonization, stating that “one of the most important aspects of femininity in mass culture is not what they reveal, but what they conceal. If “woman” means home, love, and sex, what “woman” does not mean, in general currency, is work, class, and politics.” In the same way, when film and media primarily portrayed sexualized Hawaiian women as

10 Okihiro, Island World, 64.
the primary representation of Hawai‘i, it had the adverse effect of also feminizing the Hawaiian Islands in the popular imagination. The feminine portrayal of the archipelago, in turn, contributed to the dominant Western perception of the Hawaiian people as weak and primitive.

The demonization of the practice of hula began with Christian missionaries to Hawai‘i who lacked cultural understanding of hula and viewed it as provocative and sensual. Missionaries influenced the Hawaiian government’s decision to restrict hula with the Civil Code of 1859, under the mistaken impression that hula was sensual and promiscuous. Hawaiian scholar and professor Noenoe Silva quoted the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, by saying that “these assemblages, out of town as well as in town, become hotbeds of sensuality and licentiousness… and when they become the resort of idle and vicious, all law and religion must oppose them as productive of evil.” It was not until 1870 that the license restriction was revoked, but the demonizing of hula in the press continued as late as 1918.

Not only was hula restricted by Western influence, it was also later misappropriated. The image of hula has been distorted through the Western portrayal of the hula in film, advertisement and the tourism industry. The portrayal of the Hapa Ha’ole hula girl analyzed earlier presents an excellent example. Everything from the color of her skin and the material of her skirt, to the instrument she was holding, had nothing to do with Hawaiian culture. Hula used as a form of entertainment began with private shows for U.S. servicemen, and then exploded into the public eye through hotels that employed the hula as a form of mass tourist entertainment. As Jane Desmond argues in Staging Tourism, through the commodification of hula, humans were put on display in a manner similar to animals on display in a zoo. The island’s first luxury hotel, the Moana, was built in Waikiki in 1901, and has since been used as a place to display hula through staged performances.

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13 Ibid., 36.
15 Desmond, Staging Tourism, 34.
overpriced lū’au buffet experiences.\textsuperscript{16} Hula, as presented by the tourist industry, lacks authenticity and the practice itself risks becoming deprived of cultural significance as a consequence of its blatant commodification. Jane Desmond describes the tourist experience as “bodily representations and bodily presence which function as guarantors of historical authenticity.”\textsuperscript{17}

The true cultural significance of hula within Hawaiian culture is immense, both historically and in the present day. In the inaugural speech for King Kalākaua in 1883, he said that “Hula is the language of the heart, therefore the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people.”\textsuperscript{18} King Kalākaua understood the importance of hula to the Hawaiian people and was a significant patron of the arts during his reign. Westerners continued to persecute hula culture within the press, schools, and everyday life; but, there were still occasional performances at cultural events such as King Kalākaua’s birthday celebration held at the palace. These mixed messages from different sources continued to affect Hawaiians for many decades and was detrimental to Hawaiian culture and identity.

In 1963, a celebration in his honor was created by native Hawaiians seeking to spark tourist attention, with events such as a King Kalākaua look-alike competition. In 1971, the festival transformed into the Merrie Monarch Festival—the main purpose of which is the perpetuation, preservation, and promotion Hawaiian culture through hula. Groups and individuals train for the festival using culturally accurate attire, instruments, music, and tradition to compete in this world-renowned hula festival in Hilo, Hawai‘i. The hula was once almost lost amidst constant misrepresentation; however, the resurgence of authentic hula, intended as a celebration of cultural traditions, instead of a commodity for tourists, is evident in Hawai‘i to this day.

The way in which hula was once commodified as described earlier is much different than the way Native Hawaiian scholar, professor, music composer and producer Amy Stillman speaks about hula in her book \textit{Re-membering the History of the Hawaiian Hula}:

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\item[\textsuperscript{16}] James Mak, working paper no. 15-03, Department of Economics, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, 2015, 43.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Desmond, \textit{Staging Tourism}, xxii.
\item[\textsuperscript{18}] David Kalākaua, “Inauguration,” (speech, Honolulu, February 12, 1883).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The Hawaiian hula is inherently a site of cultural memory, not only in the performance, but in the entirety of its practices of archiving knowledge of the past. To dance is not merely folkloric custom or invented tradition but a statement about knowledge and representations of the form itself. Island places are defined by states of embodiment and felt relations.  

For a native Hawaiian, practicing hula can be a deep and meaningful tradition. Hula is a cultural dance that showcases an artistic extension of an intrinsic feeling of connectedness. This deeply-rooted connection can be linked to different things for different practitioners; to many it is a connection to history and heritage, to some a connection to nature, and for others it is a means to commune with the gods. It was this intimate cultural connection that was almost lost and replaced with visually appealing, artificial, and culturally insignificant sensualized movements designed for the enjoyment of tourists.

The hula itself did not disappear, in part due to its popularity in hotel performances, movies, and photographs. However, its authenticity was diminished by imported Western conceptions to the point that its cultural significance was nearly lost. Despite the recent cultural resurgence of authentic Hawaiian hula since the 1960s, the commodified, Western conception of the tradition still survives, and its destructive influence remains a threat. This cultural misappropriation has proved to be terribly destructive and continues to distort the Hawaiian culture and identity. The ongoing damage inflicted by Western adulterations of Hula is significant because Hula is so much more than mere entertainment, Hula is a central pillar of Hawaiian culture. The creation of the “hula girl” emerged due to cultural and ideological misunderstandings, which in turn led to the hyper-sexualization of Hawaiian women. This hyper-sexualized caricature of Hawaiian women was then relentlessly marketed at both native Hawaiians, and the world at large through the tourist industry and a dazzling array of media outlets. Consequently, the “hula girl” became an

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inescapable characterization of Hawaiian women, both within the archipelago, and abroad. The tragic social impact of this phenomenon is difficult to overstate. According to a 2003 report, one in seven women in Hawai‘i have experienced forcible rape in their lifetime.20 Medical reports state that fifty thousand women between the ages of eighteen and sixty-four are victims of domestic violence each year in Hawai‘i.21 The objectification and sexualization of the women of Hawai‘i is more than just a “misrepresentation”—it impacts the way women are viewed and treated.

A Primitive Place and Native Population with Savage Political Leaders

The second Western-constructed narrative of Hawai‘i is the characterization of the archipelago as a secluded, backward, and primitive place. Some people wonder if there are houses, electricity, chain stores, internet access, and other fixtures of civilization. Evidently, these individuals assume that the locals spend their days surfing, eating pineapple, and drinking out of coconuts. Most natives face an uphill battle in their efforts to dispel the stories being told and sold about them. This was particularly true during the 1800s, when it was nearly impossible for the general international public to meet or learn about Hawaiians. Nearly all information about the archipelago was either passed by word-of-mouth or filtered through limited media sources in the U.S. press. This in-and-of-itself was problematic, because it insured that the international community’s first impressions of Hawaiian culture were at best incomplete, and were at worst biased, or even racist. In our modern age of globalization, the situation for Hawai‘i has only improved marginally. Accessing information about cultures from a “distant land” is as simple as a quick Google search; but information is now so plentiful that it may be difficult for the average individual to decipher the truth.

The representation of Hawai‘i as primitive was no accident. It was deliberate, and the United States was the primary source of these narratives. In a monograph chapter titled “Seeing Like an

Empire: Islands as a Wasteland,” scholar and professor Sasha Davis describes how “the U.S. military legitimized the occupation and destruction of island environments by deploying a particular, imperial way of seeing places.”

Davis argues that “this way of seeing and presenting islands is repeated in militarized colonies across the [Pacific] region today.” Lastly, he argues that “the process of colonization and militarization construct ‘bare life’ and they recast colonized places as ‘disposable.’” The recurring theme of portraying island lands as primitive, bare life places was utilized to aid the U.S. military takeover. Once an island culture had been portrayed as primitive, in need of aid, and guided by leaders who were too incompetent to lead their own people, then the colonizer could cast themselves in a heroic light to the island’s own people and justify its colonization.

One method which helped to develop the primitive narrative of Hawai‘i was the usage of specific images of Hawai‘i displayed in postcards, magazines, and advertisements, intended to amplify the “primitive” nature of the island and its inhabitants. The circulation of iconographic representations of primitive people perpetuate documentation of an unchanging primitive peoples’ history. Techniques utilized to ensure that Hawai‘i was displayed in a manner which made it look like a primitive place included the display of traditionally modelled scenery, as well as the continuous use of a sepia-toned images. With the circulation of outdated images of Hawai‘i, it made it seem like Hawai‘i was unchanging, and unable to progress; consequently, Hawai‘i became removed from modernity and seemed to be living in the past. These “subtle” stereotypical images are the intentional portrayal of Hawai‘i as “bare life,” and are the primary source of questions mentioned earlier about whether Hawai‘i has houses, electricity, or chain stores.

Like most island nations, Hawai‘i has traditionally been illustrated as small, feminine, weak, carefree, and therefore lacking modernity. This narrative established the “disposability” of the island and its people’s culture. Once emplaced, the narrative of

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23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
disposability was reinforced through the motion picture industry, which produced over fifty films made in, or about, Hawai‘i between 1920 and 1939. While reflecting on the films circulated in the 1900s, Asian American author and scholar Gary Okihiro notes, “the primal, fertile earth frees white men from the confines of modernity and allows them to shed social inhibitions such as nudity and interracial sex.” Filmmakers produced materials that adorn islands and embellished island residents as primal, fertile, and sexual through many representations, most notably the aforementioned “hula girl” of Hawai‘i.

It has been argued that Hawaiians being classified as “primitive” was reflective of the natives’ potential to be domesticated with proper guidance and Western influence. Jane Desmond states that “Hawaiians were often seen as closer to White than to Black as a race.” She suggests that “primitive” was not completely negative in comparison to other colonized populations, where language and depictions were often harsher, and populations were dehumanized completely. Australian historian and activist, Patrick Wolfe, describes the many constructs of race in his book *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race*. In a chapter about radicalizing Native Americans in the United States, he argues that “as a strategy of elimination, assimilation promises to be more effective than either homicide or spatial device.” He says that homicide jeopardizes settler social order and removal or confinement is temporary; assimilation is permanent and eliminates competing sovereignties. The reason for the Hawaiian population being represented as primitive was due to the fact that U.S. wanted to assimilate the Hawaiians to their culture. Therefore, they had to be painted in a light that proved that they were capable of being assimilated into the modern world.

This, however, was not the case with the Hawaiian monarchs. American businessmen active in Hawai‘i sought to dehumanize Hawaiian political leaders in order to “justify” usurping power in the archipelago. “A “blackening,” or linkage

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28 Ibid., 51.
30 Ibid.
with African Americans, occurred in public political discourse beginning with the 1887 Bayonet Constitution until annexation in 1898, most frequently used in political cartoons.” The 1887 Bayonet Constitution was the first step for the Americans in their coup against the Hawaiian Kingdom, forcing King Kalākaua to sign into law a constitution which created a new branch of government, composed of American settlers. The monarch and Hawaiian government, as a whole, were portrayed as savage and unintelligible. Regarding the status and imagery of African Americans, Wolfe states, “Blacks, being deemed incapable of emancipating themselves, became a race... to an extent that warranted their exclusion from the universal humanity that bore rights.” The way Hawaiian monarchs were portrayed as savages bore unmistakable similarities to the manner in which Blacks were portrayed in the U.S., as opposed to the general population which was portrayed as merely primitive—closer to how Native Americans were portrayed in the continental U.S.

Americans compared Hawaiian monarchs to Blacks as a way to insult and impose their racist ideologies for the sake of usurping control of the archipelago. For example, the cartoon featured on the next page, “Lili to Grover,” depicts Queen Lili’uokalani in a manner in which she has an abnormally large head, and bodily features (ears, lips, eyes, breast). She has a small crown, a dark complexion, an awkward grin, and is dressed in what seems to be a feather-like quality dress. The way she is depicted mixes Westernized apparel such as heels, a pearl necklace, and earrings, which seem to represent her trying to cover up her native, savage self, behind western accessories. The scenery is one with a skull, bones, axe, trees, ocean, and a starfish—all of which paint a very different picture from the appealing landscape frequently portrayed in postcards and film.

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32 Okihiro, Island World, 55.
Decades later, the distinction between the portrayal of monarchs as unredeemable ‘savages’ and general population being civilizable became blurred, in the sense that a distinction between pure and part Hawaiians was made. In 1921, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) questioned the ability of pure native Hawaiians to be rehabilitate. Deputy Attorney General and House Representative A. G. Robertson testified in the HHCA hearings saying:

The part Hawaiians, the part Caucasians, the part Chinese, and the part Portuguese are a virile, prolific, and enterprising lot of people. They have large families and they raise them—they bring them up. These part Hawaiians have had the advantage, since annexation especially, of the American viewpoint and the advantage of a pretty good public school system, and they are an educated people.

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They are not in the same class with the pure bloods.  

Robertson sought to differentiate the part Hawaiians from the pure Hawaiians, based on the racist idea that pure Hawaiians were beyond the rehabilitation proposed. Not only were these narratives widely held by American policy makers, and the general public during annexation and the decades that followed, but these sentiments are frequently echoed by modern-day American politicians. A recent example can be found in an interview with the current U.S. Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, on April 18, 2017. While speaking regarding a Hawai’i Federal District Court’s immediate override to clear the Muslim travel ban, Sessions stated, “I really am amazed that a judge sitting on an island in the Pacific can issue an order that stops the President of the United States from what appears to be clearly his statutory and constitutional power.” The language here is immediately dismissive of the judge’s authority and demonstrates a clear Mainland Supremacy ideology.

Contrary to these narratives, Hawaiians during the time of their image construction were both resourceful and intelligent. Hawaiians possessed adept learning skills and placed great importance on education upon introduction to the Western style of schooling. Although the Hawaiian language was originally an oral language, a writing system was quickly established. Noenoe Silva writes, “the subsequent printing of tracts and books were an integral part of the “civilizing’ process.” The first school, established in 1831, was Lahainaluna—which was a boarding school designed for males. Lahainaluna was the first school west of the Rocky Mountains. Thirty years later in 1861 there were around 266 schools conducted in the Hawaiian language, with a student population of over eight thousand. By this time, Hawaiian literacy was “almost universal.” In a mere thirty years of the creation of schools, literacy becoming almost universal is quite an

35 Jeff Sessions, interview by Mark Levin, The Mark Levin Show, April 18, 2017.
36 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 32.
accomplishment; clearly refuting claims of a primitive, unintelligent stereotype of the ethnicity. Unfortunately, beginning as early as 1896, and in some areas as late as 1987, speaking the Hawaiian language was strictly prohibited in public schools.\textsuperscript{38} Recalling the policy on Native American language use, Carol Schmid writes, “Provisions in 1802 and 1819... attempted to promote “civilization.” There was an implicit assumption that the English language was the “civilized” tongue and Native American languages were “barbaric” languages.”\textsuperscript{39} The state sanctioned promotion of the English language led to the extermination of Native American languages, just as it did with outlawing of the Hawaiian language in education. With this abrupt, unwarranted transition to English, literacy rates of Hawaiians dropped drastically as Hawaiians were restricted from using their native language.

Not only were Hawaiians adept at learning how to communicate using the Hawaiian language and creating a formalized education, like many Pacific Island cultures, they also possessed a remarkable set of naval navigation skills, and a keen knowledge of both land and ocean. Pacific Islanders were skilled navigators who utilized stars, currents, and other methods to intentionally discover new land for millennia, long before the advent of modern navigation tools. Gary Okihiro argues that “Hawaiians discovered Europeans when they spotted the ships of British Captain James Cook off the island of Kaua‘i on the morning of January 18, 1778. Unlike the Polynesian navigators who sailed to find land and settle Hawai‘i, Cook made landfall by accident.”\textsuperscript{40} In Okihiro’s argument, the Hawaiians are afforded credit for discovering the Europeans; due to happenstance nature of Captain Cook’s arrival in Hawai‘i, although Okihiro’s perspective remains an ostracized account of historical events.

From a colonial perspective, the Polynesian navigational skills may be labeled as “primitive” due to technology innovations

\textsuperscript{40} Gary Y. Okihiro, \textit{American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders} (California: University of California Press, 2015), 37.
responsible for modern-day navigation instruments. What makes Polynesians remarkable, however, is the fact that their navigational achievements happened before the birth of such technologies. Some scholars, apparently convinced by the primitive narrative, denied that Polynesians were capable of possessing such advance navigation skill. Okihiro systematically deconstructs this line of arguing in *American History Unbound: Asians and Pacific Islanders*:

> Whites, including many scholars, held that Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders broadly possessed simple, primitive cultures and technologies. Although they acknowledged that Polynesian ocean voyages had crossed thousands of miles of open water, detractors held that these achievements were largely a matter of accident, because the islanders lacked the canoe technology, navigational instruments and skills, and providing abilities for long-distance sailing.41

It is an intriguing concept that some scholars sought to reduce Polynesian navigational prowess to a matter of accident, simply based on the stereotype that islanders possessed primitive cultures. However, the crew of a replica Polynesian double hulled canoe, called the *Hokule’a*, constructed in 1973, demonstrated that it was indeed possible to make the voyage from Hawai‘i to Tahiti and back using traditional Polynesian methods and equipment alone. The voyage of the *Hokule’a* is a tradition that continues to be practiced to this day and is celebrated throughout all of the Pacific Islands. The skillset necessary to sail without modern navigational instruments requires a tremendous degree of knowledge and years of practice—but it is achievable.

To sum up this narrative, the combined ideas that Hawai‘i was a “bare life” region, that Hawaiians were primitive, and their native culture utterly disposable, were tactical misrepresentations intended to legitimize America’s colonial ambitions. The media portrayed a heroic mainland, helping to assimilate the primitive natives to modern culture by means of demonizing and stripping away their culture, teaching them a new and “right” way to live in

Simultaneously, the U.S. was guilty of continuing to dehumanize the Hawaiian political leaders as a means to gain governance over Hawai‘i. Even after annexation, they continued oppression through tactics such as blood quantum measurement. The tactics that were used were detrimental to Hawaiian culture and even to the Hawaiian Identity.

Although not as drastically as before, these narratives persist to this day, and many continue to misjudge the Hawaiians. Hawai‘i continues to be seen primarily as a bare life vacation destination, perfect for enjoying nature through hikes and beaches. Even within local school systems, Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders are often stereotyped as unintelligent—a perception which no doubt stems from the lingering idea that these islanders display primitive, savage behavior. Even the common depiction of Native Hawaiians and other Islanders as “street-smart” stems from this primitive narrative, attributing successes to caveman-like instincts of survival as opposed to modern economic prowess. The idea that Hawaiians were primitive, and therefore needed guidance, was only reinforced by feminine representations that portrayed Hawaiians as inherently passive in nature, as explored in the next section.

**Passive Hawaiians: The Display of Feminine Representations of Hawai‘i**

The last, but certainly not the least important, stereotype to be explored is the feminization of Hawai‘i through both the media and the construction of a hegemonic multicultural narrative. In this section, I analyze a few different ways in which Hawai‘i was displayed as feminine and weak for the purpose of justifying colonization. The first example connects the hula girl to the landscape itself and it connects to Judith Williamson’s ideas, as mentioned earlier in the hula girl section. The second way is through the projection of Hawai‘i as a hegemonic multicultural place in which the Hawaiian culture was replaced by creating a new society based off a melting pot of cultures.
The image above (Figure 1.4), illustrates the way in which Hawai‘i has persistently been represented as feminine. First and foremost, the poster is dominated by a Westernized idealization of a “hula girl.” The woman is literally emerging from the island full of tropical plants and colorful fish. She is postured in a way that is similar to Figure 1.2 (“A Ha’ole Hula Girl”), with her inviting smile and the attention drawn to both the woman’s curves and bare thigh. This United Airlines magazine cover is undoubtedly attempting to portray Hawai‘i in a way that makes it the ideal vacation spot. The feminization of Hawai‘i in portrayals such as this helps fuel a narrative that questions whether Hawai‘i and/or Hawaiians are capable of work, class, and politics. In Paradise of the Pacific, an article written in 1890, by an unnamed medical visitor to Hawai‘i, concluded that the island was “the place to go to, to gain rest and lead a quiet life.”43 As Williamson observes, “it can naturally be deduced that descriptors such as ‘rest’ and a ‘quiet life’ does not mean ‘hard work,’ ‘assertiveness,’ and ‘activity.’”44 Since the plantation days, Hawaiians had been classified as “lazy” in comparison to other imported labor sources. The ideas that Hawaiians were lazy and lacked assertiveness reinforced the

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43 Okihiro, Island World, 63.
44 Ibid.
previously discussed narrative that Hawaiian monarchs were incompetent and that the Hawaiian people needed the U.S. to annex the kingdom in order for civilization and modernity to spread across the land.

Hawaiians and Islanders alike have continued to struggle to be taken seriously since the initial contact with European explorers. This stems from the idea that primitive, savage people were not people at all. “We’ll take this island, they said—because there’s no one here.” This notion of *terra nullius* painted a picture of empty spaces ripe for colonization. In regard to narratives concerning the Pacific Ocean territories, scholar and professor Matt Matsuda wrote an academic journal article which recounts “European and American mainland visions of great, empty oceans dotted with deserted and uninhabited islands.” This is false. These islands—such as Hawai’i—were not only occupied, but its people were rich in culture. The idea that Hawai’i is currently empty and free of a native people has somehow survived alongside the idea that Hawai’i and Hawaiians need the U.S., both ideas almost universally accepted.

This feminized narrative was perpetuated with the term “aloha,” which illustrates happy Hawaiians ready to share their culture. As Professor and Hawaiian nationalist Haunani Trask says, “it aids in the constant hawking of things Hawaiian.” Another scholar and poet, Keiko Ohunuma, notes that “the term ‘aloha’ and its kindred ‘aloha spirit’ were fundamental marketing ploys in the tourist advertisements of Hawai’i in the islands and abroad in the 1930s.” These marketing schemes led to Hawaiians being depicted in clothing such as colorful, floral “aloha” attire. Notably, “scholars who have studied the history of this garment see it as a symbol of Hawaiian multicultural harmony.” As Roxane Hughes

46 Matsuda, “This Territory was not Empty,” 230.
47 Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 144.
49 Hughes, “Multiculturalism or Destitute Hawai’i,” 282.
says “the ‘aloha spirit’ sold by the tourist industry since the 1930s has camouflaged the colonial sale of Native Hawaiian culture, land and language under the rhetoric of multicultural harmony.”

In this 1930s tourism spike, images and aloha attire alike were focused on promoting Hawai‘i as a “romantic tourist destination and the intense color found in the islands’ fish and flowers was hyped in the promotional literature.” Romance, color and flowers are all feminine descriptors which, suitably for the Western narrative construct, decreased the opportunity for Hawaiians to be seen as authoritative and assertive.

The aloha attire that is referred to previously, is known as the “aloha shirt” for men and “mu’umu’u” for women. The photo on the next page (Figure 1.5) is an example of an aloha shirt manufactured in 1930. Although it lacks some of the popular bright colors, and depictions of exotic wildlife popular at the time, it utilizes a print fabric commonly used for the Japanese casual kimono. This is just one case of the aloha attire being used to represent harmony between two cultures. “The idea of hospitality and presupposed harmony between islands’ ethnic group appealed to the mainland as an ideal of ‘what America could be.’ With the high import of laborers and inevitable intermarriages, the different ethnicities began to come together to redefine what it meant to be Hawaiian, based on culture and sense of place rather than genealogy.” The Hawaiian culture was beginning to be defined as a melting pot of cultures which no longer had a unique culture of its own. This redefinition of what it meant to be Hawaiian tremendously impacted the native Hawaiian identity. It was this multicultural hegemonic narrative that was believed to be the Hawaiian culture itself, rather than a product of Hawai‘i.

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50 Hughes, “Multiculturalism or Destructive Hawai‘i,” 282.
52 Ibid., 15.
Representations of Hawai`i as feminine and the narrative of Hawaiians being passive are not mere relics of the past; on the contrary, these portrayals persist into the present day. Portraying Hawaiians as passive people aided America’s broad colonial agenda in the Pacific. If the U.S. could portray Hawaiians in a way in which they willingly accepted annexation, then the U.S. would not look like the villain. The U.S. went as far as to deceive the international community by granting statehood to Hawai`i before the United Nations (U.N.) could move forward with assessing whether Hawai`i, as a non-self-governing territory, was capable of governing itself. The United Nations Trusteeship Council created a list of non-self-governing territories and had the objective of supervising the administration of qualified Trust Territories. By pushing through Hawai`i’s statehood, the U.S. prevented the U.N. from completing their assessment.

In reality, Hawaiians were constantly resisting annexation through diplomatic means. Hawaiians did not just passively accept the fact that they would be annexed into the U.S. motivated by the fear of colonization—the Kingdom of Hawai`i sent a delegation to the U.S., U.K., and France, seeking acknowledgement of Hawai`i

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54 Williamson, “Woman is an Island,” 103.
as an independent nation. On behalf of President John Tyler in 1842, Secretary of State John Calhoun verbally confirmed the full recognition, on behalf of the United States, of the independence of the Hawaiian Government.\(^\text{55}\) This was followed swiftly by the Anglo-French Proclamation (1843) which acknowledged the Sandwich Islands as an independent state.\(^\text{56}\) Fifty years later, with the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i on January 16, 1893, came Queen Lili‘uokalani’s statement:

I, Lili‘uokalani, by the Grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom. That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government. Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.\(^\text{57}\)

This was a wise political move. Queen Lili‘uokalani knew that the coup had been orchestrated by American businessmen, who were acting independently from the federal government. She trusted that upon receiving facts of the illegality and unwarranted

\(^{55}\) John Calhoun on behalf of U.S. President John Tyler, “Recognizing Hawai‘i as a Sovereign Nation, 1842,” in Papers Related to the Foreign Relations of the United States (1842).


\(^{57}\) Lydia Lili‘uokalani, “Queen Lili‘uokalani’s Statement Relinquishing Power in Hawai‘i 1893.” In the Cleveland-Lili‘uokalani Executive Agreements. (Honolulu, HI: ‘Iolani Palace).
overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the actions of the coup would be undone. She bought time and prevented the imminent annihilation of Hawaiians that would have resulted if a war had broken out. This was an extremely intelligent, strategic and diplomatic move, not one that would be characterized as savage, primitive, or least of all feminine.

Soon after the overthrow of the Queen, there was a massive display of solidarity from the Hawaiian people in support of Queen Lili‘uokalani through creation of male and female protest groups known as Hui Aloha ʻAina and Aloha ʻAina O Na Wahine. These associations worked together to gather information proving the illegality of the coup’s actions and petition signatures against annexation. American Commissioner James Blount was sent to Hawai‘i by President Grover Cleveland to report on the events which surrounded the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The resistance groups reported the coup’s actions, which were recorded in the 1893 Blount Report. President Grover Cleveland questioned the integrity of the request of annexation of Hawai‘i by a Provisional Government which “succeeded the constitutional ruler of the islands, who had been dethroned, and it did not appear that such provisional government had the sanction of either popular revolution or suffrage.” President Cleveland stated, “I conceived it to be my duty therefore to withdraw the treaty (of annexation) from the Senate for examination, and meanwhile to cause an accurate, full, and impartial investigation to be made of the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional Government of Hawai‘i and the installment in its place of the provisional government”

Unfortunately, Queen Lili‘uokalani was not restored to the throne and annexation was attempted again. This attempt was met by over 38,000 signatures of people who petitioned against annexation, gathered by the two aforementioned protest groups, in a time when “the population of Kanaka Maoli (native Hawaiians) was around 40,000.” The 1897 attempted annexation failed, and became the second attempt which was opposed by diplomatic and fair means. This further refutes the narrative that Hawaiians were primitive and passive. Ultimately, when the U.S. needed Hawai‘i for military purposes during the Spanish American War, congress passed the Newlands Resolution in order to formally annex

58 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 130.
59 Ibid., 151.
Hawai‘i. The legality of this procedure is debatable because annexation typically occurs through an agreement between two governments, rather than one government drafting a resolution declaring the annexation of another. Regardless, it is internationally recognized that in 1959, Hawai‘i became the 50th state in the United States.

In *The Politics of Official Apologies*, political scientist Melissa Nobles observes that for many decades, the United States government denied any role or responsibility in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. However, she notes that the 1993 *U.S. Public Law 103–150*, known as the Apology Resolution was the first time since the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani that the U.S. admitted to an active role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In her analysis she argues that “the Hawaiian sovereignty movement and Hawai‘i’s U.S. Senators pursued and successfully achieved the Apology Resolution.” The fact that Hawaiians demanded acknowledgement demonstrates that Hawaiians are not a passive people who welcome annexation. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement successfully demanded public recognition of America’s role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Despite the global influence and reach of the United States, the U.S. government was successfully pressured by native Hawaiians and Hawaiian diplomats into creating *U.S. Public Law 103–150* and acknowledging the country’s role in the subversion and destruction of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.

Contrary to the narrative of passivity, Hawaiians were assertive and diplomatic. However, Hawaiians were not the only people subjected to such treatment. Island Nations and territories as a whole suffer from the *terra nullius* expectation of islands, as well as the assumption that islands are small and weak. Even the United Nations, through its classification of many island nations as “Small Island Developing States,” contributes to the idea that Island Nations are lesser and under-developed (weak). Refuting this idea, Tongan and Fijian anthropologist Epeli Hau‘ofa proposed the idea that Pacific Islanders are connected. Instead of the sea being a divider between islands, he proposes the idea that geography does not have to be limited to land mass. Keeping this

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concept in mind, the area of Oceania could be unified and similar in size to a continent, powerful and interconnected. Through the ideology of connectedness of the Pacific Ocean, the Pacific Islands would be regarded as mighty and masculine rather than feminine and weak. Though this is not yet a widely accepted idea and can potentially be problematic in terms of which islands are included, it is a pivotal starting point towards challenging the narrative.

Conclusion

The three overarching narratives about Hawai‘i and its people advanced by American interests are overwhelmingly evident in primary sources of circulated information regarding the archipelago. All of these narratives are interconnected and mutually reinforcing in their efforts to marginalize and subdue native Hawaiian identity. Upon visiting Bikini Island for the first time, Sasha Davis explains, “I looked for signs of destruction but found none. In a sense I was looking for what I expected to see on the atoll. Looking for the expected is something many other actors have done on this island as well. Many other visitors have come to Bikini thinking they knew what Bikini was before they ever set foot on it.”62 In the same way, many visitors come to Hawai‘i thinking they know what Hawai‘i is before they ever set foot in it. Oftentimes the versions of Hawai‘i that tourists “expect to see” are shaped by the narratives analyzed in this study.

The “hula girl” image has in many instances acted as the primary representation of all things Hawaiian. This precipitated the objectification of Hawaiian women through sensualizing visual representations of the native women. The image expanded beyond just the women of Hawai‘i and began to contribute to a narrative painting Hawaiians as primitive people, unchanging, and uncivilized. Gradually, an even more extreme version of this narrative was applied to the kingdom’s political leaders, classifying them as savage and incapable of leading their nation. Ultimately, this narrative served the political purpose of justifying the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the annexation of the archipelago into the United States. In accordance with that same political agenda, the final Western-constructed narrative cast Hawaiians as a passive, nonresistant, people ripe for colonization.

62 Davis, The Empires’ Edge, 53.
Simultaneously, Hawai‘i itself was persistently portrayed in feminine terms in order to undermine the sovereignty and political agency of its people in the public eye. This narrative played a critical role in building popular support for the 1898 annexation of Hawai‘i into the United States.

The identity crisis stemming from Western misrepresentations continues to plague native Hawaiians to this day. However, thanks to the rise of language revitalization projects, an increase in the incorporation of traditional hula practices and other cultural practices into daily life, the Hawaiian culture is no longer on the brink of extinction. There is still more to be done to overcome these harmful narratives, particularly to assist native Hawaiians of the diaspora and anyone attempting to do research on Hawai‘i. Online searches are still flooded with resources adhering to a Westernized agenda, and it can be difficult for non-specialists to filter through the mess and find authentically Hawaiian histories, cultural practices, and more.

For native Hawaiians, the narrative being sold about their nation is a farce. These misrepresentations were originally based off film, postcards, pictures, and advertisements, and these images continue to be circulated online when people search for images of Hawai‘i. Furthermore, they continue to be portrayed in history books written by Western scholars with limited contact with native Hawaiians. The reality is that Hawai‘i is a place rich in history and culture, which continues to fight for Hawaiian lands, demilitarization, water rights, complete political sovereignty, and so much more.

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History in the Making


Author Bio

Megan Medeiros is a 2017 graduate of the Social Science and Globalization M.A. Program at CSUSB. She received her B.A. in Communications from the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo as a women's volleyball student athlete in 2013, and is a current candidate for a Ph.D in Political Science through the Indigenous Politics Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa. Her research interests include Orientalism, indigenous politics, international relations, alternative futures, research accessibility and Hawaiian sovereignty issues. This publication is derived from the first chapter of her thesis Hawaiian History: The Dispossession of Native Hawaiians' Identity and Their Struggle for Sovereignty. Megan is currently the Student Success Center Coordinator at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa. She hopes to continue her work as a Hawaiian scholar while also assisting Native Hawaiians through four-year University Programs.
Sources of History

Continuity at Luxor Temple

By Matthew Unruh

The ancient Egyptians were bound, heart and soul, to the Nile Valley and the seemingly eternal cycle of the annual inundation of the Nile’s floodplains that sustained their crops. This lifestyle spanned millennia¹ and led to the Egyptians valuing an eternal order which embodied continuity in culture and religious tradition, despite shifting political allegiances and foreign conquest. The continuity of this order across ancient Egyptian history remains on full display at the New Kingdom Temple at Luxor to this very day. The temple was created for the primary purpose of preserving and expressing continuity in order, culture, and tradition of kingship, through the concept of the Royal Ka. For its part, the concept of the Ka was manifest in an imposing display of power and authority through the conduit of the temple’s grand architectural design. Luxor temple was the metaphorical embodiment of a king’s Ka, and the Ka in turn granted that king the right to rule the Two Lands² and bring about Ma’at,³ which was fundamental to the ideological foundation of ancient Egyptian society. These themes are exemplified in the court of Ramesses II at the front of the temple. This court, with its massive pylons and obelisks, demonstrated a deep desire on the part the Ramesses II to

¹ The history of Ancient Egypt spans a vast period with the first dynasty beginning in around 3000 BCE. When Julius Caesar gazed upon the pyramids with Cleopatra in the first-century BCE, they are already well over 2,000 years old, which puts their construction further away from Caesar’s time than Caesar is from our own.
² Ancient Egyptians conceptualized their world as Two Lands. Upper Egypt is the thin strip of the Nile Valley, while Lower Egypt is the river delta that widens. It was the king’s job to keep the two lands unified as one Egypt. The dualism of the Two Lands remained a constant motif in Egyptian governance and society.
³ Ma’at is the concept of eternal order, which the king was tasked with preserving within the Egyptian state. Keeping the two lands unified was a primary goal of upholding Ma’at.
legitimize his rule by establishing continuity with Egyptian history and religion through the expression of his *Ka*.

**The Importance of Luxor Temple**

Deciphering the enigma of Luxor Temple can be surprisingly difficult. The temple is not dedicated to the cult of a specific deity, which would have its own orthodoxy, but to an abstract concept of kingship, and the Royal *Ka* itself. The temple was constructed over the span of two hundred years with the oversight of various kings from both the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Hatshepsut (r. 1479–1458 BCE) constructed the barque shrines on the Opet Festival procession route from Karnak Temple to the site of Luxor. Luxor’s prominence on the Opet Festival route indicates that the site was already considered holy, even before the construction of the great stone temple commenced. The three primary kings who constructed the stone temple were Amenhotep III (r. 1386–1349 BCE), Tutankhamun (r. 1332–1323 BCE), and Ramesses II (r. 1279–1213 BCE). Amenhotep III was responsible for the construction of the inner sanctuary as well as the magnificent sun court which currently resides at the center of the temple (figure 9 in the layout below). The temple existed in this form until Tutankhamun became king and had the colonnade, which connects the sun court to the court of Ramesses, constructed during his brief reign. The final additions to the temple complex were constructed by Ramesses II and include his eponymous court, two massive pylons, several *Ka* statues, such as the two in front of the pylons, and the two monolithic obelisks which greet visitors traveling to the temple from the avenue of sphinxes.  

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4 Barques are boats that the Egyptian gods travelled in. These boats would be about six feet long with a shrine on top and the divine statue of the god would be in the shrine. Instead of sailing on the Nile, the barque was placed on carrying poles. Priests would carry the barque of the god along festival processional routes when the god needed to travel from one place to another. A barque shrine is the inner sanctum of the temple where the god’s barque is parked when it is not travelling in festivals. Only the highest priests could enter the shrine.

Luxor temple continuously served its ideological function from the time of its initial construction until the late Roman period. Even after Islamic Conquest, the site remained religiously significant, and a mosque was constructed in the Ramesses Court.\(^6\)

In order to understand the temple’s historical and cultural significance, it is necessary to explore its ideological function in greater detail. Lanny Bell, the premier Egyptologist on Luxor Temple, argues that the temple was intimately tied to the celebration and confirmation of the Royal Ka of the king.\(^7\)

Celebration of the Royal Ka is omnipresent throughout the temple’s design. As visitors approach the temple from the avenue of the sphinxes, they are greeted by two colossal statues of Ramesses II with their arms positioned outward as the indication of Ka. It is imperative to explore the principles of the concept of the Ka in Egyptian society if we desire to understand properly the way Luxor temple was used to reinforce the continuity of the culture, religion, and tradition in Egypt.

**The Royal Ka**

In its most basic form, the ancient Egyptian concept of the Ka was an abstraction of an individual’s identity. Egyptians believed that

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each person was composed of six parts; as one part, the Ka is a spirit’s effective power. The Ka gave an individual a sense of belonging in their family, their clan, their gang or any other form of collective identity found within the social strata of Ancient Egypt. The Royal Ka of the king, however, was considered divine and thus manifests itself differently than the Ka of a commoner. The Royal Ka was thought to pass from king to king, maintaining the continuity of kingship through various royal lines. Lanny Bell described the Royal Ka as “the central, dynamic principle underlying Egypt’s social, political, and economic structures... According to the doctrine, kingship was ordained by the gods at the beginning of time in accordance with Ma’at. The integration of politics and religion had been divinely prescribed, and the sovereign wielded both temporal and spiritual power.” There was a clear and conscious attempt by the kings who built Luxor Temple to tie themselves irrevocably to the continuity of tradition and kingship that Egyptians found so important to their existence.

The Evidence

In addition to archeological evidence, there is considerable textual evidence carved on the walls of the temple of the kings attempting to tie themselves to the narrative of continuity. When translated into English, the texts on the walls seem quite prosaic; nonetheless, the reader can sense the awe these kings sought to elicit from all who bore witness to their temple and its festivals. For example, “He thus knew the secrets of heaven and all the mysteries of earth. He found Thebes, the Eye of Ra, as a primeval mound which arose at the beginning... The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amen-Ra. Eternity is his Name, and Everlasting is his Nature, and his Ka is all that exists.” Here we find a direct connection being made with the creation myth of the Egyptians, as well as references to the eternal and everlasting nature of Egypt and the king’s Ka.

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8 Bell, “The Example of Luxor,” 131.
9 Ibid. 138.
11 The Ancient Egyptians believed a primeval mound arose from the primordial oceans of the earth as part of the creation of the world.
Hieroglyphs found on the walls of the court of Ramesses as detailed by El-Razik.\textsuperscript{12}

This nature of the Royal Ka is crucial to Egyptian kingship in this period. Due to the fact, the temple was constructed over the course of several generations, under two different dynasties, establishing a narrative of continuity of royal authority was necessary to legitimize the new dynasty’s rule.\textsuperscript{13} After a brief period of turmoil following the death of King Tutankhamun in 1323 BCE, Egypt was stabilized by the non-royal King Horemheb (r. 1306–1292), who died without an heir and passed the throne to another non-royal official, Ramesses I who subsequently established the nineteenth dynasty. Due to the lack of royal blood, the ascendancy of the nineteenth dynasty sparked an instantaneous legitimacy crisis. Consider the severity of this crisis in light of R. T. Rundle Clark’s description of the Egyptian conceptualization of kingship:

The kingship of Egypt…consisted of a duality—it was based on a relationship between the living and the dead. The king exercised the supreme power in the world. He was the intermediary whereby the divine energies of the universe were made available for men. This power he derived from his ancestors, in particular, his father who for this reason was considered as himself divine. The deceased father in his tomb

\textsuperscript{13} Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” 258.
was the source of the power called by the Egyptians the Ka.\(^{14}\)

For ancient Egyptians, there was a fundamental problem if the king had no royal blood flowing through his veins. To remedy this legitimacy crisis, Ramesses I and his successors sought to affirm the presence of the Royal Ka in their being by confirmation at Luxor Temple during the Opet festival.

**The Historical Context of the Temple**

The Egyptians were searching for a way to explain the reigns of kings like Hatshepsut,\(^{15}\) Horemheb, and Ramesses I. They were exceptional because Hatshepsut was a woman, and Horemheb as well as Ramesses, were generals with no divine blood in their veins. It was in this historical context that Luxor temple was constructed. The nineteenth dynasty was trying to ignore the religious turmoil of the Amarna period that preceded their reign, so they propagandized the idea that Horemheb truly had the Ka born with him, as Lanny Bell aptly observes, “To the victor goes the spoils and to the survivor the ka.”\(^{16}\) The way the Ka was displayed and affirmed to the world was through the Opet festival that took place in Luxor Temple. The Opet festival was the highpoint of religious life at the temple and was likely the most important public and religious function during the year.\(^{17}\) During each year’s festival, the divine aspect of the king was identified and confirmed. “The cosmic significance of the Opet festival was tremendous. Beyond its role in the cultus of the king, it secured the regeneration of the Creator, Amun of Luxor, the rebirth of Amun-Re at Karnak, and the re-creation of the cosmos.”\(^{18}\) Again, we are presented with the idea of continuity of the old with the new. Just consider all the words with the prefix ‘re’ used in that description of the Opet festival’s function; regeneration, rebirth, re-creation. Everything old is new again, generation, birth and creation happening repeatedly and in perpetuity. Themes of continuity through the

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\(^{15}\) Hatshepsut was a woman who was king, but the Egyptians’ concepts of monarchy did not allow for a female to be king.

\(^{16}\) Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka,” 258.

\(^{17}\) Bell, “The Example of Luxor,” 157

\(^{18}\) Ibid.
regenerative process are abundant in the Opet festival and the temple itself.

Celebration and Confirmation of the Ka, The Opet Festival

The Opet festival was spiritually associated with the Theban triad of gods, Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu. Surviving inscriptions and reliefs on the colonnade of Tutankhamun provide a description of the procession of the Opet festival. The west wall depicts the procession to Luxor from Karnak, and the east wall illustrates its return, which is essentially the same but in the opposite order. From the reliefs in the temple itself, we can reconstruct the procession and its various rituals and explain how they, in turn, related to the regeneration and confirmation of the Royal Ka of the king. In the first scenes of the reliefs, the king travels with the royal barque and pays homage to the Theban triad while the barque rests on pedestals within the barque shrine. It is interesting to consider the position of the barque sanctuaries on the route to Luxor Temple from Karnak. The king was carried in his barque by a procession of servants. Consequently, pauses in the procession at the shrines were necessary to allow the men carrying the barque an opportunity to rest and recover, or to allow onlookers to gaze upon the king for a brief time. Either way, these way stations on the route to Luxor were built by Hatshepsut demonstrates the fact that Luxor was already religiously significant before the construction of the stone temple.

By the time of Ramesses II, the procession arrived by boat from Karnak, and when it finally reached Luxor Temple, they would disembark at the temple dock and proceed through the water gate on the west side of the temple. It is difficult to say whether we should derive any significance from the mode of travel to and from Luxor and Karnak temple. It seems the means of travel was entirely the prerogative of the king. When the procession entered the court of Ramesses II, the barque of the king was placed in its sanctuary, and more rituals were performed. Dedicatory texts on the walls of the court of Ramesses describes the structure as, “A

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20 Bell, “The Example of Luxor,” 148
21 Ibid. 162
resting-place for the Lord of the Gods in his Festival of Opet in which to make his halts at the beginning of every ten days. He made [it] for him upon the right ground, the precinct of the first occasion (primeval time), a place of supplication of hearing the petitions of Gods and men, which the Son of Re Ramesses II Meryamun, has made for him.”

What is particularly fascinating about this inscription is that it seemingly suggests a public function for Luxor Temple, as a “place of supplication” and hearing the petitions of men. It is also worth noting that, like other kings before him, Ramesses II claimed to be the son of Amun-Re, and thus of divine blood. The declaration of Ramesses II’s divine heritage is important, because it exemplifies the way in which the nineteenth dynasty sought to legitimize their rule by portraying themselves as a continuation of the traditional concept of the Ka.

It is likely Ramesses II would have made this procession and dedication several times in his reign. His court at Luxor Temple was completed quickly, perhaps within the first three years of his reign. The speed of the construction suggests has led some scholars to suggest that the construction of the Ramesses court at Luxor might have been initiated by his father, Seti I. Regardless of whether the court was the brainchild of Seti I or Ramesses II, it's critical role in underpinning the legitimacy of the dynasty remained the same. After the Opet rituals were performed in the Court of Ramesses, the procession would move through the colonnade, into the sun court, and then proceed to its final destination in the temple, the inner barque sanctuary where the Royal Ka would be confirmed to exist in the body and spirit of the king.

**Foreign Perspectives and use of Luxor Temple**

The political value of the Opet festival was not lost upon foreign conquerors who governed Egypt for much of the Classical and Late-Antique periods. Alexander the Great (c. 332 BCE) had the

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23 Ibid., 128

barque shrine in the inner sanctuary rebuilt in his name and adorned with his dynastic decorations. The striking contrast between Alexander’s Hellenistic decorations and the thousand-year-old dedications of Amenhotep III which still surrounded the barque sanctuary must have been extraordinary to behold. Bearing the importance of the theme of historical and cultural continuity within Egyptian society in mind, it comes as no surprise Alexander sought to tap into those rituals in order to confirm his legitimacy as the rightful ruler of Egypt. In order to capitalize on this tradition, Alexander underwrote the construction of a new inner barque shrine within the temple, which was the holiest wing of the temple and essential to both the rites of the Opet festival, and the concept of the Royal Ka. Alexander and his agents were keen to recognize the spiritual significance of Luxor Temple as a place where divine kingship was affirmed and incorporate it into their governance of Egypt.

The Romans were quick to capitalize on the cultural and spiritual significance of the temple as well. French Egyptologist Monneret de Villard believed that there may have been monumental paintings deifying the Roman Emperors inside the temple but unfortunately the frescos were destroyed during the original excavation at the temple in 1886. The little that remains seems to portray two Augusti and two Caesars of the tetrarchy period of Imperial administration during the late fourth-century CE. What is interesting to note about these paintings is that they propagate the notion of divine kingship as official policy in the Roman Empire. Even 1600 years after the final construction the temple’s original purpose was still tangentially on display from a Roman point of view.

Evidence for cultural and religious continuity in Luxor Temple is abundant in the inscriptions and reliefs that grace the walls and columns of the temple. The effort the kings and Conquerors of Egypt went through to perpetuate that continuity was extraordinary. The temple and the ideology it embodied emerged during a unique period in Egyptian history where the right of a king to rule had come into question. Not the necessity of a king, for the temple makes it very clear kingship and the Ka are eternal, but rather who possessed the Ka. In an Egypt where

25 Bell, “The Example of Luxor,” 156
Horemheb could take control of the country without having any royal blood in his veins and then pass the throne to another non-royal, Ramesses I, it became necessary to demonstrate that kings such as Hatshepsut, Horemheb, and Ramesses I were legitimate rulers of Egypt. In essence, this process represented a conscious ideological re-adjustment of the concept of Egyptian kingship, and the nature of the Royal Ka. This adjustment was achieved by mobilizing the deep and profound continuities between Egyptian traditions and religion and the new nineteenth dynasty. In their efforts to redefine the nature of the Royal Ka, and employ long-standing Egyptian traditions to legitimize their rule, the nineteenth dynasty was wildly successful. In so doing, they also helped to perpetuate the breathtaking continuity between ancient Egyptian cultural practices, and the numerous foreign rulers who would follow. The nineteenth dynasty would fall in the eleventh-century BCE, but the cultural continuity they helped perpetuate would carry on for another millennium and a half.
Bibliography


Author Bio

Matthew Unruh graduated with his BA in History in the Winter of 2018. He is a voracious reader and devours science fiction and fantasy novels almost as quickly as he reads history texts. Early on in his college career he was exposed to the philosophical works of Thomas Khun, and has spent the majority of his time at the university developing historiography as a means to explain history and other disciplines outside the bounds of contemporary postmodernism. He hopes to one day be a professor, like so many of those professors who have inspired him and his work.
From Female Moneylenders to Church Shares: The Coptic Village of Jeme

By Marmar Zakher
From the beginning of the Graeco-Roman period\(^1\) to the Egyptian Revolution of 1952, Egypt has always been ruled by foreign empires. Due to these many centuries of foreign governance, the overwhelming majority of official documents in Egypt were written in foreign languages, such as Greek, Latin, or Arabic, and very few documents were written in native Egyptian Demotic or Coptic scripts. In fact, from the fifth-century to the seventh-century CE, virtually no economic documents written in native Demotic or Coptic script survive.\(^2\) Contrary to popular belief, formal hieroglyphic Middle Egyptian had already fallen out of favor before the dawn of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt to be supplanted first by Demotic, and then by Coptic scripts.\(^3\) Demotic, which was a late cursive form of hieroglyphs, completely disappeared by the end of the fifth-century CE. In contrast, Coptic, which was primarily based on Greek script with the final seven letters borrowed from Demotic, witnessed a resurgence in the seventh and eighth centuries.\(^4\) The evidence of a Coptic language revival as an administrative language can be seen in the village of Jeme. Although the village itself did not hold much political importance, it is one of the few known archaeological sites where a large number of economic documents written in Coptic survive. These documents, when coupled with archeological evidence, provides a wealth of information about the property laws and socioeconomic lives of ordinary Copts during the Early Islamic Period (c.641–969 CE).

**A Short History of Jeme**

The Coptic settlement of Jeme emerged as an administrative settlement surrounding the pharaonic mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu around 1150 BCE. The first residential structures appeared during the twenty-first dynasty (c. 1069 BCE),

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\(^1\) The Graeco-Roman period of Egyptian history began with Alexander the Great’s conquest of Egypt, then a satrapy of the Persian Empire, in 332 BCE, and terminated with the end of Eastern Roman rule over Egypt following Islamic conquest of the region in 639 CE.


\(^3\) The word “Coptic” can also be used to refer to the indigenous Christians of Egypt.

\(^4\) Megally, “Accounts and Accounting, History of Coptic,” 55.
and Jeme continued to flourish until the eighth or ninth-century CE when the village was abandoned.\textsuperscript{5} During the Graeco-Roman period, the village of Jeme gradually enveloped the ruined mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, and a large number of Coptic homes, as well as a church, were built within the walls of the former temple.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{jeme_map.png}
\caption{A map to the site of Jeme. The temple of Medinet Habu is located in the top left.\textsuperscript{6}}
\end{figure}

When excavations of Jeme began in 1927, the majority of Coptic homes had already disappeared as a result of the excavation of Medinet Habu in the late nineteenth-century.\textsuperscript{7} Earlier excavations of Medinet Habu had focused solely on exploring the pharaonic mortuary temple and disregarded the tremendous importance of the Coptic homes built within the temple’s walls. Consequently, much of what is known about daily life in Jeme comes from the Jeme Papyrus Documents, which date to the seventh and eighth centuries CE.\textsuperscript{8} The Jeme documents were collected without archeological context during the 1850s and 1860s by European travelers, and as a result, this treasure trove of

documents has been divided between museums in London, Paris, and Berlin since the 1860s and 1870s. In addition to the Jeme Papyrum Documents, a collection of at least eighty-four receipts, inscribed on ostraca, shed light on the economic realities of life in Jeme.

Money

It is interesting to note that over five hundred years before documents written in Coptic start appearing, Coptic was already in use by native Egyptians, even though the administrative language of Graeco-Roman Egypt (332 BCE–641 CE) was Greek. We also know that there was an ongoing transfer of funds to the Treasury of Alexandria during the Graeco-Roman era from this bank; receipts all categorized under the title “Bank of the Northern District.” From these, we know the names of various tax collectors active in Jeme during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE). This practice continued until 14 CE, when tax collectors’ names were formally banned from receipts. Tax receipts are the most numerous type ostraca recovered from Jeme, but legal documents inscribed on ostraca have proven even more valuable to modern scholars. These legal documents include a wide variety of debt acknowledgements, redemptions of securities, renunciations of securities, miscellaneous contracts, and oaths.

Gender and Moneylending

From the contents of a number of documents recovered from Jeme, we know that women in the village were granted property rights

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9 The Jeme Papyrus Documents are housed in The British Library (London), the Musée du Louvre (Paris), and the Staatsbibliothek and Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (Berlin) respectively.


11 Ostraca were small, cheap pieces of pottery used as an alternative writing surface to more expensive papyrus in ancient Egypt.


13 Ibid., 108.

and some were even involved in financial transactions. Women could be both borrowers and lenders. In fact, women accounted for about a third of the borrowers in Jeme loan documents. These documents show that women were more likely to borrow from women, and men were more likely to borrow from men. About 60 percent of women borrowed from women while only 27 percent of men borrowed from women.\textsuperscript{15} The case of a female money lender by the name of Koloje offers a prime example of women’s involvement in the economy of Jeme. Koloje lived in House 34\textsuperscript{16} with her husband and fellow moneylender Pecosh, who once held the title Ara of Jeme.\textsuperscript{17} Though, we know that Pecosh held the title of Ara, its precise significance is unclear and subject to debate. The site of House 34 contains around 30 ostraca documenting the business transaction of Koloje and her family in an archive known as the Koloje Archive\textsuperscript{18}.

The Koloje Archive is important because female moneylenders were not a rarity in Jeme, and Koloje’s documents provide us with an opportunity to look into their daily lives. In Jeme, female moneylenders accounted for a third of the loans, at least ten of these women are mentioned by name in various documents.\textsuperscript{19} The Koloje Archive also contains documents dating back to Koloje’s grandmother, Katharon, which provides evidence for multigenerational families of female moneylenders. More curiously however, Katharon’s documents refer to business contacts as far north as Fustat, now part of Cairo.\textsuperscript{20} With that being said, the majority of the documents in the archive deal with Koloje.\textsuperscript{21} Due to the abundance of information on her, we know that she primarily gained her income by lending money or agricultural products at an interest.

\textbf{Property}

\textsuperscript{15} Wilfong, \textit{Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt}, 132.
\textsuperscript{16} This is the modern archaeological number given to her house.
\textsuperscript{17} Wilfong, \textit{Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt}, 120.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 117.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 130.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 120.
\textsuperscript{21} Wilfong, \textit{Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt}, 120.
In addition to engaging in the economy of Jeme actively, women also owned property, as is demonstrated in the case of Susanna and her family. Susanna’s documents indicate that seventh and eighth century Coptic parents left property for both their sons and daughters to inherit. This is demonstrated by documents showing that her grandsons had received a house she had purchased from the family of Kale, son of Kael, while her granddaughters received a house she inherited from her father, Moses, and another property referred to as the “house of Kanene.”

Another example of women inheriting land is Maria and her heirs. In 719 CE, a woman by the name of Maria passed away, leaving behind the property she owned jointly with her husband, who had passed away as well. Maria’s inheritance documents indicate that on October 6, 719 CE, her home was divided between Maria’s daughter Elizabeth and her granddaughter Abigaia. As seen in figure 2, Elizabeth received part of the roof, a veranda, symposium, and a room under the stairs while Abigaia received the

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22 Cromwell, “Keeping it in the Family,” 224.
other half of the house.\textsuperscript{24} Now that we have established who could inherit property in Jeme, it is important to analyze what these properties consisted of.

The average home in Jeme consisted of sun-dried mud bricks measuring, on average, 30 x 14 x 6 to 31 x 15 x 7 cm. All houses possessed multiple stories, with basements located at the street level. Unfortunately, archeologically speaking, little remains of second and third level floors, although we do know that these floors were in use.\textsuperscript{25} During the Coptic Era of Jeme, The Great Temple of Ramses III—except for the second court—was completely filled with such dwellings, however, it is not known if these were intended for officials or ordinary citizens.\textsuperscript{26} As shown below in figure 3, the largest room in a home was the living room, which, in addition to its living space, contained arched holes in the walls that could be used as additional storage.\textsuperscript{27} The entrances of the houses were 60–80cm wide (very narrow) and the cellar normally contained a doorway into the living room to facilitate easy access.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure3.png}
\caption{Layout of a typical Coptic home excavated at Jeme.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 52.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid. 47-49.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid. 46
In surviving legal documents, it is clear that the boundaries of houses were very explicit. A document drawn up by Abigaia, the daughter of Samuel, a deacon and monk, states, “[t]hese are the boundaries of that house on the four sides: South: the house of the late Souros, East: the house of Philotheos, North: the house of Antonius, son of Paulos, West: Kulol Street and the Authentes Gate. See, these are the boundaries of the house in the four directions.”

This quote illustrates the importance Copts placed on property during this period because local administration was exceptionally precise in drawing up documents to establish the boundaries of their property. As shown in the document, the Copts took it a step further and ensured that rooms within a single house were legally divided among individuals. An example of this can be seen when Abigaia describes which portions of the house her aunt Elizabeth has complete control over. Abigaia’s documents emphasize the tremendous degree of importance Copts placed on property and property ownership. For the Copts, it was not sufficient to merely establish who owned what structures, it was necessary to also legally define who owned which specific rooms within the structure.

**Churches**

Like most of the Christian ancient world, churches in Jeme were not owned by a single person; instead, their ownership was divided into shares. One such example would be the case of Susanna who refers to “my one-fifth of the church,” of the Church of Apa Patermoute. Susanna’s one-fifth share of the church was more important than it may appear at first glance. Churches were the central pillars of every Coptic community, and families who controlled shares in church property also enjoyed great influence and prestige within the community. Thus, Susanna’s church share further underscores the central role played by women in Jeme. Further reading of Susanna’s document reveals that her family had owned a share of the church for at least three generations, and she

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30 Ibid., 54.
31 Cromwell, “Keeping it in the Family,” 225.
had inherited her share from her mother.\textsuperscript{32} On the topic of properties, churches of the period had their own taxes and it was the responsibility of the church shareholders to pay those taxes. Jeme was no exception and surviving records from Susanna’s family indicate that Susanna’s grandsons were required to pay church taxes as part of their inheritance.\textsuperscript{33} It is known that there were several churches in Jeme, but among the surviving ostraca documents, only two are specifically named: the churches of Apa Victor and of Apa Cyriacus.\textsuperscript{34} For example, the surviving information about Apa Patermoute was recorded on the back of a sheet of papyrus, which was originally used to record the sale of lands by a man identified as Germanos.\textsuperscript{35} Using ostraca would have been the cheapest method, however, they reused papyrus for new records, proving that there was a need to create records, but not always the supply able to meet that demand.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The Coptic village of Jeme offers modern scholars a treasure trove of primary documents and archeological evidence about the daily life of Copts during the Early Islamic Period. Records recovered from Jeme reveal a vibrant and comparatively egalitarian society for its time, wherein women were just as involved in administrative and economic matters as their male counterparts. At the same time, by carefully examining surviving property records, and then cross-referencing what the documents indicate with the remains of the buildings themselves, it is possible to piece together an understanding of the socioeconomic lives of Egypt’s Coptic population under Islamic rule during the seventh and eighth centuries CE. Although the village of Jeme has lain in ruin for well over a thousand years, the documents left behind by its inhabitants live on as a unique window into a world long since forgotten by the world at large.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The same:\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\item Ibid., 227.
\item Stefanski and Lichtheim. \textit{Coptic Ostraca from Medinat Habu}, 2.
\item Cromwell, “Keeping it in the Family,” 218-219.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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**Author Bio**

Marmar Zakher is an undergraduate at California State University, San Bernardino, preparing to graduate with a Bachelor of Arts in History and a Bachelor Arts in Arabic in June 2019. Her academic interests focus on Ancient Egypt, Coptic Language and History, Egyptian Archeology and Papyrology, Socioeconomics of Egypt in the New Kingdom, Graeco-Roman, and Early Islamic Periods, the Silk Road, and Ancient China as a comparison to Ancient Egypt. Currently, she is preparing for a summer research project where she will compare the socioeconomic village administration between the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1000 BCE) village of Deir el-Medina to the fourth-century Manichaean Coptic village of Kellis. It is her hope that this project will be the basis for a Master’s thesis. After completing her B.A., she plans to pursue a Master of Arts degree in either Ancient History or Egyptology. Her ultimate goal is to obtain a doctorate degree in Egyptology and pursue a career in academia.
American Populism During the Nineteenth-Century

By Andrew Richter

In his book, *The Populist Persuasion*, Michael Kazin contends that the first populist movement in U.S. history was the Populist Party during the 1890s. Kazin describes the Age of Jackson as a mere foundation to the Populist Party, which he believed was a full realization of populism in American politics. Kazin’s argument is inaccurate because Jackson did, in fact, employ populism as the basis of his political platform. There is no substantial difference between Jackson’s populism and the later Populist Party. Indeed, their separate ideologies led them to identify similar enemies and employ similar tactics. Essentially, populism does not subscribe to specific ideologies, but rather uses a set of methods to engage the audience of the American people. Jacksonian politics were inherently populist because they correspond to Kazin’s definition of populism.

Kazin asserts that populism itself is defined by a particular pattern of language. While this language does not necessarily follow a specific, rigidly defined ideology, it does contain several constant traits. Kazin contends that populist politics are based on a perceived dualistic conflict between a virtuous, powerless, and oppressed “people” versus the corrupt, malevolent, and seemingly all-powerful “elite.” Only the moral “people” could defeat the immoral “elite.” In Kazin’s model, despite calling for radical modifications to the government, populism never challenges its legitimacy. It merely declares that the nation has gone awry due to a specific group of people or policies and must be steered back on track. Finally, populist groups bolster their arguments by invoking the values of the Founders, particularly self-governance and the protection of individual rights.\(^1\) Both the politics of Jackson and the Populist Party match this description. In fact, Kazin himself notes that from the language used by the Populist Party, “the continuity from the Age of Jackson is obvious.” Yet, he curiously refuses to classify Jacksonian politics as populist.\(^2\)

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2 Ibid., 32.
A shared methodology in the use of language does not denote a shared procedure to solve a specific problem. Indeed, Jackson and the Populist Party differed in their approach to reforming bank practices in the United States. Jackson believed that the only way to protect the people from the abuses of banking was to keep the role of the government restricted since the Second Bank of the United States was chartered by the U.S. government. He thought that this strategy would prevent systematic oppression since the threat would have to be decentralized. However, the Populist Party endorsed the exact opposite tactic. The Populists saw the government as the necessary tool to fill the power vacuum and mediate between the conflicting interests of banking and the common people. Despite the disparity between the policies, the end goal was nonetheless the same: to protect the interest of the people from powerful forces that they could not contend with.

Jackson himself used the type of language that Kazin emphasized as typically populist. For example, in his veto of re-chartering the Second Bank of the United States, Jackson described a dualistic clash of classes. The elite, with the power of the Bank behind them, would make “the rich richer and the potent more powerful” and would therefore work against the “humble members of society […] who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors.” In addition, the management of the Bank would only be comprised of the rich, who also could remain in power indefinitely without accountability to either the people or the government. Jackson declared that this “exclusive privilege” of “monopoly” would eventually threaten all of the institutions of the United States. Jackson directly referenced or cited the Constitution, harkening back to the Founders’ own doctrine as a means to legitimize his actions against the bank. His primary claim was that he was upholding the “principles of the Constitution by issuing the veto.” Jackson also invoked the phrase “necessary and proper” from the Constitution in an effort to legitimate his veto by portraying it as constitutional, and thus, within the boundaries of

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4 Ibid., 29.
normal governance. In the last paragraph of the veto, Jackson criticized the misuse of government, but not the institution itself, which is another pattern of populism.\(^6\)

Jackson continued to follow the populist pattern in his Farewell Address at the end of his presidency. In particular, he focused on the conspiracy of the wealthy elite and the toll it inflicted on the common people. A similar sentiment would later be shared by the Populist Party. Jackson condemned the pursuit of wealth by the “moneyed power” at the expense of the people. He specifically pointed to the taxes which raised prices on everyday items because of the effect on the vast majority of people. He additionally singled out “the agricultural and laboring classes” as those who bore the brunt of this injustice. This very same perspective would later be espoused by the Populists as well. They would also point to the economic downturn of entire groups of ordinary people. Jackson lamented that the rich were able to use the government to oppress the people financially through taxes. He even went so far as to assert that politicians had aligned with the rich for their own gain. However, Jackson likened this scenario to his war on the Second Bank of the United States—the same target of the aforementioned veto. The people had defeated such enemies before and could do so again. Just as he did in his veto of the Second Bank, Jackson called this “an abuse of the power of taxation,” which is critical as this indicates that taxation was not inherently evil, only its misuse was. This was yet another defense of the government’s legitimacy. The evidence from both of these documents strongly indicates that Jackson and his politics matches the definition of populism laid out by Kazin.\(^7\)

The Populist Party of the 1890s exhibited the same characteristics as Jackson, and therefore fit Kazin’s definition of populism. For example, just as Jackson did, the Populists identified the people as victims of a much more powerful foe. Indeed, the Omaha Platform—the outline of the party’s political platform issued in 1892—affirmed that they sought to “restore the government of the Republic to the hand of the ‘plain people.’” The elite who usurped power, in their eyes, fit the same type as

\(^6\) Jackson, “Andrew Jackson’s Veto Message Against Re-chartering the Bank of the United States.”

Jackson’s rhetoric. The Populists argued that the rich used politicians to gain control over ordinary Americans’ lives, which essentially formed a conspiracy regarding financial institutions. Companies, homes, jobs, and land were all subsequently stolen through mortgage defaults, foreclosures, and purposefully weakened currency. The loss of jobs and income felt like theft because of the impact on people’s livelihoods, especially since it only served to enrich the already wealthy. The Populists maintained that all of these underhanded tactics were intended to sap the wealth from honest working men. Just as Jackson had before them, the Populists highlighted farmers and urban laborers as the primary victims. The Populists asserted that corruption had perverted the American government and that no branch was serving the people any longer. They labeled the situation a “moral, political, and material ruin,” all of which are telltale signs of populist thought. Additionally, throughout the Omaha Platform, the Populists used the language of the Constitution and the Founding, also distinctive of populist thought. The most symbolic reference was the day the convention met to write the platform, on July 4, 1892. The most visible example was their claim to be completely aligned with the goals of the Constitution, and the Populists even quoted most of the Preamble verbatim as part of the Omaha Platform.8

Mary Lease, a prominent Populist speaker, echoed many aspects of the populist pattern as well. Although her speeches focused primarily on women’s roles within Populism, the image of women that Lease utilized was closely connected to the experience of common Americans. Farmers and laborers were frequently referred to by name and their struggles were encapsulated in the phrase “legalized robbery and corporate wrong.” The ordinary people who were “loyal and patriotic” were under attack. The loss of homes, due to mortgage defaults, was the main plight that Lease mentioned. She claimed that the rich, represented by Wall Street, were in league with the government to increase their wealth. Lease further lamented how the ordinary people who built America, and had transformed the West from a desert into a land brimming with opportunity, were quickly becoming victims of what she saw as a Wall Street conspiracy. This language enabled Lease to utilize

another populist strategy that Jackson had employed to great effect: if the people were capable of creating the country, they could also fix it.9

The Populists sought to further legitimize their position by invoking the values of the nation’s Founding as a justification for the party’s political agenda. Indeed, Lease claimed that ordinary people were “the authors of the nation’s liberties.” These liberties, which were supposed to be immutable, were being stripped from the average citizen and had to be decisively reaffirmed. Lease declared that only the people could do this, as they had during the Revolution and throughout history. She referred to Charlotte Corday and John Brown, two common folk who died for righteous causes and shifted the history of entire countries. Additionally, Lease pointed to Populist victories in Kansas, where their campaigns had ousted the detached and self-interested Senator John J. Ingalls. She attributed this to women alone, implying that totally united, the common people could accomplish anything and overcome any foe.10 Jackson used the same rhetoric in his description of the people’s victory over the Bank.

In light of these cases, it is clear that Jackson and the Populists both used the same methods in their political discourse. Populism is defined by the language used and not by the goals of the individuals utilizing it. Jackson and the Populists both identified “the people” as virtuous victims, especially those within the agricultural and laboring classes. Simultaneously, they denounced the “elite” who oppressed them and enjoyed a corrupt monopoly on state power that could only be broken by the unity of the common folk. In both the Jacksonian and Populist narratives, the political corruption of the elite was even more egregious because it violated the principles of the American Revolution as well as the American people’s continuous efforts and sacrifices since. Since Jackson employed this model, as did the Populist Party, Jackson should logically be labeled as a populist too. The differences between Jackson and the Populists were purely tactical in nature, their primary objectives remained the same—to ‘restore’ power to the average man and woman, and to break the influence

10 Ibid.
of the entrenched power elite. Therefore, Jacksonian politics were undoubtedly and irrefutably populist in nature.

**Bibliography**


Author Bio

Andrew Richter is a CSUSB student who is working on his Bachelor of Arts in History, with a concentration in United States history. He is looking forward to graduating at the end of the Spring 2018 quarter. Afterwards, his goal is to obtain a Single Subject Credential in order to teach U.S. History at the high school level, an aspiration he has held from the age of 10. Andrew’s favorite extracurricular activity is working with the youth group at his church, which has been a highly enriching experience. He would like to thank Dr. Ryan Keating, Dr. Jeremy Murray, and Dr. Kate Liszka for the memorable opportunities of study that they have offered. In addition, Dr. Stephanie Muravchik deserves special mention as the impetus for this piece through her class on the history of populism in the United States. Andrew would finally like to thank Quewyn Wild, a good friend who has extended both solicited and unsolicited guidance over the course of many years.
Reviews

Film Review: Alfred Hitchcock—The Films That Reflected American Society from 1940–1944

By Amy Stewart

Among the great film directors of the twentieth-century, few mastered the art of weaving their own fears, and those of the American public into their motion pictures as well as British-American director, Alfred Hitchcock. His psychological thrillers became a popular source of entertainment in American society during World War II.¹ In one of his countless interviews throughout his career, Hitchcock commented that “a glimpse into the world proves that horror is nothing other than reality.”² Hitchcock drew inspiration from the world around him, enabling him to create a profound new genre of horror films. He produced dozens of works that provided a clear picture of American society during times of intense global conflict.

Alfred Hitchcock is known in Hollywood, and throughout the entire entertainment industry, as one of film’s greatest directors. He is credited with directing over fifty films throughout his nearly six-decade career. Born in 1899, Hitchcock’s films often reflected familiar scenes and experiences from his childhood, which, much like the stories he told on screen, were a constant

¹ During the twentieth-century, film rapidly became the most influential media format in America, because of its practically unique capability to simultaneously reach all classes of society. See Robert Sklar, Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).
interplay of darkness and light. 3 His family owned a greengrocer in
the growing town of Leytonstone, located six miles from London,
and his family life has been described by many scholars as having
been mostly warm and cheerful. He did however recount
experiencing several moments of fear and anxiety during his
upbringing, which influenced how he presented his characters and
themes within his films. 4 He once stated “the only way to get rid of
my fears is to make films about them.” 5 He had a distinct
captivation with horror, and the characters in his films were often
just ordinary people inserted into bizarre situations filled with
suspense, fear, and suspicion. 6

Hitchcock’s film experience began in Britain in the early
1920s, when he started as an art director on British silent films. His
directorial debut came in 1922, with the release of The Pleasure
Garden, and in 1929, he released his first sound film, Blackmail.
However, it was his first thriller film, The Lodger: A Story of the
London Fog, released in 1927 that catapulted him into the
limelight. The success of The Lodger, earned Hitchcock a
reputation as a masterful director of psychological thrillers, and
later earned him the title of the “Master of Suspense.” In 1939,
Hitchcock moved from England to Hollywood, and quickly
became one of the leading film directors in the United States. The
United States offered a much larger market for Hitchcock’s films.
In America during the early 1940s, an average of 90 million theater
tickets were sold every week. The next four decades of
Hitchcock’s career in America would include dozens of films,
several of which are regarded by scholars and filmmakers today as
some of the greatest movies ever made. 7 In the 1940s, when the
world was gripped by the chaos and violence of World War II,
Hitchcock released a number of films that included political and
social themes reflective of the period.

3 Patrick McGilligan, Alfred Hitchcock: A Life in Darkness and Light (New
4 Gene Adair, Alfred Hitchcock: Filming Our Fears (Oxford: Oxford University
5 Casey McKittrick, Hitchcock’s Appetites: The Corpulent Plots of Desire and
Dread (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 128.
6 McGilligan, A Life in Darkness and Light, 13.
7 Robert E. Kapsis, Hitchcock: The Making of a Reputation (Chicago:
This paper will specifically examine how three of Alfred Hitchcock’s wartime films, Foreign Correspondent (1940), Shadow of a Doubt (1943), and Lifeboat (1944) mirror the growing anxiety of Americans due to the rise of the Nazi regime and provide insight into American society during World War II. Hitchcock used suspense, unique characters, settings, and sound in his films to reflect the fear and anxiety present within society during this troubled chapter of American history, while also reflecting the somewhat fearful, yet motivated character that permeated the nation during World War II.

The war was a global catastrophe, causing more than 60 million deaths worldwide, some 400,000 of which were Americans, from 1939–1945. Its profound impact transformed the lives of American soldiers and civilians alike. In the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called for Americans to mobilize together and contribute to the war effort. Food and other commodities were rationed as the war took precedence over everyday desires. Women were given jobs in factories to help surge production of wartime materials, increasing their employment in factory jobs to 32 percent by 1944. In addition to women, by 1945 African Americans held 8 percent of all wartime jobs. People flocked from rural areas to industrial urban centers, seeking to find jobs in wartime industry, causing the unemployment rate to decrease from 10 percent in 1940 to 1.3 percent by 1944.

News of the conflict across the globe captured the attention of the majority of Americans throughout the war. Radio broadcasts kept people informed on the events overseas, and popular entertainment, especially films, served to demonize America’s enemies. Watching such films allowed Americans, of all social classes, to escape their concerns about World War II.

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10 Ibid., 3.
11 Ibid., 4.
12 Ibid., 3-4.
13 Ibid., 5-9.
This fact was not lost on Hitchcock, who designed his films with this phenomenon in mind and once remarked “reality is something that none of us can stand, at any time.” His goal was to immerse his audience in his stories and have them channel their inner anxiety by having them worry about the characters on screen rather than themselves. To explore this phenomenon in greater detail, this paper will begin with an analysis of Hitchcock’s 1940 film *Foreign Correspondent*.

### 1940—*Foreign Correspondent*  

After his move to Hollywood in 1939 and the production of his first American film *Rebecca* in 1940, Hitchcock released his second American film that same year, titled *Foreign Correspondent*, a fictional spy thriller centered on an American reporter trying to expose enemy spies in Britain prior to World War II. While the film is set before World War II begins, it is a clear reflection of the anxiety present within the United States as it anticipated the eruption of a global conflict.

In the film, set in 1939, an editor for the *New York Globe* seeks answers regarding the impending war in Europe, as he has a growing concern about the expanding influence of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime. A man by the name of Huntley Haverstock is chosen as a foreign correspondent and is sent to London to interview the leader of the Universal Peace Party, while also covertly gathering information on a secret treaty between countries. As Haverstock digs deeper for information, he begins to uncover an underground kidnapping conspiracy, and soon finds himself the target of several international spies.

By the end of the film, England and France have declared war on Germany. Haverstock, on a plane back to America, crashes into the ocean after being shot down by a German destroyer. He returns to London and desperately urges America on live radio broadcast to fortify itself. As he describes the horrific bombing surrounding him in London, the American National Anthem playing in the background, Haverstock powerfully declares

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All that noise you hear isn’t static—it’s death, coming to London. Yes, they’re coming here now. You can hear the bombs falling on the streets and the homes. Don’t tune me out, hang on a while—this is a big story, and you’re part of it. It’s too late to do anything here now except stand in the dark and let them come...as if the lights were all out everywhere, except in America. Keep those lights burning, cover them with steel, ring them with guns, build a canopy of battleships and bombing planes around them. Hello, America, hang on to your lights: they’re the only lights left in the world!15

This final quote of the film serves as a plea to America to prepare to defend itself as the Second World War breaks out in Europe. As Europe descended into conflict Hitchcock, originally from Great Britain, was disheartened that he could not be of aid in the war effort overseas.16 Across the Atlantic, the United States had yet to be directly affected by the heavy bombing and gruesome battles that riddled the European countryside and cities.

It was not until the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 that America formally joined the struggle. While he was dismayed that he could not physically join the fight and that he was so far removed from the chaos riddling his country, Hitchcock’s contribution to the war and to Britain came in the form of filmmaking. His narrative works during the 1940s, like *Foreign Correspondent*, boasted political and social themes that rattled the norms of the film industry. However, Hitchcock’s mastery did not stop with his fictional theatrical thrillers; he worked on several war films that documented the horrors of the German army and concentration camps. In 1945, he advised on the making of *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey*, a film by British producer Sidney Bernstein. The film documented the liberation of German concentration camps through the eyes of allied camera operators, both soldiers and reporters. Hitchcock’s suggestions of extended shots, camera panning and utilizing impactful imagery increased the film’s credibility and reduced the chance the film

15 *Foreign Correspondent*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock (Beverly Hills: United Artists, 1940).
would be considered fake. Hitchcock’s techniques that he suggested for *German Concentration Camps Factual Survey* were ones that he used in his fictional stories as well. His direction, whether real or fictional, engineered motion pictures that had profound and lasting effects on audiences that viewed them. Despite not being able to fight in the war, Hitchcock did all he could to contribute to public awareness of the state of the world during World War II.

In *Foreign Correspondent*, one of his most prominent politically themed films, Hitchcock uses suspense, characters, and sound to reflect American society directly prior to, and at the start of, World War II. There are several scenes in the film where Haverstock’s life is at risk. One such scene takes place in London atop the Westminster Cathedral tower, where a bodyguard, really a disguised assassin, is assigned to kill Haverstock by pushing him off the edge. The audience is aware of the bodyguard’s violent intention, as he takes several nervous glances around him to make sure no one will witness his murder attempt, and thus viewers slowly build up fear as to what is about to happen. Hitchcock is able to mirror the anxiety of society during this scenario. There were growing reports of an impending war in Europe, and Americans feared what their role, as both individuals and a nation as a whole, would be. Dread mounted within American minds as chaos abroad loomed closer. While the film does not take place on American soil, it centers on an American correspondent sent to Europe. The real-life fear of Americans is on full display from the very beginning of the film, as the newspaper editor at the *New York Globe* expresses his growing concerns about the conspiracies and rumors of a great war that is about to erupt abroad.

This initial concern by the character drives the rest of the film, and by the end, war does indeed break out. Hitchcock uses Haverstock’s final speech to mirror his own political desires; America should prepare itself for war and its people should not be afraid, but instead build up their defenses and commit to keeping their light burning. Hitchcock inserts the United States’ National Anthem in this dramatic final act, a maneuver clearly intended to motivate American viewers to take action in defending their country from the Homefront. *Foreign Correspondent* incorporates a fictional story into a nonfictional setting in a way that makes the

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17 *Night Will Fall*, directed by Andre Singer (2014).
viewer feel as if the war was not their reality. Instead, the war is affecting the characters within the story, thus creating distance from reality and allowing them a brief escape. At the end of the film, however, they are brutally reminded that what transpired on screen was in fact the reality they had to face, and, as if Hitchcock was speaking into the microphone instead of Haverstock, they are told to make sure they do something about it. After the release of *Foreign Correspondent*, Hitchcock continued to direct and release films, even as the war raged on across the globe.

1943—*Shadow of a Doubt*

In 1943, Hitchcock released one of his first film noirs, *Shadow of a Doubt*. Film noir was a popular genre of crime-centered cinema in the early 1940s. It was born out of the German Expressionist movement in the 1920s as a response to social anxiety during the post-World War I period. Following the Nazi takeover of Germany in 1933, many German filmmakers fled to the United States and quickly found work in Hollywood. In the early 1920s, when he was just starting out in the film industry, Hitchcock spent some time working at a film studio in Berlin. There he adopted many elements of cinematic Expressionism, including different lighting techniques and camera blocking methods that served to heighten suspense in his crime thrillers. Hitchcock would continue to employ Expressionist techniques throughout his films, all the way to his 1960s cult classic, *Psycho*.¹⁸

*Shadow of a Doubt* was a psychological crime thriller set in sleepy Santa Rosa, California, and centers on Charlie Newton, or “Young Charlie,” and Charlie Oakley, her uncle and namesake. Young Charlie idolizes her uncle, almost to the point of a romantic infatuation, until she begins to suspect, and eventually learns, that he is a serial killer known as the “Merry Widow Murderer.” After Uncle Charlie admits his crimes to Young Charlie, she is forced to keep his secrets with the promise that he will leave town and never return. Meanwhile, the detectives who initially targeted Uncle Charlie pursue another suspect in the murder cases, and when that suspect is killed in the ensuing chase, Uncle Charlie is exonerated. However, Young Charlie knows all of his secrets and threatens to kill him if he stays in Santa Rosa. He then tries to murder Young

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Charlie twice, first by suffocating her from exhaust fumes from his car in the garage, then by trying to push her off a fast-moving train. Both of his attempts fail, and in the end, he falls to his death from the train after Young Charlie pushes him off during their struggle. At his funeral in the final scene of the film, Young Charlie recalls the terrible things Uncle Charlie said about the world, while the town, unbeknownst that he was a murderer, can be heard honoring his brave, generous, and kind character in the background.\(^{19}\)

Hitchcock’s most persistent theme throughout most of his films, and one that is glaringly present in *Shadow of a Doubt*, is the fact that something dark and cynical is hidden under seemingly normal and happy façades; that there are enemies lurking in the shadows of places that would never expect to see conflict or devastation.\(^{20}\) His setting for the film is Santa Rosa, California, a picturesque, cookie-cutter American town. However, after discovering Uncle Charlie is a brutal serial killer, Young Charlie's view of the picture-perfect image of American society is shattered.

Charlie states, in the closing scene of the film, that her Uncle Charlie “hated the whole world…he said people like us had no idea what the world was really like.”\(^{21}\) In response, Jack, one of the detectives who was investigating Charlie’s crimes, states that “sometimes the world needs a lot of watching” and that “it seems to go crazy every now and then.”\(^{22}\) This last scene, much like the last scene of *Foreign Correspondent*, alludes to the chaos happening overseas in Europe. Young Charlie’s statement depicts the naivety of the American people to the reality of being in the midst of violent conflict on the home front. There was no war being fought on American soil, and thus the average American did not understand how the war could really affect not only an individual, but also an entire country. There were, however, growing changes within American society at this time.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the everyday family life changed drastically when men enlisted to go fight. American society was more broken than before the war, and Young Charlie is

\(^{19}\) *Shadow of a Doubt*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Universal City: Universal Pictures, 1943.


\(^{21}\) *Shadow of a Doubt*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock.

\(^{22}\) Ibid.
exposed to this larger, less sheltered world once she discovers the reality behind her uncle’s intentions. Young Charlie is a character dead set on unveiling the truth, and is not given an opportunity to be heard as equally as her Uncle. The majority of her small town prefers to be ignorant to the malevolent man, and more broadly, to the darkness of the world as a whole. Hitchcock highlights the fact that women were often split between supporting the men they loved who were expressing their freedom and independence by fighting abroad, and maintaining their values and channeling their desires into their homes.\textsuperscript{23} Young Charlie is an example of a woman who is transformed by outside influences, whether it be the war or, in her case, her psychotic uncle. She begins the film as an innocent, young American girl, who is eventually forced by a man she thought she knew to keep a dark secret, and thus she is forever changed.\textsuperscript{24} Her innocence is gone by the end of the film, instead replaced by a deeper understanding of society and its inevitable faults.

\textit{Shadow of a Doubt} is an excellent example of how Hitchcock portrayed America during World War II in his early 1940s films. While most films in this period depicted American society with hopefulness, stating that America was a shining beacon in a world consumed by conflict, Hitchcock shattered this, overly cheerful ideal through his suspenseful plot line. His villain is the average good-natured family man that everyone in town adores, eventually exposed as a ruthless murderer, who killed because he believed it was his duty, a mindset that was undoubtedly ingrained into the minds of the soldiers who fought overseas for their countries.\textsuperscript{25} Every soldier who fought in the war surely experienced a sense of duty to their own country, one that convinced them that they had to kill in order to protect their homes, and that there was no other way around the issue.

Hitchcock cast an apparently average person as an unsuspected villain in order to reveal that no town, no matter how

\textsuperscript{24} David Sterritt, \textit{The Films of Alfred Hitchcock} (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53.
small and boring, was safe from the darkness of the world. Anyone, anywhere was subject to unexpected cruelty, not just those countries and people living in the midst of a battlefield. Just as in *Foreign Correspondent*, Hitchcock calls on the American people to be ready to defend themselves at the most unexpected of times; they had to make sure that they were left standing victorious and stronger than ever at the end of the war. No one knew when, or if, the war would find its way to American soil, and that underlying narrative of fear present in the film was intended to motivate its viewers to contribute to the war effort and defend the freedom and safety of the United States. Hitchcock’s use of sound in *Shadow of a Doubt* is particularly remarkable as well, as it reflects both a happy, idealistic American town, and the dark secrets it has yet to discover. The background music during some of the movie’s pivotal scenes seeks to heighten the viewer’s anxiety. It begins normally and then increases in tempo as information continues to be revealed to the audience. Additionally, he overlays contradictory dialogue during the final scene of the film, when Young Charlie describes Uncle Charlie’s transgressions and hate towards the world, all the while the community praises his generous character in the background at his funeral.

Throughout *Shadow of a Doubt*, Hitchcock is able to portray the reality of American society, especially in a world that was being terrorized by Nazis and their allies. Although the films takes place in 1941, before the attacks on Pearl Harbor and America’s entrance into the war, Hitchcock seeks to demonstrate that Americans are not beyond the reach of the darkness of humankind. This film is a key source in understanding 1940s American society through Hitchcock’s films and the techniques he utilized within them to heighten their emotional impact on viewers and thus reinforce their commitment to the war effort.

**1944—*Lifeboat***

In 1944, Hitchcock released *Lifeboat*, a survival drama that depicts the ordeal of several passengers stranded in a lifeboat in the Atlantic Ocean after their ship is sunk by a German U-boat at the height of World War II. The characters vary in nationality, religion, and gender; consequently, tensions and frustrations between survivors take center stage in the film. In the beginning of the film, a ship holding British and American civilians, soldiers,
and merchants, engages in combat with a German U-boat. The two vessels attack, and subsequently sink each other. The British and American survivors board a lifeboat and pull a German sailor from the sunken U-boat to safety, much to the disgust of several passengers. The sailor is eventually revealed to be the captain of the U-boat that sank them.

Throughout the film, the characters must manage their resources and learn to cooperate in order to survive their ordeal, however they quickly grow frustrated, delirious, and desperate after being afloat for an extended period. Along the way, several characters die, and the German sailor is eventually exposed as to having hidden a flask filled with fresh water from the other passengers, and is brutally beaten and thrown overboard by those on the lifeboat. As the passengers are finally about to be rescued by being taken aboard a German supply ship, it is sunk by an approaching allied vessel. Soon thereafter they rescue another German sailor from the wreckage and question what they should do to him while they wait for their rescue.

*Lifeboat* is a unique film, in that it is told through the eyes of various complex characters of different nationalities. Hitchcock casts his characters as archetypes within this film. Each character is recognized by what they represent, whether it be a country or a political alignment, meaning that they are known as “the Nazi” or “the Communist” rather than by name. Each has a different background, and thus they are very telling of how Hitchcock viewed each country, the German representation being the most obvious. This technique served to underscore global political turbulence without losing focus on the fictional story being played out on screen. Hitchcock employed this practice to great effect in his commercial thriller films during the 1940s, and during his collaboration with the British Ministry of Information in 1944, which saw the creation of two short films intended for propaganda use in France to boost civilian morale. While *Lifeboat* was not strictly a propaganda film, it certainly included allusions to the political tensions that were ripping apart the globe. According to Hitchcock, the purpose of *Lifeboat* was to tell “the democracies to

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27 Ibid., 81-82.
put their differences aside temporarily and to gather their forces to concentrate on the common enemy.”

This film is a cinematic portrayal of the Allied forces’ need forget their differences and unite to defeat the enemy. One character states, “Now, now, now, we're all sort of fellow travelers in a mighty small boat, in a mighty big ocean. And the more we quarrel, criticize and misunderstand each other, the bigger the ocean gets and the smaller the boat.” This alludes to the fact that the war will come to no resolution if it continues as it has. However, the picture drew intense criticism because of Hitchcock’s depiction of the German captain. In a critical review, Bosley Crowther of the New York Times wrote that the film elevated the Nazi “superman” and was a failed attempt to represent American civilians and democracy during World War II. Crowther’s issue lies with the humanization of the Nazi man and his treatment as a normal person by the other characters. In his mind, Americans were far superior to Nazis and their horrific ideals.

Hitchcock is quick to depict the German as being smarter and more capable of leadership than any other character on the boat. However, the character ultimately betrays everyone’s trust by hiding much needed fresh water from them and drowning one of the characters in the night, to which the rest of the passengers react violently. In Crowther’s mind, Americans would never be so forgiving to a man who they knew belonged to a violent cult with malicious intent, and is disappointed that it took him breaking their trust to react appropriately. This specific portrayal of Germans in the latter part of the film, contrary to the controversial beginning of the story, is reflective of how Americans, and the world, viewed Germany at the time. Even before war broke out, the Nazi regime was a growing cause of concern and fear across the globe. Nazi Germany was detested because of the atrocities it committed and for its constant aggression; it repeatedly violated the neutrality of surrounding nations and abrogated international treaties. Hitchcock was able to portray this distrust in the latter part of the film, despite

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29 Lifeboat, directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Los Angeles: 20th Century Fox, 1944.
critics at the time worrying about the picture’s appeal to Nazism through its treatment of the German character early on in the story.

*Lifeboat* was one of Hitchcock’s most controversial, albeit successful, politically centered films. It is a purposeful film that highlights the allied animosity towards the Germans during World War II, and introduces the question of who people truly are when they lose everything they value.\(^{31}\) Propaganda films are an integral part of the film industry during any conflict, especially World War II. After the United States was plunged into the war following the attack on Pearl Harbor, short propaganda films shown before each motion picture served to briefly reignite people’s desire to support the allied effort to win the war in Europe. During this same period, narrative films like those of Alfred Hitchcock served as another important source of social and political messages, even if they were not as blatantly obvious as propaganda documentaries.\(^{32}\) *Lifeboat* was primarily intended as a source of entertainment for American cinema-goers; however, due to Hitchcock’s use of character archetypes throughout the film, it also served as a meaningful piece of propaganda that underscored the unified willpower to survive amongst the allied nations, whilst simultaneously reminding viewers of the threat of Nazi Germany. The film simultaneously gave Americans hope of a united front, without letting them forget their fear of the enemy.

**Conclusion**

During times of fear and anxiety throughout the 1940s, films were a place that people could forget about the terrors of reality and be immersed into the lives of characters whose situations were worse off than their own, something that Alfred Hitchcock easily mastered. He used suspense, settings, politically modeled characters, and sound to elevate his productions in ways that director had previously done. His films left a lasting impact on the psychological horror genre of film, but are also a key aspect of understanding the history of American society in the 1940s. Through the examples shown throughout this paper’s analysis, it is clear that the selected works of Hitchcock provide a commentary on society during World War II.

\(^{31}\) Duncan, *Architect of Anxiety*, 104.

\(^{32}\) Gustainis and DeSilva, “Archetypes as Propaganda,” 80.
His political and social themes were not always blatantly obvious to the average viewer, but the underlying messages were still evident through the techniques he used in almost all of his American films. Hitchcock took real life situations and was able to craft from them incredibly dynamic, fictional stories that granted his audiences a brief, albeit much needed, relief from the terrors that plagued them in reality. He perfected the art of translating the fears of his audiences onto the silver screen, and thus rightfully earned his reputation as a master of horror and suspense. Today, his films stand as a lasting contribution and resource to the study of American society during World War II.

**Bibliography**


Author Bio

Amy Stewart graduated from California State University San Bernardino in 2017. She earned her bachelor’s degree in history with a concentration in European studies. She has always loved history and, in the summer of 2014, she was given the opportunity to volunteer on an archaeological dig site in Israel, which furthered her passion for the ancient and medieval periods. Her fascination with history continues to grow from the ability to see and experience the places and cultures that she learned and read about through her studies. She is currently working full time and hopes to continue to find the time to travel, especially to the places in Europe that she learned about while pursuing her degree at CSUSB.
Film Review: 1948 Creation and Catastrophe

By Melissa Sanford

“It is not a war of soldiers, it’s a war of people, of children.”

This poignant observation comes from Hava Keller, an Israeli veteran of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War during which she served with the Haganah.¹ Keller’s observation about the nature of the war came while she participated in a military operation near Acre and was confronted with the scene of an abandoned Palestinian home in which a pair of children’s shoes had been left behind in the rush to flee the approaching Jewish forces. The war of 1948 lasted from December 1947 to March 1949, displacing as many as 750,000 Palestinian Arabs and resulting in the creation of the modern state of Israel.² Today the Arab-Israeli conflict is frequently viewed as an eternal war between members of incompatible religions with no chance of peace on the horizon. This inaccurate perspective primarily stems from the misrepresentation and gross oversimplification of the conflict in Western media. In truth, the conflict concerning the land of what is now known as Israel is multifaceted and modern in its origin; it is not some inexorable struggle doomed to carry on for eternity. The ongoing struggle litters headlines across the world, some of which include the United States’ decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, the arrest and incarceration of sixteen-year-old Palestinian activist Ahed Tamimi, and the growing support for the BDS (Boycott, Divest, Sanction Israel) movement.³

¹ The Haganah was Jewish a paramilitary organization which became the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) following the 1948 war and Israeli declaration of independence. Charles D. Smith, Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: a History with Documents (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins), 2017.
² Violence in Palestine followed the 1947 United Nations approval of partition, but Israel did not go to war with the Arab states (Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Iraq) until its declaration of independence in May of 1948 and did not end until March 1949.
As always, the best way to understand the present situation is to uncover the past. The documentary film *1948: Creation and Catastrophe* seeks to provide vital context for the Arab-Israeli Conflict through interviews with witnesses, survivors, and historians of the Palestinian Nakba. Through these combined testimonies, *1948* paints a compelling portrait of the pain and complexities of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War in a way that truly deepens the viewers’ understanding of the conflict.

The years preceding the 1948 Arab-Israeli War were marred by growing violence and tensions between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews. The strain between these communities had grown steadily since the inception of Zionist programs in Palestine. In 1922, tensions increased significantly between Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish community, or the Yishuv as it was known prior to the establishment of Israel. The primary cause of these tensions was the Zionists’ expressed intention to create a Jewish state in Palestine under British guidance. Forging a Jewish state necessitated increasing the Jewish population in Palestine, and the acquisition of more territory for the Jewish immigrants. These territorial gains in turn came at the expense of the Palestinian Arab community. In addition to territorial losses, Arabs within the Mandatory Palestine witnessed a simultaneous loss of jobs due to exclusionary labor practices supported by Labor Zionists. This spurred the revolt of the Muslim and Christian Arabs of Palestine which lasted from 1936–1939. Nevertheless, the need for the Mandate to accept more Jewish immigrants became paramount during and following the Holocaust due the monumental number

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5 Zionism is a nationalist ideology based on the concept of creating a homeland for the Jewish people. The territory of Palestine was not agreed upon as the location until 1897 at the Basel Congress by the World Zionist Organization. Smith, “Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” 31.

6 The mandate system was established by the League of Nations after World War I in order to enable the British and French takeover of former German and Ottoman lands. Mandatory Palestine encompassed much of modern Israel, Palestine and the Gaza Strip. Smith, “Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict,” 561.

7 Labor Zionism is the ideology that resulted from the blending of Zionism and socialism.
of Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi occupied Europe. Accepting the immigrants into Israel became increasingly difficult due to immigration caps set by British authorities. The caps were intended to ease rising tensions between Palestinian Arabs and Zionists by limiting the flow of refugees into the Mandate. In practice, they further strained the tenuous relationship between Zionist political organizations and British authorities, ultimately leading to a string of increasingly violent attacks against British forces, culminating in the bombing of the King David Hotel by the Irgun (a revisionist Zionist paramilitary group) in 1946. This acceleration of violence necessitated the formation of UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee on Palestine) which called for the end of the British mandate and proposed the partition of Palestine. Following a majority “yes” vote at the United Nations for the partition (which gave Zionists 56 percent of Mandatory Palestine despite being a minority population), violence between Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews intensified dramatically, signaling the start of the 1948 war.

1948: Creation and Catastrophe, directed and produced by filmmaker Andy Trimlett and California State San Bernardino communications professor Ahlam Muhtaseb, establishes much of this background and begins its telling of the story of 1948 through oral testimony. This film has been 10 years in the making. During this time the creators conducted more than 90 interviews in seven different countries. Through oral accounts and interviews with noted historians the film guides the viewer through the beginnings of the violence following the United Nations partition to the implementation of Plan Dalet, the infamous massacre of Dayr Yassin, the attacks on Haifa and Jaffa, the declaration of the state of Israel, the assault on Acre, and Operation Dani, which resulted in the mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from Lydda and Ramleh. The battles between Jewish and Arab forces and the methods used to remove the Arab Palestinians from cities and villages is explored through the words of those who participated in the removal as well as those who endured it. These events are crucial to clearly understanding of the creation and catastrophe of 1948 Arab-Israeli War.

The interpretation of the some of the most pivotal events of the war are mired in controversy. Particularly contentious is whether or the ethnic cleansing that occurred during the Nakba, through Plan Dalet and subsequent orders, was deliberate. Plan
Dalet (Plan D) was adopted on March 10, 1948 by the *Haganah* and outlined plans for how the militia would defend the territory after the British forces left. The plan’s intentions and whether it was officially carried out are a source of considerable controversy. The debate over the origin and execution of ethnic cleansing during the *Nakba* is sharply divided between those who claim that the Palestinians left of their own volition, and those who argue that they were forcibly expelled.

Proponents of the “new historian” perspective, such as Benny Morris, argue that the Israeli military did not forcibly remove Palestinian Arabs, rather that Arab military officials urged Palestinians to flee. Thereby shifting the collective memory of the 1948 conflict in favor Israel by absolving the nation of any responsibility for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. Conversely, historian Ilan Pappe’s directly challenges Morris’ version of events. Pappe maintains that Plan D, and following orders, were officially given with the intent to ethnically cleanse the Palestinian Arabs from their ancestral land. The manner in which the Palestinians were forced to flee is of great importance as it determines their status as refugees. Had the Arab Palestinians left of their own accord, without threat of force, they would not be considered refugees with ties to the land and would not have the right to return. This, however, is a very selective understanding of the war. As shown in *1948: Creation and Catastrophe*, members of the Israeli military fully understood that the purpose of Plan D was to expel Arab Palestinians from their lands and villages. *1948* is instrumental to the wider understanding of the complex nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict because it provides much needed context for the deeply politicized, and often misunderstood struggle, through the accounts of those who experienced it first hand.

In an interview with co-director and executive producer of the film, Dr. Ahlam Muhtaseb explained the origins of this project: “It all started with my field research in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria in 2006. I wanted to study Palestinian refugees’ narratives of diaspora intergenerationally and how that impacted their collective national identity outside of their homeland.” The interviews involve many well-known figures who participated in the 1948 war, including author and peace activist

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Uri Avnery, and author and politician Mordecai Bar-On, as well as notable historians such as, Ilan Pappe, Benny Morris, Charles Smith, and Rashid Khalidi. Dr. Ahlam Muhtaseb relayed that only thirty-three of the ninety interviews conducted were included in the documentary. Indeed, the process of deciding what to include in the film was very difficult. Dr. Muhtaseb recalls, “It was a torturous process…There were interviews that we immediately identified as not very valuable or usable for the purpose of the film, but there were many that were great, and we included them in the rough cut, but they didn’t make it to the…final cut.” Not only was the process of deciding what to include in the film difficult, but the interviews themselves were at times very emotionally taxing. Dr. Muhtaseb also described the shockingly tragic story of Othman Akel, who was an 11-year old resident of the Dayr Yassin village at the time of the massacre. During his escape he witnessed the brutal killing of at least 12 different people by Zionist gangs, including his father, brother, two uncles, and elderly grandfather. Despite the emotional pain and trauma expressed in the interviews, Dr. Muhatseb was able to maintain her composure and it was not until the editing process that she realized the true weight of the interviews: “Only when I came back to the States and started viewing the footage and looking at the materials that it hit me; ‘wow, how could have I done this? How have I maintained my sanity and composure etc.?’. The brutality of the materials definitely hit me afterwards, not during.” Dr. Muhtaseb’s reaction is understandable as the intense emotional pain experienced by those interviewed is apparent to the viewer. Through these harrowing oral testimonies, we gain a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding the tragic events of 1948.

Arguably, the most important contribution that 1948 provides are the interviews with the survivors and witnesses which, due to the ages of the participants, could be the last chance to record their stories; the value of these oral testimonies cannot be understated. When asked if the status of the interviewees was known, Dr. Ahlam Muhtaseb stated,

I thought the interviews were very timely as we learned that many of our interviewees have already died unfortunately. For the Palestinian side, of course, it was a more devastating death because they died in refugee camps away from their
homeland (most of them). While we don’t know the actual number of those still living, I hired a fixer in 2015 to collect signed consent forms of the refugees I interviewed in Lebanon or their surviving family members. He had to trace them one by one in an expedition that went through all 9 refugee camps. He found out that about two thirds of them died, and mostly in very poor living conditions in those refugee camps.

Oral histories are vital because they provide a human element that is integral to understanding not only this war, but all conflicts across the globe. Without such understanding, wars become mere statistics on a page: body count, villages burned, populations displaced, and material damages calculated in U.S. dollars. Reducing war to statistics strips away the incalculable cost of human suffering, and serves to exacerbate the cycle of violence and misunderstanding. Indeed, U.S. mainstream news outlets have a reputation of reporting the deaths of Palestinians in terms of numbers, whereas stories on Israeli deaths often will mention the hopes and dreams of the deceased as well as interviews with mourning loved ones. 1948 succeeds in allowing both Israelis and Palestinians to tell their own accounts of this tragic history.

Oral history has often been criticized on the grounds that memories are subject to decay and subjective in nature. Indeed, human memories are not infallible and are inherently biased, but the acknowledgement and understanding of these biases can also provide valuable insight. At times it is even argued that history and the memories of individuals should dwell in two different spaces. This argument implies that the memories of an individual are less important than quantitative facts and figures. However, history and memory are forever entangled; they inhabit the same space, shape collective attitudes of the present, and influence the future. In Voice of the Past: Oral History, Paul Thompson asserts that, “the nature of memory brings many traps for the unwary, which often explains the cynicism of those less well informed about oral sources. Yet they bring unexpected rewards to a historian who is prepared to appreciate the complexity with which reality and myth,
'objective’ and ‘subjective’ are inextricably mixed in all human perception of the world both individual and collective.”\textsuperscript{10} For example, as stated earlier, the manner in which Plan D is interpreted and remembered plays a significant role in its present political significance. Those who do not view the Plan as a method for ethnic cleansing have, and will continue to, shape legislation and policy that perpetuates the process of removing Palestinians from their homeland and ensures that they will never return. \textit{1948} is a prime example of how history and memory are eternally entwined. It provides the testimonies of men and women who lived through one of the most influential years of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Through their recollections we can better grasp the ongoing pain that shapes Israeli and Palestinian views, their identities, and their futures.

By allowing those who witnessed, survived, and participated in the \textit{Nakba} to recount their own experiences through oral testimony, \textit{1948} enables viewers to better grasp the pain and complexity, not only of the 1948 War itself, but of the greater conflict as a whole. \textit{1948: Creation and Catastrophe} presents the duality of the elation surrounding the creation of the state of Israel and the catastrophe of the loss of life and homeland that resulted from the displacement of the Arab Palestinians. Most importantly, the film gives those who were there witnessing, participating, suffering, and surviving a chance to relay their experiences in their own words. Capturing these voices is not only an achievement in historical preservation, but also a vital contribution to the viewer’s understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The U.S. media has perpetuated the misconception of the conflict as being an eternal hatred between religions and regularly paints Palestinian activists as hostile terrorist agents, effectively ignoring the nuanced, complex causes of the conflict. It also fails to empathize with generations of Palestinians living under Israeli occupation and in refugee camps. \textit{1948: Creation and Catastrophe} acts as a foil to this narrative and prompts the viewer to look deeper at the conflict. As the myth of eternal, incomprehensible conflict between incompatible religions falls away, the viewer can ask the question: bearing in mind the ongoing loss, pain, and suffering that has resulted from the creation of the state of Israel, what is the true cost

\textsuperscript{10} Paul Thompson, \textit{The Voice of the Past: Oral History} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 224.
at which it has come? And knowing this terrible cost, what can now be done to ease the pain of the past and bring peace to the future?

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*1948: Creation and Catastrophe.* Directed by Andy Trimlett and Ahlam Muhtaseb. 2017


Author Bio

Melissa Sanford is currently a junior at CSUSB majoring in History with a concentration in the Middle East. Originally a microbiology major, Melissa decided to follow her life-long love of history and switched majors prior to transferring. Her areas of interest include the Middle East, American imperialism, the Arab-Israeli conflict, ethnic cleansing and genocide. She plans on going to graduate school after obtaining her BA.
Video Game Review: *Kingdom Come Deliverance*

By Eric Lowe

Since the early 1970s, video games have presented a unique form of entertainment by allowing people to step out of their daily lives and into the worlds of the games they play. The Magnavox Odyssey, which was the first home gaming console, brought such activities as playing table tennis to the television screens of families across America. It became so popular that the developer Atari blatantly stole the game’s idea and rebranded it as the coin-operated arcade game *Pong*.\(^1\) Admittedly, the rudimentary black and white interface that comprised the game hardly stood a chance of emulating the excitement of an authentic game of ping-pong, but it was a major feat of entertainment considering the technology available in 1972.

Forty-six years later, the video game industry can proudly boast that the entertainment value of its products has grown in tandem with the technology they employ. The comparatively primitive gameplay of *Pong* has today been succeeded by that of games featuring vast and meticulously designed worlds spanning areas as large as fifty square miles.\(^2\) Sports games like the popular FIFA soccer and Madden football series, which used to feature only a small handful of real-life players, teams, and stadiums, are now capable of photo-realistic reproduction of nearly every aspect of the sport which they mimic. Furthermore, games are no longer confined to the imitation of just one real-life activity, as was once the norm dictated by early technology. For instance, developer Rockstar’s 2013 release *Grand Theft Auto: V* included full-fledged simulations of street racing, golfing, and tennis, all of which were merely additions to the game’s central third-person shooter mechanics. More than ever before, video games today have the ability to deliver an experience that transcends basic amusement or distraction.

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One potential aspect of that transcendent experience is the ability of games to educate their audiences, either as the expressed purpose of a game or as an incidental effect. In terms of education as a primary purpose within video games, there is emerging research that examines the ways in which they can supplement the developmental progress of children. Experts at Stanford University have discussed the possibility of utilizing familiar gaming conventions, such as earning points, badges, rewards, etc., as a tool for educators to gauge a student’s motivations, as well as their need for interaction and self-expression in the classroom. However, the widespread implementation of video games as a primary instructional apparatus has yet to come to fruition.

More commonly, educational contributions from games often occur as an inadvertent byproduct of the entertainment experience. Many games feature settings and plots that are derived from the real world, often relying on specific periods of history as a basis. As a result, players are immersed in historical context throughout the process of completing the game. Notable examples of this phenomenon include the Call of Duty and Assassin’s Creed franchises. The former is a series known for its gritty depictions of World War II infantry combat, with players storming the beaches of Normandy or capturing the island of Iwo Jima. The latter franchise features open-world sandbox-style adventures in which the player assumes the role of a master assassin, murdering their way through such locales as Ancient Egypt, Renaissance Italy, or Victorian London—to name a few. Despite the informative potential of these enticing settings, however, any historical accounts included typically remain secondary to gameplay mechanics centered on exploration, survival, hack-n-slash action, or shooting.

What would happen, then, if history was a primary focus within a video game? What if every aspect of the game—the

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4 This variety of game design drops the player’s character within a large, unrestricted game world and allows the player to explore that world in whatever fashion they desire. This has been an increasingly common design through which developers have been able to generate more engaging settings and compelling storylines.
gameplay, plot, characters, and setting—were created with historical accuracy in mind? Is it possible for a video game to serve as both a form of entertainment and as a secondary historical source? Czech developer Warhorse Studios has provided perhaps the most compelling example of such a game: 2018’s *Kingdom Come: Deliverance (KCD)*. This game is a first-person, action/adventure role-playing (RPG) experience set in fifteenth-century Bohemia, what is known today as the Czech Republic. Warhorse has taken extensive measures to ensure that the medieval Bohemian setting is more than a mere engine to propel the game’s plot. They have emphasized historical accuracy as the main feature of *Kingdom Come*, offering players a thoroughly immersive game that is careful not to leave out even the most mundane details of life in 1403. It took a 120-person team over seven years to create the final product, compared to the industry average of a two or three-year development cycle. The primary question surrounding the project is whether or not the game will be worth the rather substantial time and effort that went into making it. Moreover, will players enjoy a game that has been designed with such care for history, perhaps at the cost of entertainment? If so, how effectively can a video game explain history? These are the questions that I had in mind as I began playing *Kingdom Come: Deliverance*.

The game wastes no time in introducing the player to the history of Bohemia in the year 1403. As the opening menu loads, an illustrated narrative explains that Wenceslas IV, son of Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV, had taken the crown following the death of his revered father. Unfortunately, Wenceslas did not share his father’s passion for ruling. Instead he spends his time and vast wealth on more frivolous pursuits. The king’s half-brother, Sigismund of Luxembourg, took advantage of his sibling’s lack of attention to matters of state by abducting Wenceslas and seizing power for himself. Sigismund’s armies ravaged Bohemia, attacking any lord who remained loyal to the deposed Wenceslas. This moment in

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5 First-person games feature a “camera” designed to mimic the character’s field of vision, as opposed to a third-person perspective where the camera is floating behind the character.

Czech/Bohemian history, as KCD’s introduction concludes, is where the protagonist’s story begins.

The player’s assumes the role of Henry, a son of a blacksmith, who lives in the small town of Skalitz. The game’s prologue follows Henry as he goes about his day-to-day business, and on this particular day he is assisting his father in forging and presenting a sword to the local Lord Radzig of Kobyla. However, this endeavor is interrupted when a massive army attacks the town, slaughtering anyone who does not flee. Sigismund’s army, which is comprised of both Bohemian soldiers and Turkic mercenaries known as Cumans, razes Skalitz to the ground and kills Henry’s parents before his very eyes. Left with the option of either dying with his family or fleeing for his life, Henry takes flight and escapes to the neighboring fiefdom of Talmberg, carrying only Radzig’s sword and the clothes on his back. A few days later, he attempts to return to Skalitz in order to give his parents a proper Catholic burial. When the player reaches the abandoned village, they are set upon by bandits, who effortlessly defeat Henry in combat and steal Lord Radzig’s sword. Left for dead, Henry is saved by a young woman who brings him back to a local city and nurses him back to health. This is the backdrop against which the game’s prologue ends and the story begins in earnest.

In terms of immersion into the world of 1403 Bohemia, KCD’s introduction serves to illustrate a few notable characteristics of medieval society. First of all, the size of Henry’s world is incredibly small when compared to modern standards. The village surrounding the castle of Skalitz is all that Henry truly knows, only having heard of cities such as Prague, Kuttenberg, or Rattay (which are all located within 20 miles of his hometown) through the stories of his father and other villagers. In the late medieval period, travelling long distances was made difficult by a multitude of factors, including the availability of livestock (a horse or a mule to carry heavy loads), the lack of preserved food, and economic inability to devote time to travel. Henry’s geographical naivety is compounded by the fact that he cannot read; the son of a village blacksmith would not have needed such an education, nor would he have had time to learn. An average citizen living in the

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7 When describing the narrative of a role-playing video game, the player and the character they control become one entity. In this paper, I use both “Henry” and “the player” when discussing the main character’s actions/objectives.
Middle Ages would have remained mostly within the confines of their fiefdom—typically no larger than a three square-mile plot of land—serving their community in whatever capacity their occupation allowed for. The only notable exceptions to this trend are situations in which violence forced people to move (as in Henry’s case), or in the case of religious pilgrimages. Subsistence farmers would simply work the land that they lived on, while a town blacksmith (as opposed to a member of an urban trade guild) would attend to the basic metallurgical needs of the manor and its lords.

The manor system was the dominant economic institution within the medieval social order, and many of KCD’s plotlines and mechanics were designed around it. Historically, the relationship between noble and serf was based in both economic practicality and social construction, as Henry comes to learn during his experiences. The nobility was the educated warrior class of medieval European society, and ordinary serfs comprised the producer class. Clergymen, who were often non-firstborn men of noble birth, held the separate role of maintaining the spiritual and social welfare of society through the operation of the Catholic church. This tripartite social order—consisting of those who fight, those who work, and those who pray—allowed for efficiency within all three groups; high-born children could receive an education and complete seminary or military training only because they did not need to learn how to grow crops, tend cattle, or smith horseshoes. Likewise, the working class of serfs could not be held responsible for the military or religious preservation of their society, as this would necessarily prevent them from producing the consumer goods needed to maintain their survival. Henry’s mother sternly chastises him when she discovers that he has been “learning swordplay,” an activity that she clearly considers unbefitting of a blacksmith’s son. Henry’s father similarly warns him that he has plenty to do in a day without trying to learn the art of warfare, reflecting the overarching sentimentality within the feudal manor system: the division of labor between nobles, the

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clergy, and serfs was necessary for the effective economic operation of medieval society.¹⁰

While the game’s prologue is fairly restrictive in terms of what sorts of activities the player can engage in, those restrictions are removed once Henry wakes up in the town of Rattay. Having recovered from his near-fatal encounter with the bandits who stole Sir Radzig’s sword, Henry sets out to fulfill his duty to his lord and avenge the death of his family. This broadly serves as the game’s overarching storyline, prompting the player to find and return the stolen sword, then kill the man responsible for the attack on Skalitz. The player is free to roam the Bohemian countryside as they see fit, but given Henry’s status as a penniless refugee, he must rely on the assistance of those who have the power to help him. The fastest way to attain the weapons, armor, and (most importantly) experience necessary to avenge the deaths of his parents is to formally enter the service of Lord Radzig and the other nobles of the region, transitioning from one who works to one who fights. Attempting to carry out his mission alone would almost certainly result in death, either by sword or starvation.

This is where *Kingdom Come*’s historical fixation truly comes into its own—when its realism and accuracy challenge the norms of the genre. In many popular fantasy RPGs, particularly the most recent entries in the *Elder Scrolls* or *Witcher* series, the player is encouraged to approach the game in whatever fashion they see fit. Those who wish to fight their way through the game are given the necessary equipment and skill from the start, with greatly overpowered abilities granted through rapid leveling; those who prefer the economic route to the top can immediately begin selling items that can be found throughout the game world, amassing enormous wealth within just a few hours of gameplay. Game mechanics are typically weighted in the player’s favor, allowing them to comfortably and quickly complete quests and progress through the game—at the cost of realism. *KCD*’s design philosophy is quite the opposite, and it is made clear from the outset that Henry is not yet readily equipped to accomplish his mission. In fifteenth-century Europe, an orphaned peasant-turned-warrior would need training, assistance, and experience in order to succeed, and the game adheres to this reality as often as possible.

Combat is simultaneously the most rewarding and frustrating aspect of \textit{KCD}, as it demands from the player a nuanced balance of technique, preparation, and practice to master. During the first few hours of gameplay I was itching to try my hand at swordplay, having finally found a weapon to call my own. I ventured into the nearby forest in search of bandits to cut down, only to be minced to pieces by a duo of moderately-equipped ne'er-do-wells whose lunch I had apparently interrupted. Upon restarting at my last save point, I was issued a word of advice from the developers at Warhorse, in the form of a notification in the top right-hand corner of the screen. This reminder indicated that I did not possess the requisite Strength (one of the main character’s skill attributes, which can be enhanced via gameplay) to properly wield the rusty short sword I was using, which explained my ill-fated raid on the bandit camp. I could almost hear the satisfied sigh of Joanna Nowak, the full-time research historian responsible for ensuring \textit{KCD}’s authenticity, as the game politely reminded me that I was playing as a rather scrawny blacksmith’s apprentice, not an accomplished martial artist.\textsuperscript{11} In order to stand a chance in combat, the player must understand the subtleties of medieval warfare and how to apply that knowledge to each encounter. Knowing which weapons are most effective against each type of armor\textsuperscript{12} or learning a special technique to counter an opponent’s attack become the difference between life and death, and the only way to master these elements is through training and experience. Towards the end of my sixty-or-so hours of gameplay, I had developed the necessary skill—both in game (through statistical attribute increases) and as a player—to dominate my opponents in single combat, which was extremely rewarding.

As I progressed through the game, reminders pertaining to history and realism were omnipresent whenever I would encounter new places, persons, or failures. The game features a massive codex of historical information about the game’s locations, famous characters, and social structure, containing at least one or two

\textsuperscript{11} Webster, “Kingdom Come: Deliverance.”

\textsuperscript{12} The developers included a range of period-accurate weapon types, including swords, axes, maces, bows, and halberds. They also included a robust clothing and armor system, allowing the player sixteen different armor “slots” for headwear, footwear, and everything in between. For a detailed study of medieval arms and armor; See also chapter six of Paul B. Newman’s \textit{Daily Life in the Middle Ages}. 
pages per entry. I found this codex to be more important in *KCD* than in other games that feature similar indices (the *Assassin’s Creed* franchise comes to mind), mostly on account of how much the game design relies on historical medieval conventions and sensibilities. Combat was not the only mechanic that was made more complicated as a result of the game’s historical focus; alchemy in *Kingdom Come* is another notable example of how the game brings the medieval world to life, for better or for worse.

The art of brewing potions and decoctions is a staple of RPG fare, and players are usually only required to know which ingredients go together to create a certain elixir. Not content with such an abstract representation of fifteenth-century medicinal practices, *KCD* tasks the player with manually completing all of the steps of the potion brewing process, from picking wild herbs to boiling pot for three turns of a sand-glass. Henry must also first be able to read the recipe for a given decoction in order to brew it, one of many instances in which Henry’s state of illiteracy must be addressed by the player before progressing. The available remedies themselves are period-accurate for the most part,13 with most concoctions having only minor effects such as treating a wound, loosening stiff joints, or poisoning an enemy. No mixture goes so far as to give Henry any sort of super-human strength or ability, once again straying away from the conventions of the genre. For the historian-gamer, this is an intriguing diversion into medieval medicine and its employment. However, the tediously accurate gameplay mechanic may alienate some players who are more concerned with other elements of gameplay.

To the question at hand, then: does the attention to historical detail make *Kingdom Come: Deliverance* a better role-playing experience, or does it convolute a tried-and-true formula? I would argue that *KCD*’s complexities represent its strengths, and its thorough integration of history into the entire design of the game marks an accomplishment within the genre. The developers at Warhorse Studios took each individual component of a typical RPG and tested it against the realities of medieval life. This is

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13 Newman, *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*, 261. Notable diversions from medicinal history include the “Amor Potion” and the “Lazarus Decoction.” While love potions were certainly made and sold, they were of course only placebic and largely ineffective. Rejuvenating mixtures to grant strength to a wounded soldier would also have existed, but again would most likely have been a basic opioid stimulant, not capable of healing.
apparent not just in the major mechanics of the game, such as combat, trading or alchemy, but also in the smaller details as well. For instance, Henry’s carrying capacity is limited to just over one hundred pounds, and his horse can carry only a hundred pounds more (without purchasing larger saddlebags). Given the kill-loot-sell\textsuperscript{14} economics central to most RPGs, enforcing a more realistic weight limit on what the player can carry enhances the immersion into the game world. Other small considerations like food perishability and an attention to cleanliness further drive home that sense of immersion.

Immersion is \textit{KCD}’s strongest suit, and it serves the historical aspirations of the game well. While some concessions were made in order to maintain the entertainment value of the game (usually related to time: armor repairs are instantaneous, learning to read occurs over a few in-game hours instead of weeks or months), Warhorse has gone to great lengths in order to make the player feel like they are living in a real time and place. Henry is a believable character and in order to fulfil his mission the player must adapt to the conditions of 1403 Bohemia. \textit{Kingdom Come: Deliverance} provides a gameplay experience capable not only of conveying history, but encouraging players to learn more. By crafting a simple-but-compelling narrative around enjoyable characters, \textit{KCD} draws players into the historical lore of its game world. While Henry’s accomplishments may seem to pale in comparison to becoming Arch-mage in \textit{Skyrim} or saving the galaxy as \textit{Mass Effect}’s Commander Shepard, they leave the player with the same satisfaction—proof that a game created with history in mind can deliver both facts and fun.

\textsuperscript{14} In many RPGs, the player earns most of their money by defeating enemies, looting their armor, weapons and valuable possessions, and then selling those items at a vendor for outright profits. When a player’s carrying capacity is unrealistically high, they can accrue vast amounts of loot without having to return to a city to sell it first.
Bibliography


Author Bio

Eric Lowe is a graduate student in the Social Science and Globalization M.A. Program at CSUSB, having earned his B.A. in History in 2017. His research interests include race, ethnicity and immigration within U.S. history. His thesis work examines the internal and external creation of identity and community among racial minorities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as legal treatment of these groups during that period. After completing his M.A. in 2019, Eric intends to move directly into a Ph.D. program and continue his scholarship on race in America. He hopes to begin lecturing at the community college level, with the goal of earning a professorship at a four-year University upon the completion of his doctorate.
Sargent’s Mysterious Sitter: Objectification and Subjectivity in Madame X and Other Works By John Singer Sargent

By Silvia Lopez

Portraiture\(^1\) of women has captivated the imagination of high art for centuries. In *The Female Nude: Pornography, Art, and Sexuality*, Lynda Nead argues that “For art history, the female nude is both at the center and at the margins of high culture.”\(^2\) In these paintings, women are reduced to objects or artistic tools for the painter to convey any message, emotion, or idea they so choose. This is objectification in its purest form. Since men have created the female image in art, women have been subjected to this form of degradation for centuries. A woman can potentially be objectified by the portrayal of her image regardless if she is nude or clothed. John Singer Sargent’s famous painting *Madame X* (1883), is a perfect example of this phenomenon.

Before the advent of widespread photography, painted portraits offered the best method to capture an individual’s presence and visage. Due to the difficulty and complexity involved in accurately capturing an individual’s appearance on canvas, artists of exceptional talent found themselves in high demand. One such famed artist was American expatriate, John Singer Sargent (1856–1925). This paper will explore how Sargent subjected his clients to objectification through instrumentality and denial of subjectivity by using the cases of Virginie Avegno Gautreau, Harry Vane Millbank, and Thérèse Aldringen as examples.

In her analysis of *Madame X*, art historian Susan Sidlauskas observes that, “John Singer Sargent’s (1865–1925) best known portrait, *Madame X*… has become an icon of an elegant, but jaded beauty, a symbol of fashion at its most extravagant and narcissism

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\(^1\) Portraiture is a means for artists to explore the anatomy of the body.

at its most insistent.” The woman in the painting, Madame Virginie Avegno Gautreau, now better known as Madame X, was a social butterfly whose ethereal beauty captivated the Sargent. Sargent believed the painting of Gautreau would secure his career as an artist in Paris. In the painting, Gautreau is presented in profile and clad in a midnight black gown that contrasts sharply with her pale skin. She leans against a table, with her right arm subtly twisted away from her body, while she looks away from the spectator. Everything about the painting is intended to create an air of mystery, from the stark contrast of black and white, Gautreau’s aloof stance, and even the very title itself. Sargent focused on Gautreau’s skin for so long because he was drawn to its paleness, suggesting that the artist merely saw the woman as an object: skin. The contrast between Gautreau’s pale skin and black dress appears to be the main subject of the painting. Sidlauskas suggests that, “Gautreau’s skin seemed to become for him [Sargent] almost a fetish.” Sargent worked endlessly to bring Gautreau’s pale complexion to life on canvas, but he was never fully satisfied with the result. He returned to the painting repeatedly, even compulsively, in the end he was only able to tear himself away from Madame X in order to start a new project.

Sargent used Gautreau for her skin as if she was an object, a mere tool to advance his own career. In order to properly explore how Sargent objectified and used Gautreau for his own benefit, it is necessary to define objectification more clearly. The article *Objectification* by prominent American philosopher and feminist thinker Martha C. Nussbaum, offers a clear framework for analyzing objectification in art. In *Objectification* Nussbaum outlines “Seven Ways to Treat a Person as a Thing.” According to Nussbaum, “What objectification is, is to treat a human being in one or more of these ways.” Another characteristic of

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6 Ibid.
objectification is “instrumentality” which Nussbaum defines as “The objectifier treats the object as a tool of his or her purposes.” Sargent employs “instrumentality” in the way he that he used the pale complexion of Gautreau’s skin as a subject for his painting—the same way an artist uses fruit for a still life. Nussbaum states, “Most inanimate objects are standardly regarded as tools of our purposes, though some are regarded as worthy of respect for their beauty, or age, or naturalness.” Furthermore, a great deal of work went into preparation for the final version of *Madame X*, including a series of studies done in watercolor and pencil of his model before he finally decided how to pose her. In *Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent’s Madame X*, Sidlauskas explores Sargent’s struggles to determine how to paint his model. She observes that, “Many of Sargent’s preliminary sketches of Gautreau suggest the tactics of a hunter unsure about how to capture his prey.” Several of Sargent’s sketches are of Gautreau’s profile as well. The artist’s perfectionism is evident even in the preparatory stages of the portrait. “Apparently the artist needed to contemplate the full range of Gautreau’s movements, so that he might later arrest them on the final canvas.” Sargent regarded Madame Gautreau as a rare beauty for her pale skin and her profile which he rendered flawlessly and obsessively in *Madame X*.

Although Madame Gautreau was an affluent, independent woman, in order produce her portrait, Sargent went to great lengths to take total control of the scene, “even the smallest details of a sitter’s costume, pose, and affect.” The artist dictated what Gautreau wore for the portrait and how she was posed, compared to an example written by Leslie Bostrom and Marlene Malik of a ‘Matisse set-up;’ “The female model is posed on an ancient over-stuffed chair surrounded by patterned draperies in a large floppy hat and high-heeled slippers,” this is a similar way in which Sargent controlled the setting of the portrait.

Despite Sargent’s obsession with the portrait, *Madame X*
was poorly received when it made its public debut in the Paris salon in 1884. The pale, ghostly image of Gautreau in the portrait was primarily responsible for the painting’s frosty reception. Dorothy Mahon and Silvia Centeno observed that, “On the first day of the exhibition, crowds gathered ridiculing the image and impugning character of the sitter.” Such poor critical reception reflected poorly upon Madame Gautreau, despite the anonymous title her likeness was well known among the people that attended the salon exhibition. Madame Gautreau was so haunted and disgraced by this that both herself and her mother, Marie Virginie Ternant, begged Sargent to remove the painting from the exhibition. Nussbaum’s concept of “denial of subjectivity,” provides an ideal framework to explore how Gautreau was harmed by Sargent’s objectification. According to Nussbaum’s concept of denial of subjectivity, “The objectifier treats the object as something whose experience and feelings (if any) need not be taken into account.” Although Sargent painted Gautreau just as he posed her, when he refused to take down the painting he did so without consideration or care for how Gautreau and Tarnant felt about the portrait and its harsh criticism. Refusal to take down the painting as requested by the two women is a way that the artist objectified his sitter and her mother. The artist himself was also subjected to the negativity toward the famous painting. Mahon and Centeno suggest that Sargent’s “hope and expectation that this submission would secure his reputation as a brilliant portraitist, to be followed by important commissions from Parisian society, were ruined. It is not surprising that, by 1886, he had left Paris to establish himself in London.” Sargent used Gautreau’s image to boost his career and regardless of the criticism received, the artist subjected his model to “instrumentality” once more.

Gautreau was not the only model who Sargent objectified through his work. While working on Madame X between 1883-1884, Sargent produced a hastily painted sketch of Mrs. Harry Vane Millbank, the mother of his close friend Albert de Bellerocche. In the sketch, Mrs. Millbank is dressed in a gown

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15 Susan Sidlauskas, “Painting Skin: John Singer Sargent's Madame X,” 11.
similar to that of Gautreau; black with a deep neckline and cinched at the waist and in a similar pose. Through Sargent’s portrayal, Mrs. Milbank was objectified through “instrumentality” in the similar manner to Gautreau. Mahon and Centeno contend that, “Apparently in progress at the same time, although signed, this casually painted portrait’s sketchy and unfinished appearance and its close similarity to the X-radiographic image of Madame X suggest that it may have served as a practice piece for Sargent as he settled on his final ideas for Madame X.”\(^\text{18}\) In short, Sargent used Mrs. Millbank as a tool to prepare for his final painting of Gautreau.

Another painting done years following the poor reception of Madame X was that of Thérèse Aldringen in Portrait of Thérèse Countess Clary Aldringen (1896). The portrait looks innocent and much more modest than that of Madame X, but when the viewer looks closely at Countess Aldringen’s right hand, it becomes apparent that her fingers are positioned awkwardly, as if cradling an invisible cigarette. Sargent took control of how the painting would look by choosing not to include it. If Sargent painted how he saw his model when he painted Madame X, why did he not do the same when he painted Countess Aldringen? Sargent was obsessed with perfection and Countess Aldringen was merely another prop in the setting of his portrait. To Sargent, Countess Aldringen was merely a canvas upon which to project his own image of an ideal woman, he could change anything about her he desired in order to match the image he intended to project. Countess Aldringen was subjected to objectification via “instrumentality” just as Madame Gautreau had been before her.

The objectification of women in art possesses deep roots in artistic history, but questions of objectification remain omnipresent in art and media to this day. “Popular mass media in Western societies have been criticized for sexually objectifying the female body” writes Laura Vandenbosch and Steven Eggermont, such as the female nude of ancient portraiture.\(^\text{19}\) Objectification still remains, whether it be in a sexual or non-sexual way. Two of the


“Seven Ways to Treat an Object as a Thing” helped analyze the manner in which Madame Gautreau, her mother, Mrs. Millbank, and Thérèse Countess Clary Aldringen were all objectified by the Sargent through his paintings. All four women were subject to objectification in one way or another and treated as objects to further the artistic career of John Singer Sargent. However, Sargent did not escape subjection to his own work when his portrayal of Madame X received a torrent of criticism at its Paris debut. Despite his failure to entrench himself in the Parisian art scene, Sargent’s long and successful career demonstrates that he was indeed a talented and prolific artist. His work remained in high demand throughout his life, and many clients commissioned him for portraits, many of those portraits being of women. Sargent’s work is abundant in these portraits, as explained previously, many of them had similarities in which it is safe to say that Sargent created this female image as a subject himself and imposed it on the subjects of his work, thus reducing them to mere objects for the advancement of his career.20

This characteristic of Sargent’s work is most notable in his objectification of Madame Gautreau, whose ethereal beauty he attempted to harness as a means to bolster his career. Through these actions, Sargent’s conduct clearly matches Nussbaum’s definition of “instrumentality” set forth in Objectification. Sargent ignored the feelings Madame Gautreau and her mother had toward the harsh commentary of Madame X by refusing to remove the painting from the salon, another way in which Sargent objectified these women with his work.21 In retrospective, despite Sargent’s hopes that his artistic genius showcased in Madame X would catapult him into the limelight, it was the portrait’s poor reception that made him famous, or more precisely, infamous. In the words of Mahon and Centeno, “John Singer Sargent’s notorious portrait continues to captivate museum visitors today because of its commanding presence.”22

It is that very controversy and the mysterious sitter in the painting that made his name internationally recognized. Sargent made bold statements with his work by the way he painted his

21 Ibid.
subjects such as contrasting Gautreau’s pale skin with a dark dress and possibly censoring the cigarette from Countess Aldringen fingers, all of which are deceiving to the eyes when the viewer learns the artist’s true intentions.

Bibliography


Author Bio

Silvia Lopez is an emerging artist that lives in Southern California with her family. She graduated from California State University San Bernardino with a Bachelor of Arts in Studio art to follow her lifelong dream of becoming an artist. Her artwork is often made with thick paint and various tools to create textures and to make her paintings three-dimensional. She also creates artwork about nature conservation to demonstrate the importance of all living things. In her free time, she enjoys sketching her favorite characters and hopes to become a character designer at Disney Animation Studios.
Book Review: *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment*

By Randy Stuart

In light of current events, there is no time like the present to hold a serious discussion regarding gun control. In today’s world of breaking news, we are relentlessly bombarded with cell phone notifications that provide grisly details of the latest tragedy that has struck somewhere in our country, sometimes close to home. *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment*, written by historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz in 2018, draws upon American history to remind us that gun violence is not a new phenomenon; rather, it has been embedded in American life since the country’s inception. By tracing gun violence to the Native American genocide, slave patrols, and the wars of today, Dunbar-Ortiz demonstrates that “a red thread of blood connects the first white settlement in North America with today and the future.”¹ Dunbar-Ortiz, who is currently a Professor of Ethnic Studies at California State University-East Bay, delivers a passionate discussion surrounding the gun culture that exists in America today.

Dunbar-Ortiz argues that the language of the Second Amendment, which ensures that “a well-regulated Militia [is] necessary to the security of a free State,”² was a way for the Founding Fathers to ensure white dominance. Tracing the origins of the militia back to the early colonial settlements, Dunbar-Ortiz suggests that volunteer militias were assembled for the purpose of waging war on the Indigenous people of North America. Such military strategies quickly became a form of “racialized war” pitting “civilization against savagery.”³ These same volunteer militias were utilized to conduct slave patrols, a practice the slave owning founders of South Carolina brought with them from Barbados. Dunbar-Ortiz also claims that the militias the Founding Fathers sought to protect, “were intended as a means for white people to eliminate Indigenous communities in order to take their land, and for slave patrols to control Black people.”⁴ After the

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¹ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2018), 143.
² Ibid., 35.
³ Ibid., 35.
⁴ Ibid., 57.
ratification of the Second Amendment, the ability to arm oneself and wage war on people of color became a Constitutional right for white Americans. Consequently, all manner of atrocities against Indigenous and slave populations were formally protected by the full weight of the law.

Fully aware of what the militias represented, the Founding Fathers created an army of heavily armed citizens, whom they then unleashed on the West to secure America’s Manifest Destiny. Armed with a new type of warfare, militias began “destroying Indigenous villages and fields and intimidating and slaughtering unarmed woman, children, and elders.”

Rather than acknowledge the violence committed by way of the gun when securing new land, Americans quickly romanticized the notion of “taming” the Wild West. Dunbar-Ortiz believes that “in this process, gun violence and civilian massacres were not just normalized, but commercially glorified, packaged, promoted, and mass marketed.”

The type of warfare that Americans waged on the Indigenous people of the West did not cease once the West was won. Instead, it was transplanted overseas—and, as Dunbar-Ortiz notes—has been utilized in all wars we (Americans) have entered into since, with the exception of World War I and II. Today, just as in the past, America continues to utilize “violence directed systematically against noncombatants through irregular means,” in its campaigns.

Centuries of unrelenting violence, coupled with the American fantasy of taming the West via the gun, has thus created many social problems in America.

One of the many social consequences that America experiences today are exceedingly prevalent mass shootings. Dunbar-Ortiz attributes the first mass shooting in America to Charles Whitman. In 1966, Whitman unleashed ninety minutes of terror on the University of Austin, Texas, resulting in fourteen dead and thirty-two injured. This former Marine sniper suffered from severe mental health issues but failed to receive adequate medical help. Dunbar-Ortiz argues America’s response to this tragedy, was not to increase the quality of mental health services provided; instead “authorities created the first S.W.A.T [Special Weapons and Tactics] team, soon to be replicated in nearly every

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5 Dunbar-Ortiz, Loaded, 43.
6 Ibid., 84.
7 Ibid., 143.
police force in the country.” America’s only solution to gun violence appears to be more guns. President Donald Trump mirrored this response following the Parkland Florida High School shooting in 2018. In the aftermath of the tragedy, President Trump recommended that school teachers should arm themselves in response to the escalating number of school shootings.

Another major consequence of gun violence that echoes down through the nation’s history to the present is the emergence of organized firearms advocacy groups, most notably the powerful National Rifle Association, or NRA. The NRA casts itself, as a protector of American gun rights, a champion of the rural everyman against the government, and a defender of the nation against terrorist plots as well as amorphous threats of “socialism.” Due to the prevalence of longstanding pro-gun, and pro-citizen militia narratives stretching back to the “taming” of the West, the NRA’s calls for heavily armed citizenry appeals widely to disenfranchised Americans who do not trust the federal government. In addition to their role in promoting and romanticizing gun ownership, as well as their vociferous opposition to any effort to regulate firearms, the growth of the NRA has also paralleled the rise of white nationalism.

Dunbar-Ortiz calls attention to a declassified FBI report released by the George W. Bush administration, “that warned of a concerted, decades-long attempt by white supremacists to infiltrate police forces.” The report implies that police forces across the country have hired people who seek to advance the ideology of white supremacy, and states that “the steep rise in white nationalist groups between 2008 and 2014 grew from 149 to nearly a thousand, which paralleled the rise in police shootings of Black men.” Evidence of this escalation of violence perpetrated by police officers against African Americans has become another permanent fixture of the daily news cycle. The concerted efforts of white nationalists to firmly enmesh themselves in the nation’s police force lends credence to Dunbar-Ortiz’s contention that pro-gun and right-wing groups are concerned that “liberals wanted to violate their sacred rights and confiscate their guns.” These groups do not see the battle over gun ownership as an isolated

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8 Ibid., 132.
9 Dunbar-Ortiz, Loaded, 132.
10 Ibid., 164.
11 Ibid., 158.
affair; rather they see it as a central part of a broader ideological struggle against “liberals” in general, whom they regard as inherently alien and hostile to their interests. The political lobbying efforts of the NRA at state and federal levels, and the entry of white nationalists into local law enforcement, represent different manifestations of the same ideological goal—to protect gun ownership and combat “liberal” agendas.

_Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment_, explores rich narratives that are delivered with the type of fervor only a zealous historian like Dunbar-Ortiz can provide. Dunbar-Ortiz does a tremendous job of developing a unique perspective on the conception and purpose of the Second Amendment. Supporting the assertion that white settlers who were determined to pursue their Manifest Destiny have now morphed into members of organized groups clinging to gun rights, Dunbar-Ortiz blends the work of previous historians with her own factual evidence to provide “A Disarming History of the Second Amendment.” Although Dunbar-Ortiz herself was once a proponent of the right to bear arms, in _Loaded_ she energetically argues for a total re-assessment of the Second Amendment’s destructive role in American history.

After explaining that the Second Amendment is no longer necessary, she may lead the reader to incorrectly believe that once she has tallied the countless number of atrocities committed through gun usage, she is going to recommend its discontinuation. Instead, she chooses to focus on how extremist groups like the NRA and white nationalists will continue to cling to gun rights as a safe haven, allowing them to remain in control. In her closing paragraph Dunbar-Ortiz appears to be resigned to the belief that nothing can ever be done to reduce the number of guns that American society has allowed to be created, thus the problem will never truly be resolved. Although Dunbar-Ortiz goes to tremendous lengths to outline the origin and ramifications of rampant gun ownership in American society, she falls short of recommending solutions. _Loaded_, delivers a history of the United States that might be alarming to those who remain unaware of its violent past, but leaves someone who is looking for solutions to gun violence wanting more.
Bibliography


Author Bio

Randy Stuart is currently a junior at Cal State San Bernardino, and is pursuing a Bachelor of Arts degree in history, with the ultimate goal of becoming an inspiring high school history teacher. With the support of his amazing wife and three children, Randy escaped the shackles of corporate America and returned to school after a 21-year hiatus. Now a full-time student, Randy spends his free time travelling the country with his wife and children any chance he gets.
Book Review: *Assassination of a Saint*

By Jasmine Colorado

On March 7, 2018, Pope Francis announced that Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero is on his way to canonization. Although no date has been set yet, the approval of miracles by an individual is the last step towards sainthood in the Roman Catholic Church. As his followers celebrate the news of his pending canonization, they are also reminded of the brutal way in which he was murdered and of the collective wound that has yet to heal among the people of El Salvador. In his latest book, *Assassination of a Saint*, Matt Eisenbrandt delivers a detailed, intriguing narrative of the murder of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. In the wake of Romero’s death, dozens of books were written on his life and work, however, not one book has been written about his assassination. Eisenbrandt’s research is groundbreaking for two major reasons: it chronicles the investigations conducted by the author and his legal team, and also provides insight into the role played by the United States after the assassination.

The story begins on March 24, 1980, as the sixty-two-year-old Archbishop of El Salvador conducted a memorial service honoring one of his parishioners. Unlike the politically charged, revolutionary homilies he usually delivered, his words on this particular morning were much more subdued: “We know that every effort to improve a society, especially when injustice and sin are so present, is an effort that God blesses, that God wants, that God demands from us.” Moments after saying these words, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero’s homily was interrupted by a bullet to the heart. His death extinguished the ray of hope harbored by many Salvadorans, the dream that peace could come to El Salvador.

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Salvador without war. After his death, Romero’s life story spread beyond the borders of his tiny homeland: “Romero’s legacy spans the globe, with dignitaries like Barack Obama paying homage at his tomb. A statue of Romero now stands next to Martin Luther King’s in Westminster Abbey, and his bust joins those of Mother Teresa and Rosa Parks in Washington D.C.’s National Cathedral.”

Eisenbrandt highlights the last three years of Romero’s life. As tensions between the Salvadoran government and the populace escalated, Romero became a guiding figure for those suffering under the effects of oppression: “Romero…became a hero to Salvadoran campesinos as he forcefully advocated for the plight of the poor, the protection of human rights, and the need for nonviolent change in El Salvador.” When over 100,000 individuals gathered to mourn Romero on the day of his funeral, the army used sharpshooters against the crowd, resulting in a massacre. Unquestionably, this incident accelerated the bloody civil war that engulfed El Salvador for the next twelve years.

No one was ever formally charged with Romero’s murder. In 2004, Eisenbrandt along with a team of private investigators, lawyers and human rights advocates, reopened the case in the United States. Eisenbrandt was the legal director of the Center for Justice and Accountability (CJA) during the time he wrote Assassination of a Saint. CJA is an organization that is “part of a worldwide campaign to hold those who commit atrocities, like genocide and torture, accountable for their crimes.” and a key figure in both the trial and investigation. In an honest, yet optimistic and conversational tone, Eisenbrandt chronicles the ups and downs faced by the legal team. The conditions for the case were less than favorable. For one, the investigation reopened in the early 2000s, twenty years after the murder, meaning that many of those involved were either scattered across the U.S. or El Salvador, and others had already passed away. However, the greatest problem the legal team faced was extracting information from witnesses while members of the party that allegedly murdered Romero remained in prominent positions of power in El Salvador. “In El Salvador, ongoing obfuscation and disinformation by those

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4 Eisenbrandt, Assassination of a Saint, xiii.
5 The term campesino means peasant farmer.
6 Eisenbrandt, Assassination of a Saint, xv.
7 Ibid., 17.
with selfish or sinister motives continue to obscure the truth... Even after the publication of this book, many facts about Romero’s assassination remain hidden because witnesses still risk death if they speak out.”

Despite the circumstances, Eisenbrandt and his team were able to uncover truths never before revealed.

*Assassination of a Saint* requires a significant amount of context in order to understand the narrative. The book also includes a wide range of suspects, witnesses and individuals involved in the murder which could become exhausting for readers to follow. Eisenbrandt expertly blends the present with the past by opening each chapter with a testimony from a witness in present-day California and then providing a flashback to El Salvador in the 1980s. For instance, in the opening chapter Eisenbrandt begins with a testimony from a witness during the 2004 trial. Atilio Ramirez Amaya tearfully recounted the day of Romero’s death; as a judge in El Salvador at the time of the murder, he was required to investigate the case. When he refused to share his private findings with the local police, they dispatched two men to murder him and his family. Although the murder attempt failed, Amaya had to flee to the United States in order to remain alive. Eisenbrandt then flashes back to 2001, when the CJA discovered that Alvaro Saravia was living in California. Saravia has been the primary suspect shooter in the Romero assassination since the beginning but when the U.S. lent him political asylum he lived his life quietly in California until discovered by the CJA.

In chapters 1–4, Eisenbrandt provides further context regarding the investigation. El Salvador has always been a land of extremes; he explains that the people of El Salvador rebelled against the elitist minority in the 1930s and adopted certain Marxist ideologies: “But the ideology’s appeal in 1932, just as in 1977 had little to do with Soviet global hegemony and instead emanated from a hope to alleviate the dire socioeconomic inequalities.”

Throughout the 1900s a small group of businessmen and their families—de-facto oligarchs—ruled the country, specifically the lucrative coffee sector, and denied many human rights to *campesinos*. Under the oppressive rule of the rich, it was impossible for anyone in the lower class to overcome poverty. The Salvadoran army fully supported the oligarchs; many of the

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9 Ibid., 14.
members of the right-wing party belonged to the oligarchy and possessed close ties to the United States. U.S. ambassador Robert White, a key figure in the preliminary attempted investigation, described El Salvador as: “Magnificent suburbs full of villas right out of Beverly Hills are flanked by miserable slums right out of Jakarta where families have to walk two blocks to the only water spigot.” These obvious and painful inequities brewed an unrest that increased with each new oppressive action made by the government. From the 1881 law that outlawed indigenous communal lands and privatized the exportation of coffee, to the 1932 massacre of approximately 30,000 farmers perpetrated by the military, to the assassination of Archbishop Romero, all of these heinous acts fueled the crisis that ultimately ignited the nation’s brutal civil war.

Eisenbrandt also introduces Roberto D’aubuisson in the first chapters as the death squad leader and politician accused of orchestrating Romero’s death. “The CIA labeled him ‘egocentric, reckless and perhaps mentally unstable.’ To his backers in the business community, Salvadoran armed forces, and U.S. Republican Party, however, D’aubuisson was charismatic articulate and intelligent, a leader born to protect the country from the looming scourge of communism.” He is known for founding death squads, military groups funded by the right-wing business community. These entities committed kidnappings and killings of any guerilla member, sympathizer, or civilian who appeared suspicious. These assassinations went untried and were oftentimes carried out by military personnel in plainclothes. After the death of Romero, the military ransacked a small farm and arrested a group of right-wing extremists including D’aubuisson. The CJA uncovered a diary and other incriminating documents, including Operation Pineapple—a set of documents that seemed to indicate that D’aubuisson and his associates were responsible for the death of Romero. Although evidence pointed to D’aubuisson’s involvement, the wealthy families of El Salvador raised such angry protests and threats that he was eventually set free and went on to become a leading politician of El Salvador.

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10 Eisenbrandt, Assassination of a Saint, 18.
11 Ibid., 37.
12 Ibid., 33.
13 Ibid., 31.
An inescapable theme throughout the book is the United States’ interference in both the civil war and Romero’s murder. Robert White, the U.S. ambassador stationed in San Salvador at the time, wrote to the CIA and emphasized his suspicions in regard to D’aubuisson and his connection to the murder. Yet, despite the evidence compiled in White’s messages, he was told that there was not enough proof to accuse D’aubuisson of the crime. Furthermore, the U.S was deeply involved in both the politics and the military of El Salvador during the war: “From 1946–1979, the U.S government had provided the Salvadoran armed forces a total of $16.7 million. In just the first year of Reagan’s presidency, military aid was $82 million, and it grew significantly in subsequent years...In its first year of office, the Reagan Administration explicitly abandoned human rights as a factor in its Central American policy and provided aid to El Salvador without conditions.”

Eisenbrandt also expands on the military assistance provided to El Salvador. The Atlacatl Battalion, the first elite army unit trained by Reagan’s administration, slaughtered at least 700 civilians (many of them children) in the community of El Mozote. After the first reports of the massacre appeared in American newspapers, the Reagan administration released a statement certifying that the military of El Salvador was “making a concerted effort to protect human rights.”

This action proved once again that in spite of the atrocities perpetrated by the Salvadoran military, the U.S would continue to protect the oligarchy.

In the following chapters, Eisenbrandt analyzes Romero’s transformation to a right-wing approved archbishop appointed to keep other members of the clergy under the thumb of the oligarchy. The church opposed the preaching of the Liberation Theology, a Marxist-tinged ideology with the core belief of providing equality and education for the poor in order to create a consciousness and advancement amongst the lower class people. At first, Romero maintained conservative views and gently chastised his fellow priests whose views became too radical, however, after the Salvadoran army murdered his close friend Rutilio Grande—a priest that helped spread the Liberation Theology—Romero’s views drastically changed. For the next three years of his life he used his pulpit to criticize the government and

15 Ibid., 43.
military, helping families of the kidnapped and missing to find their loved ones. He even wrote to Jimmy Carter’s administration and pleaded with them to cease the financial support for the troops that killed civilians daily.

The following chapters center on the investigation itself as the team attempts to find and question Alvaro Saravia and Amado Garay. Garay was known to be the getaway driver for Romero’s killer. He was wanted by the CJA for his wealth of information. After traveling to El Salvador Eisenbrandt’s team came into contact with some of Garay’s relatives and discovered that he was in the witness protection program in the United States and could only see his family in undisclosed locations with the FBI present. With the FBI’s cooperation, Eisenbrandt’s team was finally able to interview their key witness. Obtaining information from Garay was no easy feat, but his testimony was essential to Eisenbrandt’s quest for the truth: “Garay’s status as a conspirator is the reason we want to find him. He was a member of D’aubuisson’s death squad and one of the only eyewitnesses to Romero’s assassination…” The team also chronicled their urgent search for Saravia, the alleged shooter. Despite facing danger in both El Salvador and the United States, Eisenbrandt’s team continued to track Saravia, and despite finally finding him, they were unable to extradite him to the United States. However, on the basis of Eisenbrandt’s investigation, Saravia was ultimately tried and convicted in absentia, he is the first and only man ever charged with Romero’s murder. Despite the victory, the outcome remains bittersweet as many of the facts surrounding Romero’s death remain hidden, and Salvadorans are still suffering in the aftermath of the war and have yet to find relief.

Assassination of a Saint stands as a prime example of a modern true crime thriller, non-fiction in its highest form. Eisenbrandt beautifully combines the history of El Salvador, and the murder of Archbishop Romero, with the efforts of his team to uncover the truth behind the killing. Ultimately the true power in Eisenbrandt’s narration is bound to the dialogue. Although a large part of the story is set in a modern, air-conditioned courthouse in Fresno, all of the characters come alive, with their motivations, accounts, and emotions seeping through every word. The book is dynamic, fast-paced and transcends culture and politics to find

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16 Eisenbrandt, Assassination of a Saint, 97.
values identifiable by all. By delivering simple sentences and portraying himself through a humble, friendly persona, Eisenbrandt engages his reader, as they read the real-life drama cemented in the historic roots of a troubled country. It is also important to acknowledge the author’s brilliant representation of global relations in El Salvador’s bloody civil war. Both his passion for the case, as well as the admiration he holds for Romero are clearly visible in the text. An example of this can be seen during a breakthrough of the case in which he describes: “I start to cry as we turn to each other and start hugging. While I wipe tears from my cheeks someone in the audience shouts: ‘Monsenor Romero!’ A chorus responds: ‘Presente!’”17 In other words, the audience in the courtroom as well as the author felt as though Romero was present.

During the 2004 trial, Eisenbrandt read a letter written by archbishop and human-rights activist Desmond Tutu aloud to the courtroom: “His [Romero’s] assassination in public with his people is reminiscent of the assassination of another great man, Mahatma Gandhi…the purpose [of this case] is not retribution, but to seek the truth and to restore the moral balance.”18 The author admits that Romero would be in despair at seeing the state of present-day El Salvador, and yet through the near impossible task accomplished by the CJA, he and his team proved that any amount of effort and awareness, passion and tenacity, could create a positive impact. Ultimately, Eisenbrandt not only lives up to the legacy of his hero, but also finds a glimmer of hope in a tale full of darkness and evil.

18 Ibid., 150.
Bibliography


Author Bio

Jasmine Colorado is an undergraduate at California State University San Bernardino. After graduating with a double major in history and literature in the fall of 2019, she intends to transfer to graduate school and complete her PhD. Her plan is to write children’s historic fiction and fantasy novels as well as teach at community college level. In her free time, she enjoys learning about mythology, visiting different countries, and creating ceramic artwork. She would like to extend a special thanks to Professor Deckard Hodge for his constant support in her academic endeavors, encouraging words, and for inspiring her to pursue her passion for writing and teaching.
Exhibit Review: *In|Dignity*

By Maia Matheu

Anthropology is often considered the study of man, but more accurately, it is the study of humanity as a whole. In order to understand what it means to be human, anthropology delves into the linguistic, cultural, biological, and archaeological processes of culture. The *In|Dignity* exhibit represents an exceptionally clever, multidisciplinary effort to use the tools of anthropology to explore the vast diversity of human culture, while simultaneously confronting discrimination. The title of the exhibit itself embodies the dueling themes of dignity and indignity, shedding light on the broad range of diverse as well as unique identities found within cultures, explored through personal narratives concerning discrimination and prejudice, empowerment and self-respect. The theme of diversity is showcased throughout the exhibit from the life experiences explored and the people behind these stories, to displays along the walls of the museum. Real-life experiences of racism and heterosexism, as well as moments of pride and accomplishment are showcased through the personal testimony of Inland Empire residents who were interviewed as part of the project. By showcasing the trials and triumphs of these Inland Empire residents, the exhibit seeks to connect communities and dissolve the barriers of discrimination.

The Anthropology Museum is located on the third floor of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Before entering the museum, visitors are greeted by an introductory display that outlines the exhibit and its intended purpose, along with the title, portrait, and a brief biography of each of the people featured in the exhibit. The statements, “Look me in the eyes. See beyond the stereotype. Embrace my humanity,” assist in reinforcing the concept of looking past labels and prejudices while exploring the exhibit. These three statements are short, to the point, and more importantly, full of heartfelt honesty that participants in this exhibit wish visitors to keep in mind. Walking into the exhibit, a sense of peace, openness, and tranquility seemingly fills the area. This effect pervades the space and is achieved by the location of the museum, near the quiet end of a third-floor hallway, and through the color scheme and glass windows, which provide natural and fresh lighting. Tall, white panels containing messages from Inland
Empire residents are constructed around the gallery space to form makeshift hallways and twining corridors. Each panel holds a framed photograph of a participant that hangs near the top of the panel. Beneath this is the printed text of their story and a large close-up print of the participant’s face. There is a deliberate contrast between the framed photograph and the print of the person below. The photograph displays a formal, proper, and guarded pose while the print below the text reveals a speaker with their faces light-hearted and filled with joy. This light-hearted emotion resonates from each speaker while the placement of the print suggests that the act of sharing their experience eases the heavy weight of the indignities suffered. Being vulnerable and sharing these personal experiences enables museum visitors to know, understand, and perhaps start a change within themselves and in their communities.

The use of the narrator’s photographs, audio excerpts for each speaker, and written text flowing along the white panel walls permit visitors to form deep and profound connections to each individual featured in the exhibit. And with greater empathy comes greater understanding and with this, the exhibit creates bonds between people and reduces barriers. The exhibit is divided into seven thematic sections, each of which is assigned a color. This thematic color-coordination is found in the script of the white panels. In this way, the panels are easily grouped, and visitors keep the current theme of each section in mind as they make their way along. The themes listed are: Petrified, involving stories of preconceived notions of groups/people; Embodied, stories exploring how bodies can bind or free individuals; Color Lines, how color can be used to divide or unite. Stones May Rot, examining how words can affect; Invisible, stories of being ignored and hidden; I Raise Up My Voice, exploring the experiences of societal expectations upon women and redefining these expectations; and finally, Empower, which considers experiences of support and wisdom.

The museum also employs hands-on activities to encourage visitor participation and comprehension. One of these activities is found at the front of the museum on a wooden bookstand containing “concept cards” that visitors can carry with them as they move around the museum. These cards assist in interpreting large ideas that are often misunderstood in our society by breaking them down to promote better comprehension. They also contain
diagrams relating to these concepts, a list of narratives in the gallery that communicates this concept, and a critical-thinking section regarding the concept. As of now, the museum has seven types of concept cards: Immigration, Stereotypes, Intersectionality, Identity, Discrimination, Criminal Justice, and #MeToo. Through this interactive exercise, visitors have an opportunity to broaden their minds and connect with the panelists as they address these concepts. The critical-thinking section is important here as it allows the visitor to consider and apply what they take away from the experience of a concept card.

Another activity the museum incorporates is a selfie station. This station has two segments. One side painted black and the other painted white. In the corner of the white wall, there is a wooden stand with small carved birds and branches that holds several long strips of black cloth. The black wall lists directions for the selfie station and what to do with the black cloth. The cloth is a blindfold, and the black wall becomes a background for visitors to take a picture of themselves wearing blindfolds. On the wall, there are photographs of people with a black bar obscuring their eyes. Although unique, the selfie station’s intended message is confusing, the black cloth could be interpreted as symbolic of the idea that the character of an individual cannot be judged by physical appearance alone. Alternatively, concealing the eyes could be interpreted as obscuring an individual’s soul. Regardless of the intended message, at the top of the selfie station there is a quote in Spanish saying, “Quisieron enterrarnos, pero no sabían que éramos semilla,” which is translated as “They tried to bury us. They didn’t know that we were seeds.” Unfortunately, as experienced, the quote and the selfie participation concept struggle to relate and connect to each other in any meaningful way. The quote pairs well with the exhibit as a whole, but it seems entirely unrelated to the selfie station.

This museum strives to connect people of multiple backgrounds and communities through the shared personal experience of indignities and empowerment of Inland Empire residents. The exhibit employs a variety of methods to assist visitors in forming connections through the visual representation of participants, hearing the voices of these participants, supporting material along the walls that relate to their stories, and hands-on learning experiences. In this way, the space within this museum becomes a protective place where meaningful connections may be
formed between visitors and participants from all walks of life in a manner that is respectful, empathetic, and beautiful in its humanity.

Author Bio

Maia Matheu graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology and double minors in American Indian Studies and Classics from California State University, Long Beach. She is currently pursuing her Master’s Degree in Applied Archaeology at California State University, San Bernardino. She has participated on archaeological projects concerning Californian, Mesoamerican, and Classical archaeology. Besides digging in the ground, her academic interests include the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and museum studies. After graduation, she plans to enter the Cultural Resource Management workforce and keep the option of pursuing a PhD open.
Exhibit Review: Empress Dowager Cixi: Selections from the Summer Palace

By Hannah Norton

The Empress Dowager Cixi: Selections from the Summer Palace exhibit, hosted at the Bowers Museum in Santa Ana, California between November 12, 2017 and March 11, 2018, marked the first time that the Empress Dowager Cixi has been the subject of an exhibit beyond the borders of China. Held in association with the Summer Palace Museum in Beijing, the exhibit was guest curated by Ying-chen Ping, an art history professor from American University. Featuring art and pieces from Cixi’s own personal collection, this exhibit offers a glimpse into her life spent at her favorite residence, the Summer Palace. After being destroyed during the Second Opium War in 1860, the Summer Palace was refurbished in preparation for Cixi’s sixtieth birthday celebrations in 1894. After its restoration, the Empress Dowager made the Summer Palace her main residence, from which she oversaw governance of the empire. From the time of her ascendancy to Empress Dowager in 1861, until her death in 1908, Cixi served as the de-facto ruler of China. Cixi’s reign presided over the dramatic final decades of the Manchu Qing dynasty, which had ruled China since 1644, and was already under pressure from internal dissent and foreign opposition before Cixi’s rise to power. Instead of dwelling on the decline and fall of the Qing dynasty, this exhibit seeks to demonstrate how Cixi utilized art and material wealth to legitimize her rule and establish herself as a cultured woman.

Upon entering the room, the intricate throne set, prominently placed at the center of the exhibit, immediately draws the visitor’s attention. This reception throne set, featuring multiple pieces of furniture, provides a glimpse of where and how Cixi ruled. This set includes two large standing fans made of feathers, multiple animal figures signifying status, small tables topped by incense burners, a standing screen, long desk, and a semi-transparent image of Cixi hanging above the throne, completing the illusion of how the Empress Dowager held audience. Surrounding the throne set on both sides are examples of outfits worn by Manchu noble women and young imperial women during Cixi’s regency. Along the back wall, the exhibit features a selection of pieces worn by women and Pekingese dogs in the...
imperial palace with a selection of Cixi’s own beauty products, including a makeup brush, comb, and nail guard. To the right, the room features pieces from Cixi’s collection of Western products and selections from her birthday celebrations. Included in this display are a number of clocks from the Empress Dowager’s personal collection. Like her nephew, the Guangxu Emperor who reigned from 1875 through 1908 mostly under her control, Cixi was fascinated by the technologies of the Western world, leading to her collection of clocks and mechanical birds.¹ In the corner of the room is the Empress Dowager Cixi’s 1901 Duryea Surrey car, one of the main pieces of the exhibit. Gifted to her as a sixty-sixth birthday present by General Yuan Shikai, the car further underscores Cixi’s keen interest in Western technology. A looped video describes some of the rumors and tales that the car inspired, such as the story of a car accident caused by a eunuch driving drunk ending in the death of a few pedestrians; and that Cixi insisted on the back part of the car having a raised platform to prevent her from being at the same level as her driver. The inclusion of the car in the exhibit marks the first time that it has returned to the United States since the car was purchased in 1901. In the back corner hangs a portrait of the Empress Dowager Cixi painted by Dai Ze after the original by Hubert Vos. To the left of the throne set, there are more artifacts, furniture, and pieces featuring the Chinese character shòu (寿), the symbol of longevity. Tucked into the corner, behind protective glass lay a series of four paintings credited to the Empress Dowager Cixi. These paintings, which featured her official seal, flowers, and a poem, were often given as gifts to important officials.²

Music plays throughout the room, helping to set the ambience and keep the viewer engaged with the exhibit. Information about Cixi, the artifacts, and the Summer Palace are painted on the walls of the room. These also include quotes, such as one from Isaac T. Headland, who wrote that “Cixi was the concubine of an emperor, the maker of an emperor, the dethroner of an emperor, and the ruler of China for nearly half a century, in a

land where woman has no standing or power.”

Interspersed with these fascinating anecdotes are large prints of the Empress Dowager, such as one of eunuchs carrying Cixi in a sedan chair. The exhibit is tied together by a number of common themes presented in the artwork, such as the symbol of longevity, bats, and dragons.

The exhibit looks at her relation to art and power without passing judgement on her character or the rumors about her private life. The museum avoids taking sides in the debate about her early life, the extent of her political power, or the rumors about her alleged sexual promiscuity and murderous plots. Even today, the legacy of the Empress Dowager Cixi remains fraught with controversy. The exhibit also offered a seven-part lecture series on the Empress Dowager Cixi, China under her rule, and Cixi’s relation to art. The lecturers included Jung Chang, the author of *Empress Dowager Cixi: The Concubine Who Launched Modern China*, one of the most recent and controversial histories of Cixi. This book and some of the prints featured in the exhibit are included in the gift shop along with other histories of the Empress Dowager, such as the blatantly false history by J.O.P. Bland and Edmund Backhouse.

The Empress Dowager Cixi began her career as a lowly concubine of the Xianfeng Emperor, yet despite her humble origin, she rose to become one of the most powerful political figures of the late Qing dynasty. As regent, Cixi ruled over China for nearly half a century in the name of her son the Tongzhi Emperor, and later her adopted son the Guangxu Emperor. Although the museum could have worked harder to fight back against the inaccurate and false histories of Cixi by not selling a history based on forged documents and baseless rumors in their gift shop, the exhibit offers a glimpse into the daily life, residence, and love of art of the last female leader of China. The exhibit accurately displays Cixi’s utilization of art and material wealth as a means to give her rule legitimacy and present herself as a cultured woman. Though much about Cixi’s life remains shrouded in mystery, this exhibit provides a close-up view of a major Chinese political figure for the first time outside of China.

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3 Isaac T. Headland was a missionary in China during the early 1900s. His wife worked as a physician in the Imperial Palace for many of the ladies-in-waiting. This quote comes from his book Isaac Taylor Headland, *Court Life in China: The Capital, its Officials and People* (New York: F.H. Revell, 1909, 109.)
Bibliography


Author Bio

Hannah Norton is an undergraduate student at California State University, San Bernardino preparing to graduate with her Bachelor of Arts in History in June 2018. Her academic interests focus primarily on Modern Latin American history, with an emphasis on genocide, foreign relations, and gender issues. Upon graduation, she plans to pursue a Master of Arts in History, with an emphasis on Modern Latin American and World History. Hannah plans to eventually receive a doctorate in history and teach history at a community college level.
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