THE UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL AT UC MERCED

Volume 1 ♦ Number 1 ♦ 2014

The Undergraduate Historical Journal
At University of California, Merced

The Undergraduate Historical Journal is edited and managed by undergraduate history majors attending UC Merced. Publishing bi-annually, it is organized by The Historical Society at UC Merced and authorized by the School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts.

All correspondence should be directed to the editorial board:
Email: historicalsociety@ucmerced.edu

Cover design by Rocco Bowman

Cover image: Illustration by Hermann Thiersch (1874 – 1939). [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lighthouse_-_Thiersch.gif]

Published by California Digital Library

Table of Contents

Articles

Book Reviews

Letter from the Editors

We are proud to present the first issue of the Undergraduate Historical Journal at the University of California, Merced. Establishing the journal took months of hard work and communication with the staff of eScholarship (all of them extremely helpful) as well as countless hours of collaboration on policy, layout, and design. Our faculty advisor, Professor Ruth Mostern, was critical in the nascent stages, providing expertise as we embarked on this unprecedented project.

Reading, reviewing, and publishing the work of our peers, who share our interest and passion for history, was truly pleasurable and enlightening. We could not be more proud of the students who endured our review process. They reveal a dedication to the historian's craft and reflect the university's emphasis on research. Not only is the slate of articles an exceptional example of undergraduate writing and analysis, but the offering engages diverse topics—highlighting the variety of history offered at Merced—from world poetry and revolution to race, class, gender, and sexuality. From book reviews to prodigious theses, this journal encompasses a wide range of topics and personalities, each affirming the University of California motto "let there be light."

We remain faithful knowing that students in semesters and years to come will continue to research and write about topics like those enclosed: ones which they find personally interesting, exciting, and relevant. Our only hope is that the editorial board has provided an enduring means for our peers to share their hard work and establish a scholarly dialogue. For as long as the journal endures, enthusiasm for the past and curiosity for its profound ramifications in the present will remain manifest.

Congratulations to the authors and sincerest gratitude,

The Undergraduate Historical Journal Editorial Board (2013 – 2014),

Rocco Bowman
Peter Racco
Sarah Spoljaric
Charles Borsos
Aaron Lan
Havilliah J. Malsbury
Andrew O'Connor
Daniel Rios

Letter from the Advisor

I am immensely impressed by the dedication and talent that all the student editors and authors have brought to this inaugural issue of the *Undergraduate Historical Journal* at UC Merced. Your accomplishment is extraordinary. It's taken effort, gumption, and strategy to get to this point, and your finished issue meets the highest professional standards.

As a historian and a history professor, it's exciting to witness your commitment to the craft of history. You've brought your college major to life outside of the classroom simply for the sake of an intellectual challenge, an inquisitiveness about history as an endeavor, and an urge to discover and interpret the record of human accomplishment and conflict. The range of topics and genres you're publishing in this issue reflects the breadth of historical inquiry.

In the spirit of our new campus, you have built a road and driven it at the same time. In the course of a year you've gone from an idea to a finished issue and publisher approval, and you've created procedures and processes that will permit the journal to persist and grow long after you graduate.

I am humbled to have the chance to work such remarkable students. I learn as much as I teach, and I am inspired in my own work and career by what you are able to accomplish.

Congratulations to all of the editors and authors for a fabulous inaugural issue,

Ruth Mostern
Associate Professor of History
Undergraduate Historical Journal Advisor

ARTICLES

Implications of Mystic Intoxication in Chinese and Iranian Poetry

By Rebecca Weston

In analyzing the works of Chinese Tang poet Li Bo (701-762),[1] one notices the reoccurring reference to "drunkenness" or drinking of wine; though it can be taken at face value to represent a state of being in the literal sense—that is, what appears to be an intoxicated stupor—it seems more practical to consider a more figurative meaning. Namely, it is possible to interpret themes of wine and drunkenness as allegories for spiritual enlightenment, be it found in nature or simply life in general. Likewise, Persian poets Omar Khayyam (ca. 1048-ca.1124/1129), Fakhroddin al-Iraqi (1211-1289), and Shams al-Din Mohammed Shirazi (ca. 1315-ca. 1390), or as he is known by his nom de plume "Hafez," exhibit work that can be aptly applied to this metaphorical structure, albeit keeping in mind that the consumption of alcohol is forbidden within Islam. In this respect, wine and intoxication within Persian or Sufi poetry can thus represent a state of ecstasy—an expression of love or passion[2] that is often translated into a spiritual union with God.

Given these similarities, it is pertinent to ask: to what extent should readers of these texts read between the lines—particularly concerning the work of Li Bo, a known consumer of drugs and elixirs[3]—to conclude such references had mystical implications, if at all? Furthermore, are such comparisons between Chinese and Persian poetic mysticism a result of transference, given the extensive exchange of ideas, philosophy, and religion along the vast routes of the Silk Road? To best answer these questions, it might be necessary to not only consider the very words of the poetry in question, but the context in which they were written by examining who, where, when, and if possible, *why* these works were created.

Although it would be ideal to find concrete evidence that represents a direct link between Chinese and Persian cultures that explains the striking similarities found in poetic themes of mysticism and wine, it is best to keep in mind that comparative studies is not always indicative of a singular cause-and-effect relationship between two cultures, especially those found separated by a few centuries. Certainly, such a narrow approach inaccurately advocates that civilizations, particularly those divided by substantial physical or temporal distances, developed in a vacuum. Breaking away from this restrictive belief, Jörn Rüsen instead suggests that "a specific culture is understood as a combination of elements which are shared by all other cultures. Thus the specificity of cultures is brought about by different constellations of the same elements."[4] Here, it is possible to view the manifestation of mysticism (including allegorical references to wine and intoxication) in a more universal light, and one that is not simply relegated to Chinese or Persian origins.

Despite this broad perspective the most obvious, if not problematic issue one notices is the sequential manifestation of mysticism in both Chinese and Persian poetry. Here, the life and work of Chinese poet Li Bo is categorized from the early- to mid-eighth century,[5] whereas the work of Khayyam is representative of the early twelfth century and Iraqi and Hafez the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[6] Given this information, it may seem logical to assume that Chinese poets had a feasible hand in the influence of Persian poetic

mysticism, rather than the other way around. However, as Richard Foltz argues, "the Islamization of Central Asia was a complex process which occurred on more than one level," and it was the activities of Sufi shaykhs, "who took it upon themselves to spread Islam to the remotest areas." Indeed, as ancient records have revealed, Muslim travelers and soldiers made their way into Central Asia and China as early as the seventh and eighth centuries—be it through trade or socio-political motives—bringing with them both cultural and religious influences that would in turn create a distinctive Chinese-Muslim ethnicity over time.[7] It is clear that Persian and Chinese culture was duly impacted vis-à-vis overland interaction, but even so, what can be said about the prevalence of themes of wine and intoxication found in the poetry of individuals such as Li Bo and Khayyam?

Looking at the Tang dynasty of China, it is known that the large capital of Changan had a large foreign population; as Valerie Hanson writes:

> Non-Chinese residents built religious institutions dedicated to the religions of their homelands. The Persian-speaking merchants continued to worship at two kinds of temples devoted to religions they brought with them from Iran. They sacrificed live animals at Zoroastrian fire altars, and they sang hymns about the forces of light triumphing over the forces of darkness at Manichaean temples.[8]

Perhaps it is within this environment that the consumption of wine as a ritualistic or mystical act was first introduced, as it was Iranian Zoroastrians who brought with them the "forbidden wine" that is markedly referenced in the lines of Omar Khayyam's *The Rubaiyat.*[9] While it is probable that conversion to Sasanian-influenced religiosity occurred in China in the seventh century, it is more likely that cosmopolitan centers along the Silk Road experienced an incorporation of religious practices that evolved with both Zoroastrianism *and* Buddhism as opposed to full conversion of one religion over the other. As Jerry Bentley points out, cross-cultural contacts did not necessarily indicate conversion—a word that "brings to mind an intense personal experience, a reorientation of the individual soul, a rejection of the old in favor of a new system of values"—but rather an absorption of foreign traditions by pre-modern cultures that included a cherry-picking of societal, political, or economic factors.[10] Within this framework, historical records have indeed shown a stylistic influence of Zoroastrian fire temples upon architectural components of Buddhist structures.[11] However, cultural influence took many forms beyond evidence found in ancient structures; Chinese and Persian writing, for instance, not only suggest the confluence of religious custom but the transmission of specific concepts.

For poets such as Li Bo, who was "prodigious both as a writer and as a drinker" and an alleged follower of Daoism[12]—a spiritual belief that favored a simplistic, natural, and spontaneous enlightenment[13]—themes of intoxication converge with spiritual contemplation. Here, it can be inferred that references to wine in *Rising Drunk on a Spring Day, Telling My Intent* implies that alcohol and drunkenness represents a cognizant disconnect from the sober reality or present, thus allowing Li Bo to experience otherworldly sensations in a subconscious state (Li Bo also expresses this sentiment in *Drinking Alone By Moonlight,* stating "When still sober we share friendship and pleasure, then, utterly drunk, each goes his own way—"). To illustrate this point, Li Bo writes in *Rising Drunk on a Spring Day, Telling My Intent*:

> We are lodged in this world as in a great dream,

Then why cause our lives so much stress?

This is my reason to spend the day drunk
and collapse, sprawled against the front pillar.

When I wake, I peer out in the yard
where a bird is singing among the flowers.[14]

It appears that in the first two stanzas that Li Bo is pulling upon Daoist principles of individual and naturalistic experiences in connection to the environment. Considering wine being a product of the earth, it is possible that drunkenness is viewed as a conduit for a natural state of being. Yet as he later wakes in what seems to be a pleasantly disoriented state of time and place, taking in his surroundings with spirited self-indulgence, he pours more wine with mild indifference, perhaps suggesting one's inability to distinguish between a conscious or sober pleasure and partiality to "drunken" oblivion.

Akin to Li Bo, Khayyam's *The Rubaiyat* exhibits noticeably similar existentialist themes. As Michael Axworthy states, his "philosophical writing largely revolved around questions of free will, determinism, existence, and essence," and although his work is often interpreted though a pious or mystical lens, it is nonetheless prudent for the reader to set apart Khayyam's voice as an individual and unique mode of expression.[15] Nevertheless, parallels can be seen between Khayyam's use of transient and fixed sensations involving wine and those of Li Bo. For example, Khayyam writes in the following quatrains XLI and XLII:

Perplext no more with Human or Divine,
To-morrow's tangle to the winds resign,
And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The Cypress—slender Minister of Wine.

And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press
End in what All begins and ends in—Yes;
Think then you are To-day what Yesterday
You were—To-morrow You shall not be less.[16]

Again, it seems as though Khayyam also employs wine—at least in a metaphorical sense—as a channel for an otherworldly experience and looking more closely at quatrain XLI, one can argue it echoes Li Bo's subjective questioning of the complexities of life and his subsequent rationale for drunkenness (or subconscious connection to the present) in *Rising Drunk on a Spring Day, Telling My Intent*. By the same token, quatrains LV and LVI of *The Rubaiyat* reads:

You know, my Friends, with what a brave Carouse
I made a Second Marriage in my house;
Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed
And took the Daughter of the Vine to Spouse.

> For 'Is' and 'Is-not' though with Rule and Line
> And 'Up' and 'Down' by Logic I define,
> Of all that one should care to fathom,
> Was never deep in anything but—Wine.[17]

Keeping these quatrains in mind, the latter stanzas of Li Bo's *Rising Drunk on a Spring Day, Telling My Intent* states:

> I am so touched that I almost sigh,
> I turn to the wine, pour myself more,
>
> Then sing wildly, waiting for the moon,
> when the tune is done, I no longer care.[18]

Taken at face value, one notices a striking resonance to Li Bo's conveyed triviality in Khayyam's words, specifically concerning the subject of worldly cares and wine. Yet if the reader is to believe that wine and drinking is a metaphor of a transcendent nature—representing themes of life, love, or mysticism for instance—the poem loses its literal meaning and instead takes on a quality of spiritual self-examination.

On the contrary, Iraqi's references to wine reveal both his eccentricity and draw to the Sufi *qalandar*, or "wild men," if not wholly giving the impression that his spirituality is but a hedonistic farce: "All fear of God, all self-denial I deny; bring wine, nothing but wine/For all sincerity I repent my worship which is but hypocrisy." However, one must again keep in mind that the drinking of alcohol is forbidden in Islam, thus rendering such a declaration ironic. Likewise, Hafez professes the same desire of self-indulgence as Li Bo and Khayyam, writing "Bring blood-red wine, and fill the cup again."[19] Once more, the reader can detect the tongue-in-cheek nature of his words and conclude that the pleasures of wine likely signify common Sufi refrains of love, life, or the divine.

When considering the work of each poet in a broader historical context, it is conceivable that comparisons in content were fostered by unconventional philosophies of the period in which they originated, despite the glaring differences of chronology and location. Much like followers of Sufism who were often regarded as heretics for rejecting the obstinate rules of Muslim orthodoxy in favor of altruism as a path to spiritual enlightenment,[20] Li Bo's individualistic and ethereal imagery similarly reflected both the Daoist counter-culture to Confucianism and experimentation with mind-altering substances.[21] Regardless of any poet's intended meaning, Li Bo, Khayyam, Iraqi, and Hafez all exhibit distinct yet comparable voices concerning the theme of wine, drinking, and the resulting sensation of intoxication. Whether or not interpretations of mysticism is a deliberate objective by these Chinese or Persian authors, it is unquestionably an issue for lengthy debate (especially when considering the lifestyles and personal beliefs of the individuals in question) and it is certainly worth considering that neither time nor space can rule out the possibility of universal concepts.

Notes

[1] Stephen Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 397.

[2] Michael Axworthy, "Islam and Invasions: The Arabs, Turks, Mongols—The Iranian Reconquest of Islam, the Sufis, and the Poets," in *Empire of the Mind: A History of Iran* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 85, 90, 107-09, 112.

[3] Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," 400.

[4] Jörn Rüsen, "Some Theoretical Approaches to Intercultural Comparative Historiography," *History and Theory* 35 (1996): 11.

[5] Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," 397.

[6] Axworthy, "Islam and Invasions," 105, 107, 112-13.

[7] Richard Foltz, "Islamization of the Silk Road," in *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999), 95-97, 106-07.

[8] Valerie Hansen, "China's Golden Age (589-755)," in *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 196, 205.

[9] Axworthy, "Islam and Invasions," 93. See also: Omar Khayyam, "The Rubaiyat," Unpublished Manuscript, 6.

[10] Jerry H. Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges," in *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6-7.

[11] Richard Foltz, "Buddhism and the Silk Road," in *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1999), 57-58.

[12] William Theodore De Barry and Irene Bloom, comp., "Li Bo and Du Fu: Two Tang Poets in a Troubled World," in *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, Second ed., vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 565.

[13] Foltz, "Buddhism and the Silk Road," 53.

[14] Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," 403-04.

[15] Axworthy, "Islam and Invasions," 92-93.

[16] Omar Khayyam, "The Rubaiyat," 8.

[17] Ibid., 10.

[18] Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," 404.

[19] Axworthy, "Islam and Invasions," 107, 113.

[20] Ibid, 95.

[21] Owen, "The Tang Dynasty," 400.

Barricades in Berlin:
Social Unrest, Constitutionalism, and Revolt in 1848

By Josh Teixeira

Figure 1: The Frederic Street Barricade, Berlin, 18 March, 1848

I | Introduction

The year 1848 gripped the continent of Europe and initiated significant historical changes. Prussia was caught in events that one historian named the "year of revolution" and saw the bloodiest uprising of all the countries that experienced revolution in 1848.[1] As can be seen in Figure 1, the protest caused many people to build barricades in an attempt to reduce any further violence. Prussia had one of the most absolutist monarchies of Europe in the nineteenth century, and one of the best militaries with a widely renowned discipline. The military prowess and absolutism was the characteristic of the Hohenzollern Dynasty (r. 1701-1918), from which King Frederick William IV (1795-1861; ruled 1840-1861) of Prussia descended, the king in Prussia's charge during the revolution.[2] For Frederick William IV's authority to be challenged was unheard of, especially from the peasants and lower nobility, the main social strata that took part in the revolution in Berlin. Figures 2 and 3 lends a visual aid to the geographical location of Prussia and its place within Europe. The revolution that started on March 18 with mass protest and bloodshed ended with a constitution imposed by the monarchy on December 5, 1848. This constitution imposed by the monarch appeased the moderate liberals and peasantry, thus effectively destroying the numerical strength the radical liberals possessed at the outbreak of the revolution in Berlin.

To analyze the revolution in Berlin, my paper will address the theoretical response and follow the same pattern as seen in "revolution theory," which the Revolutions of 1848, particularly in Berlin, follow to the letter. In revolution theory, the process generally proceeds with a call for constitutionalism by the dissatisfaction of citizens with the state, then the radicalization of those revolting, followed by a reactionary force which finally stops or weakens the revolution.[3] He uses the French Revolution (1789), the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the English Civil War as the conditions that required for a revolution: the rule of the moderate liberals, the radical liberals who take over, then reactionary forces that are able to take back over the area or country.[4] Secondly, the events of the revolution that occurred in Berlin will be explored through a socio-cultural and political lens. By doing so I will demonstrate how the events that took place ultimately led to a constitution that the liberals of Prussia strived for. Thirdly, and finally, I will explore the aftermath of the revolution: the establishment of the National Assembly (the Prussian Parliament) and the elections to the Frankfurt National Assembly (or Frankfurt Parliament), which was a pan-Germanic parliament that tried to unify Germany. The Frankfurt Parliament attempted to solve overlapping issues that were similar in the German states—reactionary forces that ended the revolution, especially when the king imposed the constitution of 1848. The revised Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia of 1850 remained in force until the unification of Germany in 1871, with slight modification. Through the exploration of the Revolution of 1848 in Berlin this essay will demonstrate that without the revolution obtaining a simple constitution would have been a fruitless endeavor due to the nature of absolutism of the Prussian government during the nineteenth-century.

II | The Lead Up to the Revolution

The antecedents of the Revolutions of 1848 in Prussia ranged from the French Revolution in 1789 to the Napoleonic Wars that led to the Wars of Liberation in 1813, and then

the February Revolution (1848) in France. Historians who study nineteenth-century Germany have attributed France as the direct spark that ignited the 1848 revolution, but more specifically in Berlin.[5] Along with the French influence that sparked of the revolution in Berlin, social conditions helped to foment the revolution. It was because of this social unrest that the theoretical work of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) was made possible and allows for a more complete mindset of the radical liberals, which was the political ideology of Marx and Engels.[6] The liberals are broken up into two groups, the moderates and the radicals. The moderates wanted to see some political change and receive a constitution; whereas, the radicals wanted to dramatically change the political structure of Prussia, such as the abolishment of the military and the monarchy.[7] The writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, hypothesized that a revolution of the proletarian to throw off the yoke of the bourgeoisie was bound to occur in the near future.

Marx and Engels wrote *The Communist Manifesto* in February 1848. Although *The Communist Manifesto* was not widely read by the masses in the mid-nineteenth-century, this book became widely read and discussed in the twentieth-century.[8] When the manifesto was originally published, it was issued in several languages, including English.[9] The revolution of 1848 was not exactly the revolution that was envisioned by Marx and Engels, but they, along with other social critics, understood the social conditions that allowed for a revolution and where Marx explains this in his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. In February 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels published their most notable work, *The Communist Manifesto*, a work that hypothesized the coming revolution between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.[10] They refer to the bourgeoisie as "the class of the modern Capitalists, a means of social production and the employers of wage labor."[11] They refer to the proletariat as "…the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live."[12] The bourgeoisie is the ruling class that exploits the proletariat and is the reason for the misfortunes of this working class. It was, therefore, according to Marx and Engels, who stated that a revolution was the only way the proletariat would unshackle the yoke of the bourgeoisie because "[s]ociety can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."[13] This incompatibility is the basis for the revolution of the proletariat that Marx and Engels had envisioned to be on the verge of occurring in the near future.

The problem with the hypothesis by Marx and Engels was that it looked only at the labor relation aspect to the social tension and not the other aspects such as social, other economic points, and political unrest. By missing the mark, Marx and Engels only looked to an undefined, or vaguely defined, future rather than addressing the social concerns of the day.[14] They relied on the presumption that society was class-conscious in terms of oppression and not in hierarchy, which the latter was the view of "class" in 1848 by the majority and became the short term weakness of the manifesto. Although Marx and Engels had little effect toward the revolution in Berlin, it took a revolution in a foreign place and ultimately be the spark to ignite revolutionary fever among Prussian liberals and peasants.

According to Professor Hans J. Hahn, the French Revolution of 1789 had a dramatic influence on the social changes of Europe, especially in the German-speaking areas in which Napoleon later conquered.[15] The revolutionary spirit of France in 1789 was still part of the social memory of Prussians, when Prussia was on the verge of war with France. During the age of Napoleon, Prussia had undergone reforms to help combat the French

emperor and after his defeat, Prussia kept up with these reforms but only for a short period thereafter. The liberals of Prussia hoped in 1848 that the government of Prussia would revert to reforms seen in 1813, in which Prussia had conducted, in response to the Napoleonic Wars.[16] The liberals in Prussia, like the liberals in other German princedoms, generally comprised of the educated, professional lower nobility, and gentry that envisioned a constitution with universal male suffrage and pushed for German Unification, although there was overlap from members of other social classes.[17] Education was expensive and not a luxury of the masses as it is today, only families of wealth, even of little wealth, could afford to send their sons to the universities and acquire an education that could lead to a profession. These liberals tended not to own large pieces of land, if any at all, because they were dependent on princes for their salaries or pensions as civil servants, and did not tend to hold any major national influential political post, the best case being that of parliaments of minor states or in the localities.[18] Prussia at this time was still highly agricultural and industrialization was in its infancy, so wealth was measured by land rights and those who did not possess much land were on the margins of society, unless they possessed governmental careers. This was a time during which hierarchy mattered a great deal because those of noble status were given governmental posts and a meritocracy was not fully implemented into all levels of government. To the liberals, when war was less likely, reform also became unlikely. The only possible avenue toward socio-political change was by the support of the masses and through revolution.

The reforms that the liberals strived for looked very unlikely because of the opposition they faced by Frederick William and his ministry of conservatives. Frederick William was under the mindset of the divine right of kings, where he believed "all of the doctrines of liberalism were pernicious outgrowths of the French Revolution [of 1789], that apocalyptic horror which had disturbed the divine order."[19] Even with this mentality, the social, economic, and political conflict did not go unnoticed and undiagnosed by Frederick William's ministers. Frederick William received numerous petitions from his ministers to continue the reforms of 1807-1813 by granting a constitution, a goal of the liberals, and was warned that the general mood of the people wanted such a constitution.[20] The petitions by his ministers, however, proved to be problematic because Frederick William expressed that these petitions were on the verge of being treasonous and stated that he would never give Prussia a written constitution.[21] Although opposed to liberalism, Frederick William had sent mixed messages about his views on liberalism. Frederick William did speak as though he was in favor of reforms and his actions also showed favoritism to the liberal ideals. Frederick William came to the throne in 1840 and in that year he proclaimed that the provincial diets to meet every two years, whereas his father Frederick William III (1770-1840; ruled 1797-1840) only called for meetings every three years, this is where Frederick William IV planted the idea that he favored a representative diet of all the provinces.[22] Frederick William IV also relaxed, but did not eliminate, censorship of the press which gave into mass influx of political writings, especially the call for constitutionalism, or at least raised the constitutional question.[23]

When the first United Diet assembled in Berlin on April 11, 1847, in his opening address, Frederick William openly expressed his abhorrence toward a constitution and those who pushed for a constitution. In this address, Frederick William stated that,

> No power on earth will ever force me to transform the natural relationship…between prince and people into a conventional, constitutional one; neither now nor ever will I permit a written piece of paper to force itself, like some second providence, between our Lord God in heaven and this land, to rule us with its paragraphs and, through them, to replace the ancient sacred loyalty.[24]

This speech demonstrates that Frederick William was not willing to budge on any constitutional possibility Prussia may have in the future. Frederick William also dictated to the United Diet that they should resist all forms of liberalism because they represented the different estates of the kingdom, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasantry, not to people as a whole; and to give into liberal ideas was un-Germanic.[25] This is the point at which the liberals identified that Frederick William had no intention of any constitutional compromise, where any form of progress would have to be accomplished without the help of the king. Fredrick William's opposition marks a point when real opposition to the king and his government started to solidify. The liberals just needed a way to funnel societal unrest toward the monarchy—this outlet was not difficult to discover.

Figure 2: The map of Europe that was agreed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and remained the political map with slight modification until 1848.

One event that enabled the liberals to direct the social unrest of the peasantry toward the monarchy and its government was the economic woes compounded by the famine in the years 1846 and 1847 preceding the revolution in Berlin.[26] Professor Mike Rapport

explains that in Berlin in 1848, with a population of roughly 400,000 people, there were more than 6,000 paupers on some sort of state assistance, 4,000 beggars, 10,000 prostitutes, and 10,000 vagabonds; Rapport then goes on to estimate that the poor or those living outside the margins of society outnumbered the burghers (established middle class) in Berlin by a ratio of two to one.[27] Even though these numbers shed light on the metropolis of Berlin, the percentage was similar, if not worse, for the rural areas of Prussia. This was because of the continuous years of famine in which rural areas depended on the harvests as their main source of income. In the years of 1846 and 1847, Europe faced a mass agrarian crisis because of numerous crop failures, including wheat and other essential crops.[28]

The most infamous of the crop failures during this period was the Irish Potato Famine, but potatoes also failed in Prussia as well as most of Europe. The price of potatoes had increased so much that in 1847 the people of Prussia took to arms in rebellion, which foreshadowed the events of March 18 and 19, 1848. This outbreak of armed resistance in Berlin, which became known as the "Potato Rebellion," lasted for three days until order was finally restored by the military.[29] During the Potato Rebellion, which happened around the same time that the first United Diet met under Frederick William, the population of Berlin attacked and plundered shops, market stands, and potato merchants, in order to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the high prices and as a means for subsistence.[30] Along with the crop failures and famines, the prices of other staple foods increased so much that a German laborer made enough money after a day's work to purchase two five pound loaves of bread in 1835, but it 1847 the same day's work only purchased half that amount.[31]

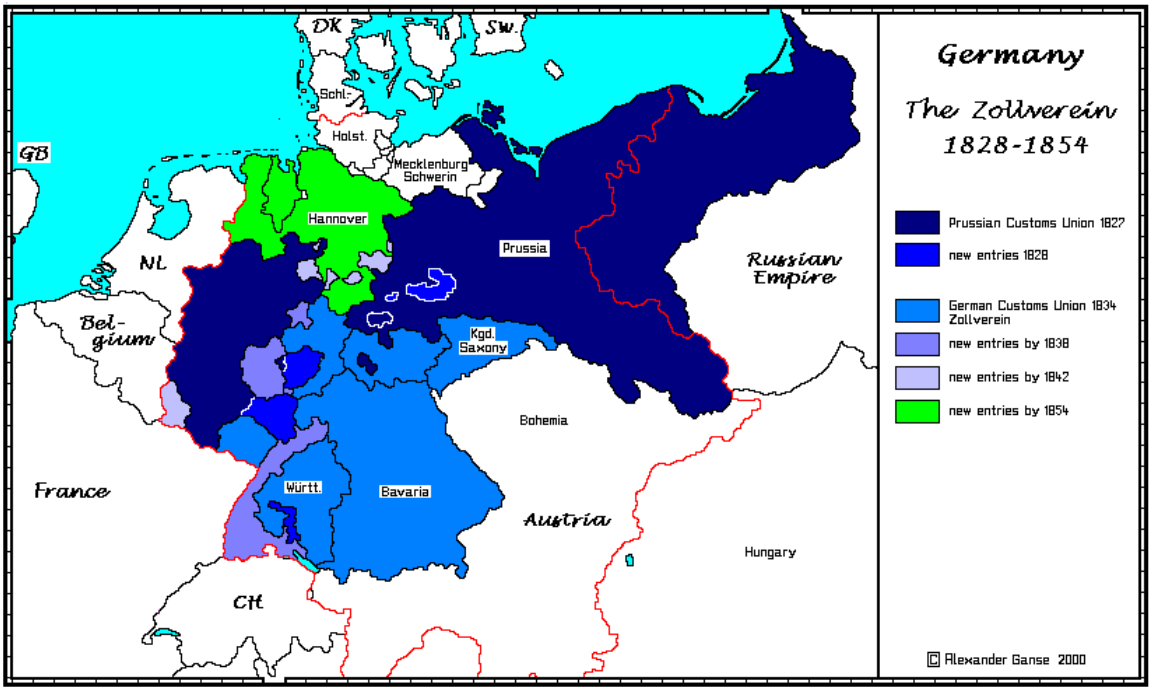

Figure 3: Germany in 1848.

With the price of food doubling, poverty and famine grew more widespread. This also led to further unemployment which resulted in further debts on the population where the poorest where hit the hardest.[32] Not only were there agricultural woes, but even the stock market in Berlin fell by five percent in only half a day of trading when the events of the French

February Revolution of 1848 reached the ears of Prussians.[33] These social issues compounded with the knowledge of political change in France gave rise to hope that such change could be possible within Berlin. The mood and social sentiment was ideal for rebellion and nothing could stop the revolution for real social change from occurring in Berlin.

III | The Barricades are Raised

When the news of the French February Revolution reached Prussia, excitement circulated around the Berlin liberals, both moderate and radical. When news reached Berlin on February 28, 1848, that King Louis-Philippe had abdicated his throne, Berliners poured into the streets to see if any more information on the events could be located. The political clubs, where political discourse was discussed, was one of the major outlets for information on France and other major metropolitan areas that were also experiencing revolution.[34] Karl Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858), see Figure 4, a liberal writer and diarist who lived in Berlin during the outbreak of the revolution, wrote in his diary that information about current events was so highly sought after that "[w]hoever managed to get his hands on a new paper had to climb on to a chair and read the contents aloud."[35] Not only were the people of Berlin curious about the events occurring elsewhere but people of the surrounding areas around Berlin started to pour in. With the growing number of people in Berlin combined with the social issues at hand and the news of the masses overthrowing the government or parts of the government, clashes of violence were bound to happened and happen they did.[36]

Vienna, Austria, the capital of the Habsburg Dynasty (c. 11th century – 20th century) also experienced revolution in 1848. The Habsburg Dynasty had historically ruled over the Holy Roman Empire, which encompassed modern-day Germany and the other surrounding areas. The Habsburgs had been, for the most part, unchallenged militarily by a German Prince until the accession of Frederick the Great (Frederick II) of Prussia who had invaded the area of Silesia and took its possession. Vienna was not about to allow a minor state to push it around and fought to keep Silesia, but Frederick the Great was able to defeat Empress Maria Theresa's army during the three different Silesian Wars.[37] Although these actions weakened the absolute hold the Habsburgs had on the Holy Roman Empire, they were still considered a reckoning force in European affairs. Frederick William was a medieval-revivalist and was very devoted to the German leadership of the Habsburgs, where the Holy Roman Emperor maintained nominal power, but Prussia was to contain the real power in the German-speaking states.[38] Frederick William's view of Habsburg leadership was vital to his reaction to the revolutions of 1848 because he was set to take similar counter-revolutionary measures as the Habsburgs.

Vienna experienced the start of their revolution on March 11, 1848, and saw the loss of life, just not on the level that was seen in Berlin. The French February Revolution had more far-reaching impact than just on Prussia; it also impacted the revolutions in Austria, particularly Vienna. When the people heard the news of France, they took to the streets to revolt against the conservative order on March 11. Two days later, on March 13, Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (1773-1859) resigned as Prime Minister of the Austrian Empire, fleeing Vienna.[39] Metternich's resignation have immediate and dire consequences for the conservatives in Prussia, particularly because Metternich was the embodiment of

the conservative order in Europe.[40] In the view of the liberals of Prussia and the rest of Europe, if Metternich could be forced out of power, then there was almost nothing a ruler could do to keep their position as head of state secure.

When the news reached Berlin that Metternich had stepped down and fled from Vienna, jubilation engulfed the liberals. Varnhagen von Ense, in a March 15 dairy entry, claimed that he "was quite shocked at home. After the Count came to me to tell me he was in Vienna and Metternich's dismissal is required, but with one shot of grapeshot the military seemed champion, but they feared the suburbs."[41] Varnhagen von Ense was very surprised to hear that the people of Austria had called for the resignation of Metternich, an action that appeared to be remotely unlikely. It was not until the following day, March 16 that Berlin had received credible reports that Metternich indeed did resign and fled Vienna because of the revolution on March 13.[42] The diary entry for March 16, Varnhagen von Ense writes "that Vienna was in flames, Metternich's palace is destroyed, the Kaiser has abdicated, the students stormed the arsenal, the citizens are armed, [and] the military is beaten."[43] Frederick William took the news of Metternich's fall from power and the state of revolution in Vienna as a bad omen and decided to allow for some political concessions.[44]

Figure 4: Karl August Varnhagen von Ense

King Frederick William IV was concerned about the mass protest that was building and the minor violence that ensued after the protests had been occurring for the last couple of days. Varnhagen von Ense highlights this violence in an entry from his diary dated March 15, 1848, that "General von Pfuel admitted that last night too many people have been cut to pieces… people had found a corpse yesterday evening, the blood stains on the road were visible, and they had erected barricades."[45] So, to ease the tensions, Frederick William agreed on March 17 to publish royal patents that declared the abolition of censorship and the introduction of a constitution.[46] On March 18, however, a mass demonstration outside the Palace Square was planned and it was too late to turn back the crowd. Upon hearing the great news issued by Frederick William, the crowd grew joyful and cheered for their king's presence.[47] Frederick William along with his advisors made their way to the balcony that overlooked the Palace Square, where they made their presence. After the king showed himself to the cheering crowd, Prime Minister von Bodelschwingh (1794-1854) stepped forward to address the crowd of Frederick William's wishes,

> The king wishes freedom of the press to prevail! The king wishes that the United Diet be called immediately! The king wishes that a

> constitution on the most liberal basis should encompass all German lands! The king wishes that there should be a German national flag! The king wishes that all custom turn pikes should fall! The king wishes that Prussia place itself at the head of the movement!"[48]

Even though, Clark points out, most of the crowd did not hear the speech, pamphlets were circulated and the crowds became euphoric.[49] Once the joy started to set in, the crowd began to realize that troops were just outside the square and the mood started to change for the worse — unprecedented violence for the Revolutions of 1848 was on the horizon.

By the beginning of March, the violence had already started. In a protest, the city police, with the help of the army and militias tried to contain the protest. On March 13, several civilians were killed due to clashes with law enforcement, which did not help the tensions between the protestors and the government.[50] Historian Christopher Clark points out that even though the people were afraid of the troops they were drawn to them because a day in which the people thought that they were praising their king for the concessions that were being made, the sight of the troops alarmed the crowd.[51] The people who gathered, and were densely packed, at the Palace Square in jubilation now believed that they had been deceived by the king and the army. The people were afraid of the presence of the troops because they feared for their lives and at the same time they wanted to stand for the liberties that energized the revolution. These people who believed themselves backed into a corner, turned to resist and taunt the troops, which signaled to the troops that a riot was soon to ensue. The troops had the responsibility to read the Riot Act of 1835 three times out loud when they meet an unruly group of protestors, where they then would charge at the rioters, signaled by a trumpet.[52]

The densely packed crowd in the Palace Square began to panic and, in an attempt for some to leave to safety, because they knew the situation was going to turn violent, demanded in chant "soldiers out."[53] Those on the edges of the crowd were the most fearful, not only because they were most likely to suffer injury or death if fighting broke out, but they were also particularly fearful that they would be pushed into troops from the people behind them and instigate a fight.[54] The people on the edges of the crowd that did not want to become entrenched in the conflict but they were also trapped from leaving the square because the troops had the crowd encircled. The situation then started to get out of control and Frederick William changed the command of the forces in Berlin from General Ernst von Pfuel (1779-1866), who was somewhat sympathetic to the revolution, to the more war-hawkish General Karl von Prittwitz (1790-1871) who ordered that the square be cleared immediately by the troops by stating that "an end be put to the scandalous situation prevailing there."[55] General von Prittwitz, however, did not want to see any loss of life so the cavalry was to push back at a walking pace with swords remaining sheathed. This peaceful disbursement did not work and the only way the crowd was disbursed was when the cavalry charged at the crowd with sword raised, as if to strike.[56]

This charge by the military not only sparked frustration and riot by the people at the square but also by the people of Berlin who believed that their king, or at least the army, had turned on peaceful protestors who were there cheering for Frederick William. News of the events at the Palace Square had spread like wildfire in Berlin. Barricades started to go up all across the city, Varnhagen von Ense, an eye witness to the events of March 18, said that it was "[s]uggested in my neighborhood to quickly build barricades with zeal, I

saw it all to work…."[57] These barricades were an attempt by the people of Berlin to keep the troops out and reduce the casualties that were known to happen if the clash continued. Varnhagen von Ense analyzes the situation by noting that "had a civil defense already existed, they would not have allowed the barricades, but for now everybody helped the honorable men and women [build the barricades]."[58] These rising of barricades were so important to the people that it did not matter the distance of the troops from the barricades that "[i]n sight of the troops they went on with the work undisturbed…."[59] The people were insistent that these barricades were the only way of protection from an all-out assault by the troops. "Meanwhile, the battle was in full swing elsewhere the tocsin sounded, gunfire and artillery shots rang out from the distance… The mass of troops was clear and they were not allowed to proceed so far as to attack the barricade...."[60] The troops had amassed their offensive but the people were willing to put up a fight. "While the fighters here are crowded together, by individual bands of infantry and cavalry, but they were rejected by stones, by rifle and pistol shots; the barricade on Behren Street had not been properly filled, and a detachment of infantry was able to penetrate the wall…."[61] When all seemed as bad as it could, it became worse, because this all took place in the afternoon and by the evening and the early morning of March 19 more acts of violence was to be seen.

The evening of March 18 and the morning of the 19 became be a continuous battle for control of Berlin. Again, Varnhagen von Ense records the events of the revolution: "When evening came and it was getting dark, the general battle was only the more violent and terrible. The cannons thundered now regulated in consequence, continually the crack of gunfire was the strongest, the preponderance of the troops seemed not to be doubted anymore."[62] The barricades became the focal point for all of the fighting, a pattern seen all across Berlin, with the infantry advancing on the barricades.[63] As Varnhagen von Ense noted that the artillery was used during the fighting but it was for the purposes of clearing barricades; the troops also helped in the dismantling of the barricades as well.[64] Just before midnight on March 18, General von Prittwitz informed Frederick William that most of Berlin was under the military's control but further advance was be nearly impossible. General von Prittwitz suggested to Frederick William that the troops should be withdrawn from the city and encircle Berlin and bombard the city into submission.[65] With this tactic the troops seemed to have pushed the protestors back and had cleared the street, it appeared as if the troops were to regain control of Berlin. It became, however, Frederick William's indecisiveness would prove fatal to the objective of regaining control.[66]

On March 18 and 19, 1848, the revolution hit full steam and more bloodshed was spilt in these two days then all the days of the revolution in Berlin; in fact, in just these two days, more deaths occurred in Berlin than any other state that was experiencing revolution, from its start to its conclusion.[67] To protect themselves from the soldiers and put up a resistance, the civilians started to build barricades along the narrow roads of Berlin with whatever material they could get their hands on (i.e. tables, chairs, and any other movable objects that could be used as a road block), but this only intensified the situation (see Figure 1 for an illustration of the event). The number of deaths in these two days ranged from 400 (300 civilians and 100 soldiers and officers) to 900 (800 civilians and 100 soldiers and officers).[68] The reason the death toll of military personnel is consistent is because the Prussian military was known for their discipline and organizational skills and thus the muster list was have been able to identify the exact number of deaths, whereas the civilian death toll is harder to determine because there was no way of determining the number of

civilians in Berlin like there was for the military. Either way, the bloodshed was great and the events of March 18 and 19 were more like a mini-war than a revolution, when comparing that of the other countries experiencing the revolutionary fever, in reference to the death count in such a short period of time.

Figure 5: Alexanderplaz Berlin March 18, 1848.

News of the uprising in Berlin caused revolution in other cities around Prussia and depending on the social-economic factors entailed different demands by the people in these areas. Some of the protests called for political reforms of a constitution and civil liberties but others were directed at factories and other areas where industrialization was undermining wage labor and the unemployment rate was high.[69] Had the revolutions in Prussia solely been about class warfare as was seen in the highly industrialized areas of Prussia, Marx and Engels would have been very content because their vision of the proletariat rising to over throw the bourgeoisie would be fulfilled.

This revolution in Berlin was not just chaos and angry people without direction, there were goals or objectives that the people of Prussia were protesting, one of the most important issues that the liberals called for was a constitution and unification of Germany.[70] The constitution that was called for during the revolution (1848) granted later in the year, whereas the unification of Germany did not occur until 1871. For the liberals, the constitutional question was the only way to liberate the people of Prussia; they called for universal male suffrage, a Prussian Parliament to meet regularly, and a declaration of the rights of the Prussian citizen.

IV | The Constitution on the Most Liberal Basis

After the violence of March 18 and 19, 1848, King Frederick William IV gave into the revolution and did not want to involve himself in the same reactionary methods as other kingdoms, particularly that of Austria, which had turned its cannons onto the cities that were revolting and bombarded them into submission. He was too proud of his ancient capital and wanted to minimize the damage that was to occur and wanted to minimize the blood spilled.[71] Frederick William had ordered the soldiers out of Berlin by an address to the revolutionaries in Berlin by requesting "[r]eturn to peace, clear the barricades that still stand…, and I give you my Royal Word that all streets and squares will be cleared of troops, and the military occupation reduced to a few necessary buildings."[72] This became the single most humiliating event of the Prussian army since its defeat to Napoleon in 1806 but, nonetheless, Frederick William had given in, for now so he could seize back control without raising too much alarm and risk reigniting the revolution. This humiliation remained within the officer corps of the Prussian military, who characterized the old conservative order, and became the motivating force behind the counter-revolution later in the year. Also, a possible explanation as to why the military, predominantly the officer corps, remained loyal to Frederick William was that during the time of the revolution Prussia and Austria were involved in a war with Demark in an attempt to conquer lands from the Danish king.[73] Frederick William and his ministers then left Berlin to Potsdam, a city just a few miles south-west of Berlin, to deal with the revolution and appointed a provisional government, the United Diet, which acted as a quasi-parliament.[74] Under this new government, a Civil Guard, filled by royalists, was established to act in the place of the withdrawn army to preserve the peace of Berlin. It was under the National Assembly, formerly the United Diet, that Frederick William took back control of his kingdom.

As Fredrick William retreated to Potsdam on March 25, he met with his military advisors and declared that "I have come to speak with you, in order to prove to the Berliners that they need expect no reactionary strike from Potsdam."[75] Frederick William also declared to his military leadership that he "never felt freer or more secure than under the protection of his citizens."[76] This was detrimental to the prestige of the Prussian army and, of course, not the whole truth, because for now Frederick William appeared to separate himself from the military and align himself to the revolutionary cause. However, the military failed to realize that Frederick William had not truly given up on them because his concessions were merely verbal.[77] This stance by Frederick William was seen as genuine, especially when he appointed the liberal Gottfried Ludolph Camphausen (1803-1890) as head of a new ministry along with other liberals that were adamant constitutionalists who admired the British governmental system.[78] The Camphausen ministry became head of the National Assembly.

The National Assembly replaced the United Diet as the national parliamentary apparatus of the Prussian government in May, 1848. At the beginning of April, the Second United Diet was called by Prime Minister Camphausen where they passed laws that called for an election to constitute the National Assembly functioned as a unicameral body of about 400 members.[79] These elections were considered very liberal for an absolutist Prussia because in May, when the election were to be held, these elections were by universal male suffrage, as long as he was over twenty-four years of age, lived in the same place for a minimum of six months, and was not on any form of public assistance.[80] Although this

election is considered very liberal, the election process is partly a misnomer in comparison to the contemporary ideals of electoral systems. Instead of electing representatives to go to the National Assembly directly, these elections worked more like an electoral college, where the voter elected people who then in turn choose people to go to the National Assembly. The May Elections, as it became known, was very liberal for the fact that about one-sixth were artisans or peasants, a fact the Clark points out was by far a greater percentage than was seen in the Frankfurt or the Viennese parliaments.[81]

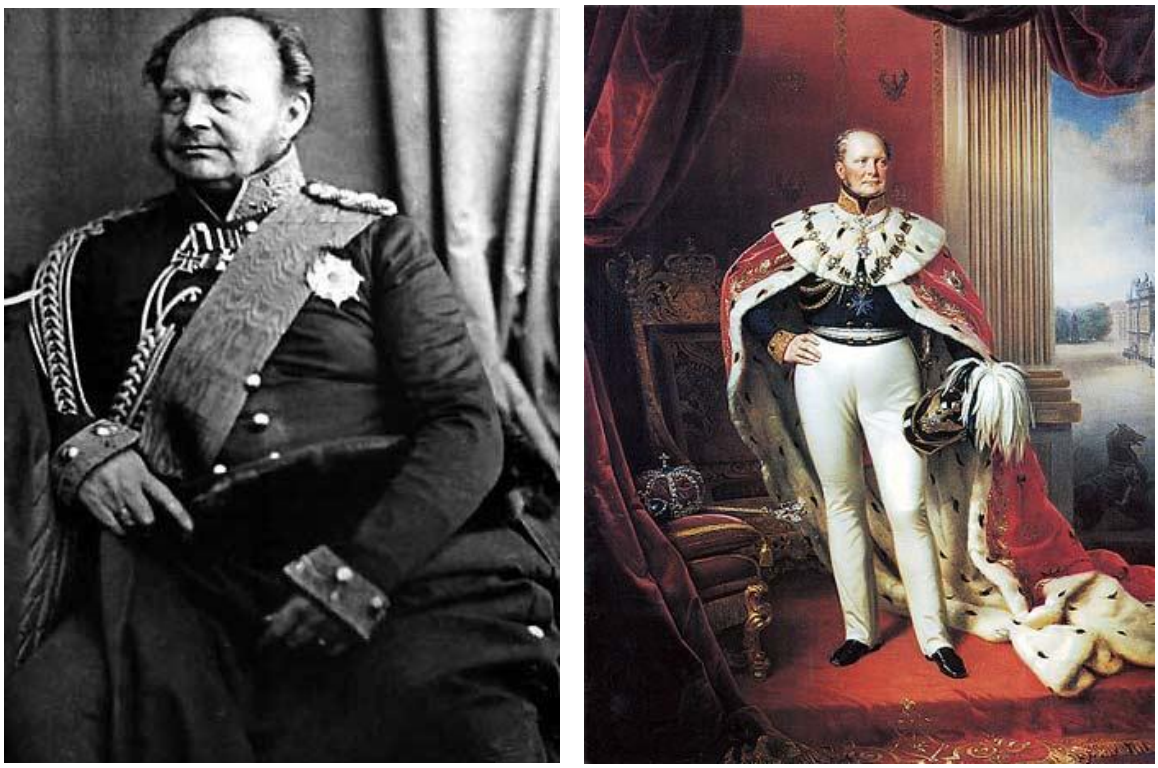

Figure 6: Frederick William IV of Prussia.

In the process of resignations by the liberal ministers, from May to November, at the head of the National Assembly, Frederick William slowly started to replace them with more conservative ministers. Under the Camphausen ministry, Camphausen had tried to ensure that Prussia remained on liberal principles but he ran into bitter struggles with Frederick William and his group of conservative advisors, known as the camarilla. At many points the Camphausen tried to limit Frederick William's personal command of the army where he responded forcefully in draft attempts of crafting a constitution.[82] The National Assembly under Prime Minister Camphausen had produced a hastily drawn constitution, where Frederick William became very unhappy. Frederick William responded by including amendments to the draft constitution where he was king by God's grace alone, going back to his adamant belief in the divine right of kings, he also included that he had exclusive command of the army, and this constitution was more of an agreement between him and his people rather than rule through the sovereign will of the people as some of the moderate and radical liberals wanted to believe.[83]

At the end of May and through June, 1848, the radical liberals believed that their strength had increased and started to strive for more bold measures because of their growth

in numbers. The more moderate liberals started to see that they were losing public support as well. In the constitutional settlement, the radical liberals proposed the entire abolishment of the military and the setting up of the *Völkswehr* or the popular militia, which believed would be the best way in assuring the public's safety.[84] Frederick William saw these proposals and made the amendments mentioned above. With this troubled climate in the National Assembly of wanting more than Frederick William was willing to give, Camphausen resigned on June 20, 1848. Camphausen realized that the moderate liberals did not constitute a majority in the National Assembly that he foresaw.[85] Although these propositions never pass under Frederick William's eyes, these proposals indicated a split between the moderate liberals and the radical liberals left a big enough gap for Frederick William to drive a wedge and reassert his control over Prussia.

Camphausen was replaced by Rudolf von Auerswald (1795-1866) as Prime Minister of the National Assembly and David Hansemann (1790-1864) remained as the Finance Minister from the Camphausen ministry.[86] Both Auerswald and Hansemann understood the mood in the National Assembly but were fearful that disclosure of Frederick William's true views might lead to further radicalization by its members.[87] Frederick William had no confidence in the National Assembly as long as they still pursued the campaign against the army.[88] Under the Auerswald ministry of the National Assembly a new draft of the constitution was issued where it limited Frederick William's ability to block legislation passed in the National Assembly and pushed for the *Volkswehr*, but this only led to polarization within the National Assembly and the constitutional question remained unanswered.[89]

In an attempt for the radical liberals to gain some concession with the military, Julius Stein (c. nineteenth century) proposed a motion within the assembly that required the officers and troops within the army to conform to the constitutional values that the National Assembly was still working on.[90] Stein's proposal was in response to a clash between the troops in the town of Schweidnitz that resulted in the death of fourteen civilians on July 31, 1848.[91] The scene was contentious between the National Assembly and Frederick William when Stein's proposal passed with an overwhelming majority. Then the Assembly passed a resolution on September 7, 1848, that forcefully demanded that the government, namely the Frederick William, to immediately implement Stein's proposal.[92] This struck a nerve with Frederick William wherein he threatened the National Assembly with restoring order of Berlin by force. Not wanting to become more involved in the conflict between the National Assembly and the king, Auerswald and Hansemann resigned, which Frederick William accepted on September 10, 1848.[93]

General von Pfuel replaced Auerswald as Prime Minister to the surprise and delight of the liberals. General von Pfuel had been sympathetic to the revolution even though he did not always agree with the revolutionaries' goals. What also played into the fact of excitement to his appointment was that General von Pfuel was a good choice because out of the entire pool of qualified conservatives Frederick William had to pick from, General von Pfuel was not a hardline conservative. General von Pfuel, however, was not a successful mediator between the National Assembly and Frederick William.[94] So, on November 1, General von Pfuel resigned as Prime Minister and Count Frederick William von Brandenburg (1792-1850) became the new Prime Minster of the National Assembly.[95]

This move by Frederick William for re-control of his kingdom is illustrated when he appointed Count von Brandenburg as minister of the National Assembly on November 1. The Count von Brandenburg was the king's uncle, the former commander of the VI

Corps in Breslau, and this nomination was favored by the conservative circles in Prussia, especially that of the camarilla, which marks the beginning of the reactionary movement in Prussia.[96] On November 9, Brandenburg appeared before the National Assembly and declared that it was to be disband until November 27. In the meanwhile, on November 11 martial law was declared in Berlin so the Civil Guard was disbanded, radically liberal newspapers were banned, and political clubs closed.[97] Surprisingly after the events of March 18 and 19, the people of Berlin did not seem to care for this counter-revolutionary action by Count von Brandenburg because the lack of any real protest was being acknowledged in Berlin.[98] It seemed that popular support for the revolution started to shift because of the absence of any real action by the National Assembly. Frederick William had successfully driven the wedge between the National Assembly and the people of Prussia. Then on November 27, when the National Assembly reconvened, Brandenburg had dispersed the Assembly again but he did not give a date of reconvening, to which on December 5, the National Assembly was formally dissolved on the same day that Frederick William issued, and imposed, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia. Prussia was now a constitutional monarchy, an absolutist constitutional monarchy, where little had changed for Frederick William's position.

This new constitution had a little bit of everything that the moderate liberals and people of Prussia, as a whole, were content with. Professor Gordon A. Craig notes that at the onset of the constitution, it repudiated all signs of popular sovereignty and reaffirmed the principle of the divine right of kings, monarchy.[99] This new constitution was revised into, sometimes what is considered a different, constitution on January 31, 1850, which is the version that remained in effect, with minor alteration thereafter, until German unification in 1871—spear-headed by Prussia. One reason that the moderate liberals were satisfied with the constitution was that it ensured equality of all citizens which states in Article 4 that "[a]ll Prussians shall be equal before the law. Class privileges shall not be permitted. Public offices, subject to the conditions imposed by law, shall be uniformly open to all who are competent to hold them."[100] This article is significant because these were some of the reforms that the liberals were attempting to attain. In the Reforms of 1807-1813, the military had instilled a form of meritocracy in its ranks but governmental posts were still comprised of those from the nobility. The constitution also granted the freedom of religion which stated that the "[f]reedom of religious confession of association in religious societies…, and the common exercise of religion in private and public, is guaranteed."[101] Three articles dealing with censorship were included in the constitution as a result of the revolution: Article 27 that allowed for the freedom of speech, Article 29 that allowed for the freedom of assembly, and Article 30 that allowed for the freedom of association.[102] Although this constitution did not give the liberals everything that they wanted and was not "of the most liberal basis" as the king had promised on March 18, 1848, they were fine with what they received in the constitution because it was more than they had back in the early months of 1848.

Interestingly, several years later, in 1851, Marx wrote a set of treatises, analyzing, to his dissatisfaction, the revolution of 1848. In these treatises Marx acknowledges that the revolution of 1848 was not the one he had envisioned in *The Communist Manifesto*. Marx notes that "[t]he 'powers that were' before the hurricane of 1848 are again the 'powers that be'…"[103] This is a powerful phrase because it demonstrates that the proletariat was not successful in the down fall of the bourgeoisie. These treatises continue to recollect the

events of 1848 through Marx's class conscious lens. Marx died, without witnessing his vision of a proletariat overthrow of the government that occurred in Russia in 1917.

V | Conclusion

The revolution was over and Frederick William emerged the victor because he was able to regain control of Berlin and the rest of Prussia by imposing a constitution to his liking, rather than to the specific liking of the moderate and radical liberals, gaining a true upper hand and imposing a constitution on him. Value judgments such as winners and losers in revolutions are often difficult to assess, especially since each side came away with something. For the liberals, slight victory was achieved because they did receive a constitution at the end of 1848, even though it did not contain the full ideas that they had envisioned to incorporate into the constitution. As for Frederick William, he was able to hold on to his absolutist role, if somewhat weakened, by usurping the liberals and even more so for the radical momentum by imposing a constitution on Prussia. The population of Prussia, as a whole, seemed to be pleased with the outcome of the revolution, namely the constitution, and was not willing to continue the revolution, the people that were the main fighting force behind the revolution. In the end, this revolution was not the revolution that Marx and Engels had envisioned when they felt the social, political, and economic tensions of the people of Prussia was about to boil over; nor the hopes of the liberals be fully realized. Although change did occur, it was Frederick William that was able to control the path in which the change occurred.

The revolution of 1848 followed the pattern that Professor Crane Brinton predicted using his model. The liberals of both sides used the social conditions to direct the unrest to put political pressure upon the king. When the moderate and radical liberals received concessions from Frederick William, the moderate liberals gained power until the radical liberals were able to gain a majority in the National Assembly. These radical liberals pushed more than Frederick William was willing to give and caused the counter-revolution by Frederick William and his reactionary forces thus putting an end the revolution

Frederick William in 1849 was be offered the crown as Emperor of Germany but he refused by declaring to the Frankfurt Assembly delegates that,

> I am not able to return a favorable reply to the offer of a crown on the part of the German National Assembly [meeting in Frankfurt], because the Assembly has not the right, without the consent of the German governments, to bestow the crown which they tendered me, and moreover because they offer the crown upon condition that I would accept a constitution which could not be reconciled with the rights of the German states.[104]

Although Frederick William was not willing to accept the crown of Emperor of Germany, his brother and successor William I of Prussia was willing and did take the crown after the victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. The unification of Germany became a major priority by the liberals in the Frankfurt Assembly and was the lasting legacy of the Revolutions of 1848 on all of Germany.

Notes

[1] Mike Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 2008). Rapport states this in his title and explores the revolutions thhat swept across Europe as not a singular event but a multi-faceted event that was different in the objectives and the outcomes for each country that experienced revolution.

[2] Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army 1640-1945* (1955; reprint, London: Oxford UP, 1964), 136. The dates given for the rule of the Hohenzollern Dynasty are when Frederick I became "king in Prussia," which started the dynasty's royal rule. However, the dates can be debated because the Hohenzollern Dynasty had been the Elector of Brandenburg since roughly 1100 C.E. Since it was heretical, it was technically a dynasty, however, this research project does not focus on the Hohenzollern Dynasty itself, therefore, the date of royal assertion is given.

[3] Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (1938, Reprint; New York: Vintage Books, 1957), 277. It was in discussion of the English Civil War and the trial of Charles I that Professor Susan Amussen mentioned "revolution theory." This how it was first brought to my attention and has proven so helpful with this thesis because had I never discovered this term and this paper may have been lacking, in certain aspects.

[4] Ibid. A page number is not given because there is no single page for this information but rather it is an outline of the structure of Brintons' argument to the process of revolutions.

[5] Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 57; Hans Joachim Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions in German-Speaking Europe* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2001), 46; Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 468.

[6] A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (1945; repr., London: University Paper Backs, 1964), 71.

[7] Ibid., 60. Marx and Engels even though they considered themselves as socialists or communist.

[8] Paul Brians, "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: *The Communist Manifesto* (1848)," in *Reading About the World*, http://public.wsu.edu/~brians/world_civ/worldcivreader/world_civ_reader_2/marx.html (accessed November 10, 2012).

[9] Ibid. This weakens the point that Marx and Engels were influential in the Revolutions of 1848, but the mention of them is to demonstrate one fragment of the liberal ideology within Prussia, and the rest of Europe, and how they were able to identify that a revolution was nearing and only part of their theory would remain true to the 1848 Revolutions.

[10] Although in the version of *The Communist Manifesto* being used for reference spells the author Frederick Engels as Friedrich, the German spelling, but for consistency of this essay, Friedrich will be Anglicized to Frederick unless being quoted, in notes, and the bibliography.

[11] Friedrich Engels' first note in the 1888 edition in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1888; repr., New York: Barnes & Nobel Classic, 2005), 7. Although this is the 1888 English translated edition by Frederick Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* was originally written in German in 1848.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 19.

[14] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 57.

[15] Ibid., 1. Here Hahn does make the point of French influence and draws the logical conclusion but for purposes of length and direction of this thesis, we are not going to explore this route other than that it is one proposed starting point of the events of 1848 in Prussia.

[16] Ibid., 50.

[17] Taylor, *The Course*, 69.

[18] Ibid., 70.

[19] Craig, *The Politics*, 86.

[20] Ibid., 87.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 439.

[23] Craig, *The Politics*, 86.

[24] Fritz Hartung, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* [*German Constitutional History of Fifteenth-Century to the Present*] (Liepzig, 1922), 151. Found in Craig, 88.

[25] Craig, *The Politics*, 88.

[26] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 51.

[27] Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 35; Vagabonds are people of no particular occupation but were able to find work. Vagabonds were a problem in European society because it did not allow for stability, one of the cornerstones of civilization in the European view.

[28] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 51-2.

[29] Craig, *The Politics*, 91.

[30] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 456.

[31] Craig, *The Politics*, 52.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 468.

[35] Karl Varnhagen von Ense, "Darstellung des Jahres 1848" (written in autumn of 1848), in Konrad Feilchenfeld (ed.), *Karl August Varnhagen von Ense. Tageblätter* (5 vols., Frankfurt/Main, 1994), vol. 4, *Biographien, Aufsätze, Skizzen, Fragmente*, pp. 685-734, here p. 724, found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 468. The diary of Varnhagen von Ense has proved very helpful to historians because not only did he record the events of the revolution in Berlin but he was also from the same social and intellectual class as the liberals that pushed the revolution forward.

[36] Taylor, *The Course*, 70-1.

[37] The Third Silesian War actually took part amidst the Seven Years War, or the French and Indian War.

[38] Taylor, *The Course*, 66.

[39] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 47.

[40] Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 58.

[41] Karl Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher aus dem Nachlass Varnhagen's von Ense* [Diaries From the Estate of Varnhagen von Ense], Vol 4, (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1862), 282. Since Varnhagen von Ense's diary is in German and my German is weak, I attempted, with the help of translation aids, to capture the spirit of what he had written by using as many exact translatable words as possible. My translations may not be perfect but I attempted at portraying Varnhagen von Ense's words honestly and fairly.

[42] Craig, *The Politics*, 97.

[43] Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 284.

[44] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 471.

[45] Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 282.

[46] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 470.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 472.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., 469.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid., 470.

[53] Ibid., 472.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Quote by Prittwitz was found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 472. Clark did not cite the source where he found this quote so instead I am citing Clark as the original source.

[56] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 472.

[57] Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, 290-91.

[58] Ibid,, 291.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid,, 292-93. A "tocsin" is referred, in this sense of the meaning, as an alarm bell or a warning signal.

[61] Ibid., 293.

[62] Ibid., 293.

[63] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 473.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., 473-4

[66] Taylor, *The Course*, 74.

[67] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 475.

[68] Ibid., 475; Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 93-4. Each authors account is given respectively above, with Clark accounting 400 and Hahn accounting for 900 deaths.

[69] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 475-6

[70] Since the constitutional aspect is the focus of the 1848 revolution in Berlin, German unification is only briefly mentioned in this essay as a way to demonstrate that there were other motivations to the revolution. For more information on German Unification look at these sources: Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2006), chapters 15 and 16; A. J. P. Taylor, *The Course of German History* (1945; reprint, London: University Paper Backs, 1964), chapters 6 and 7; Geoffery Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), whole book; and Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858-1871* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), whole book.

[71] Rapport, *1848: Year of Revolution*, 77.

[72] Karl Ludwig von Prittwitz, *Berlin 1848. Das Erinnungswerk des Generalleutnants Karl Ludwig von Prittwitz und andere Quellen zer Berliner Märzrevolution und zur Gechichte Preussens um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* [*Berlin 1848 the Lieutenant General Karl Ludwig Prittwitz and other sources to destroy the Berlin March Revolution and the History of Prussia in the mid-19th Century*], ed. Gerd Heinerich (Berlin, 1985), 259, found in Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 474.

[73] Craig, *The Politics*, 116.

[74] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 96.

[75] Prittwitz, 440-1. Found in Clark, 477.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Craig, *The Politics*, 107.

[78] Hahn, *The 1848 Revolutions*, 97; Craig, *The Politics*, 108.

[79] Craig, *The Politics*, 110.

[80] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 478.

[81] Ibid. The Frankfurt Parliament was a pan-German parliament in response to the revolutions in the Germanic areas that pushed for German unification and other pan-Germanic issues.

[82] Craig, *The Politics*, 109; Clark, 479.

[83] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 479.

[84] Craig, 111. The term "Volkswehr" can be translated into different terms but all meaning roughly the same thing. The German word "volk" literally translates into "folk" or "people" and it would not be wrong to refer to the "Volkswehr" as the people's militia.

[85] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 479. Craig, *The Politics*, 115.

[86] Craig, *The Politics*, 115.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 480.

[90] Ibid. Information on birth and death of Julius Stein was not available during research, however, multiple sources mention his proposal but other than that not much else is recorded on him, that I was able to find.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Craig, *The Politics*, 116.

[94] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 480-1.

[95] Ibid., 481.

[96] Clark, *Iron Kingdom*, 481.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Craig, *The Politics*, 120.

[99] Ibid., 121.

[100] *Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia*, title 2, art. 4. Found in Fredrick William and James Harvey Robinson, "Supplement: Constitution of the Kingdom of Prussia," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 5:8 (1894), 27

[101] Ibid., title 2, art. 12. Found in Ibid,, 28.

[102] Ibid., title 2, art. 27; title 2, art. 29; title 2, art. 30. Found in Ibid,, 31-2.

[103] Karl Marx, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution or Germany in 1848*, ed. Eleanor Marx Aveling, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), 1.

[104] Fordham University, "Modern History Source Book: Documents of German Unification, 1848-1871," http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/germanunification.asp (accessed on October 4, 2012)

Image Credits

Figure 1: http://www.age-of-the-sage.org/history/1848/revolution_of_1848.html

Figure 2: http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/germany/ger18491866.html

Figure 3: http://bibliograph.ru/Biblio/E/ense_kav/ense_kav.htm

Figure 4: http://marbellamarbella.es/2010-12-06/marbella-to-berlin-alexander-platz/

Figure 5: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_William_IV_of_Prussia

Figure 6: http://www.preussenchronik.de/bild_jsp/key=bild_zentner69.html

The Rise of Kings and Emperors: Sundiata and World Leaders of the 13th Century

By Havilliah J. Malsbury

One of the most inspirational tales of history comes not from ancient texts or scrolls, but from the words of the griots, West African storytellers who have orally passed down centuries of legends and records of Africa's rich and diverse history. This particular tale of perseverance and heroism is none other than the epic of Sundiata, the story of the West African king's rise to power, and how his unique political structure effectively united his people to establish the notorious Mali Empire. His extensive formation of alliances with neighboring warlords and his adroit military tactics helped him succeed in his rise to power and his conquest against the tyrannical sorcerer king Soumaoro. It was through his rise to power and his style of ruling in which he resembled the many different world leaders that ruled during the thirteenth century. Chinggis (Genghis) Khan, the great founder of the infamous Mongol Empire, expanded his kingdom through linked kinship and modern military strategies similar to that of Sundiata's. From their humble beginnings to the last days of their reigns, both Sundiata and Genghis Khan displayed several great and noble feats when it came to the unification of their empires, and by doing so, they formed two of the most celebrated and longest lasting empires in the history of the world. In addition to sharing a similar persona to that of the great Khan, Sundiata illustrated great courage as a leader in battle as well, a custom that was similar to that of the Germanic Tribes that inhabited Northern Europe, whose leaders attained great fame and admiration for leading their armies into the heart of battle. Indeed, it was these shared qualities that led to the success Sundiata in the expansion of the Mali Empire, and his story truly illustrates the importance of being a multifaceted ruler during the precarious times of the thirteenth century.[1]

Before he became a great and powerful emperor, Sundiata had a troubled upbringing that would later influence him in his rise to power. Sundiata was the son of the reputable Mandinka king, Maghann Konaté, and was brought up in a very regal and prestigious environment. However, Sundiata's childhood was full of obstacles, for he remained crippled and could not walk for several years. After the death of his father, he was forced to flee with his mother and sisters from the subjection and harassment by the late Maghann's first wife, Sassouma Bereté. In exile, Sundiata travelled east of his birthplace throughout the numerous kingdoms of Western Africa. Along his travels, Sundiata was able to stay and even serve in the company of several kings and warlords whom he befriended. This sense of kinship and loyalty that he established with his powerful associates, who would later become important allies, would greatly benefit him in his future campaigns, for he would need many friends in possession of sufficient armies in order to establish himself as a commanding leader against Soumaoro and his malevolent forces.

Sundiata's style of upbringing was common amongst world leaders of the age, for the Great Khan had a very similar childhood that nearly mirrored that of Sundiata's. Before he attained the honorable title of Khan, the great Mongol leader was born with the name Temujin. His father was a prominent chief who ruled over a large Mongol confederation.

Upon the assassination of his father by enemy Tartars who wanted to break up his father's confederation, Temujin was forced into exile. As a juvenile, he was far too young to rule in place of his father, and so Temujin, along with his mother and siblings, was forced to live in poverty. As an outcast, Temujin travelled throughout Mongolia in destitution. Like Sundiata, Temujin pursued diplomatic relations with powerful leaders and warlords that he met along his travels, and over the years, his reputation grew enormously throughout the land. By extending his kinship with prominent rulers, he began to build his future empire out of a confederation of numerous tribes who would aid him in his future conquests of Asia and the Middle East.[2]

In their efforts to expand their fledgling empires, both Sundiata and Temujin carried out similar actions in their various campaigns. During the chaotic warring periods of the thirteenth century, the use of cavalry became almost a necessity when it came to conquering and decimating enemy forces, which Sundiata utilized to a great extent in the expansion of the Mali Empire. Sundiata's armies, as well as the Mongol's, employed the devastating effects of mounted horses in battle, which served to be significantly superior against traditional foot soldiers[3]. The Mongols were renowned for their use of mounted archers, who could shoot with deadly accuracy even at full gallop,[4] and cavalry soon became a symbol of power and superiority in both the Mali and Mongol Empires.[5]

Aside from his military conquests, Sundiata employed similar tactics of other world leaders when it came to accepting foreign religions of the age. Sundiata was raised to accept the traditional African religion that dominated the area of present day Guinea, and yet he grew to be a devout follower of Islam, a religion that was introduced to Africa in the seventh century by Arab merchants. In an attempt to gain the support of his Muslim subjects, and to interact more between the Arab merchants who provided richly goods from the east, Sundiata accepted the Islam faith in his kingdom. His association with this foreign religion is seen throughout his famous epic, as he more than once described his enemies, like the sorcerer Soumaoro, as enemies of Allah. This tactic of incorporating foreign religions was common during this era, for Mongol leaders also embraced the foreign religions of the countries that they conquered, especially that of Buddhism and Christianity. In the accounts of the famous Nestorian monk Rabban Sauama, who traveled throughout the Mongol Empire, he observed how the Mongols openly accepted Christianity: "Know ye, O our Fathers, that many of our Fathers have gone into the countries of the Mongols… for many of the sons of the Mongol kings and queens have been baptized and confess Christ."[6] Religion is indeed a powerful factor in empire building, and like many rulers of the era, Sundiata utilized the incorporation of foreign religions to his advantage in the expansion of his great Mali Empire.

Among his large list of traits, the great king Sundiata was also remembered for being a brave and fearless warrior in battle, and was often seen leading the charge of his regimental cavalry units into battle. "Having drawn his sword, Sundiata led the charge, shouting his war cry…in a trice, Sundiata was in the middle of the Sossos like a lion in the sheepfold."[7] Exhibiting leadership in battle was a common strategy and morale booster for many leaders of the age. Resembling the bravery of Sundiata, the leaders of the Germanic tribes of Europe also displayed their authority on the battlefield by leading their armies into the heat of the fray. In the accounts of the Roman historian Tacitus, he describes how important this practice was amongst the leaders of the Germanic tribes that he witnessed: "These kings have not unlimited or arbitrary power, and the generals do more by example

than by authority. If they are energetic, if they are conspicuous, if they fight in the front, they lead because they are admired."[8] And admired they were, like these Germanic leaders who dominated the European landscape, Sundiata gained great fame for exhibiting extraordinary courage in his numerous military conquests.

To the end of his days, Sundiata had become one of the most important figures of the thirteenth century. Through his extraordinary leadership qualities, he had helped establish himself as one of the most prominent leaders in Western Africa, and had helped his empire grow and expand to one of the most influential and prevailing empires in all of Africa. By incorporating and emulating the leadership qualities of other world leaders, from the Great Chinggis Khan to the warring Germanic tribes of Europe, Sundiata's multidimensional character help propel him to feats of victory. His death to this day remains a mystery, but there is no doubt behind the legacy that he left behind. Sundiata will forever be remembered as the great founder of the Mali Empire, and the story of his rise to power and how he restored peace to the land is still told to this day by the griot storytellers of Western Africa. He is indeed a unique figure in history for how he incorporated the skills and qualities of the successful world leaders of the age, and his story lives on to show how one individual can have the greatest impact on the surrounding world for centuries to come.

Notes

[1] The author, being also an editor, recused himself from the editing process regarding this article. It received no special treatment and was required to conform to all standard requirements.

[2] Robert Tignor, *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), 404.

[3] Ibid., 371.

[4] Ibid., 401.

[5] Ibid., 371.

[6] *The Monk of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China; or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sauma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khans to the Kings of Europe and Markos who as Yahbh-Allaha III Became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia* (London: The Religious Track Society, 1928), Ch. 7-12.

[7] Djibril Tamsir Niane and David W. Chappell and Jim Jones, Sundiata: *An Epic of Old Mali* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2006), 49.

[8] Tacitus, *The Agricola and Germania,* trans. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (London: Macmillan, 1877), 87- 110.

The Disguised Mask of Race, Gender, and Class

By Genesis Diaz

I | Introduction

Racism has occurred throughout American history from when the founding fathers decided that slaves were three fifths of a person to when African-Americans were segregated and categorized as 'colored.' Gender roles are often demonstrated to show which sex a female or a male belongs in. Nella Larsen writes about the issue of African-Americans "passing" in 1929 and the consequences of living that life in the story of Irene and Clare. In Larsen's novel, *Passing*, the reader becomes familiar with the term, exploring what it is for an African-American being able to 'pass' as white. The color of someone's skin was the prominent focus in the 1920s. This was a factor that often advanced those with white skin or limited the opportunities of black individuals. Throughout American society, there has been a general struggle of identity in issues of gender and race. Both Irene and Clare struggle with those same issues in the novel, further trying to fit into a mold and have their true intentions.

Passing takes place in 1929 during the Roaring Twenties and the Harlem Renaissance. The protagonists in the novel are Clare Kendry and Irene Redfield. They both have hidden secrets about who they really are. Clare is a mulatto who is able to pass from her race and conceal her true black background. Irene is a black middle class female who is proud of where she is from but nonetheless desires and has feelings for Clare.

Irene struggles with her personal identity. Once Clare and Irene have their second encounter Clare is intrigued by Harlem—where Irene lives—and decides she is tired of living a lie. Clare spends most of her time in Harlem where the epitome of culture and art are emerging. Irene suspects that Clare may be having an affair with her husband Brian. Irene becomes jealous of Clare to the point where, when at a party, Clare's husband finds out about Clare's race. Clare later dies, but her death is unclear.

Larsen leaves the reader to wonder if Irene pushed her or if Clare committed suicide. Larsen demonstrates the limitations that an individual can have regarding the race, which factors on social status. Larsen also depicts the image of a woman and the gender roles that women needed to display in the 1920s.

II | Historical Context

The economy had been thriving due to the overproduction of goods. The prosperous use of credit and surplus of revenue was known to be the Roaring Twenties. Money and power became a huge factor for industry. The booming economy became the aftermath of the Progressive Era.

The Harlem Renaissance was a time period that brought in much art prestige to the black community. There had been a fluctuation of art, literature, poetry, and painting. There had been a negative cultural misrepresentation of black culture up to that point but art donors wanted to sponsor the authentic black image.

There had also been more employment opportunities in the North toward the urban areas while people living from the South were moving to the North—this was known as the Great Migration. There were racial and social tensions that were overflowing between black and white people. The influx of people moving to the North to the overcrowded urban cities increased competition for employment.

The North had been known to be less racist than the South; nonetheless, racism was still clearly visible. The actions became known as *de facto* segregation based on practice, not in the intent of the law. Even though the segregation was based on practice, actions that were displayed where colored sections were imposed and voting was not allowed for African-Americans. Larsen mentions the prevalence of Jim Crow Laws. The Jim Crow sections were emerging due to the *de jure* segregation. The sections that African-Americans were allowed to be in were labeled as "colored" or in some places it was exclusively for white people.

III | Race and Social Class

The environment of the early 1900s was often a hostile one to blacks, both in the North and the South. Even though the North was a symbol of progress, race was still an underlying issue. In *Passing*, Irene is in the Drayton Hotel of Chicago realizing people might notice she was from an undesired race: "it was the idea of being ejected from any place, even in the polite tactful way in which the Drayton would probably do it that disturbed her."[1] Irene is afraid that people will notice that she is black in a place that is strictly for the white race. She does not want to cause a scene and does not want to have to deal with people's glances and judgments.

Irene reflects back to the significance of passing, "wishing to find about this hazardous business of 'passing,' this breaking from all the familiar…friendly to take one chance in another environment that is not entirely strange."[2] The protagonist, Clare passes as white, further abandoning her black family and culture. Irene passing as white in the Drayton Hotel demonstrates a mask; she is hiding her true self—her skin color. Passing in black communities was frowned upon and not simple to do. Miriam Thaggert explains "the subject who passes can elide categories determined by race and clothes can 'camouflage' the body for those special times 'we don't want to be seen—or we don't want our true selves.'"[3] The masks that Irene and Clare portray are unique to what they are trying to hide. Both women demonstrate a conflict between themselves one on gender the other on class therefore they need that mask without people would see what is behind that mask—their true selves.

Irene explains about parties in Harlem that black folks, "will not be allowed in at all, or will have to sit in Jim Crowed sections."[4] Segregation became a political issue; de facto segregation was committed. The Harlem Renaissance is described was a prominent movement in the black community that included music and art. Once whites began to arrive, the law stated that various races could not integrate. Therefore Jim Crow laws came from the South, and were being adopted in the North.

Race was a crucial and controversial issue in the 1920s; therefore, racial lines were deep and the race was a huge indicator of status. Clare was rumored to be associating with white people while *Passing* "there was one rumor about Clare Kendry's having been seen at the dinner hour in a fashionable hotel in company with another woman, all of them white.

And dressed!"[5] Irene is flabbergasted in Clare's ability to pass, even though the primitive factor is skin color. Irene is a middle class individual who does pass and stays in the black culture. Clare decides to live in the white class and she does not care for the repercussions of her actions. Clare's background was a lower class individual therefore she did not think passing would affect her as much. The reward to this way of life could be a better life with opportunities and wealth. Race no longer is a barrier for Clare.

While Irene, Gertrude, and Clare are discussing their life, Jack says racist comments. Irene thinks back to the scene saying, "it was hard to believe that even Clare Kendry would permit this ridiculing of her race, by an outsider though he chanced to be her husband."[6] Clare's husband mentions all these demeaning comments and Clare laughs as if it were a nonchalant conversation. Clare cannot say anything because she is confused. She is supposed to have this white mask that demonstrates her being a white racist and the society of the 1920s praised that mentality. She cannot say anything because if she were to say something to Jack he would know Clare was black. Jack becomes suspicious of Irene's comment: "caught between two allegiances. Herself! Her race! And Clare! The thing that bound and suffocated her Nothing was ever more completely sardonic."[7]

Irene is conflicted between her race and Clare. Irene realizes that she cannot have the same opportunities and privileges that Clare has. The race that Irene is classified in limits her from doing things she wishes she could do. Clare has everything handed to her and it is due to the fact that Clare passed and Irene chose not to pass. Irene carries on this mask of appearance, demonstrating to others her composure and happiness with Brain, but deep down she is suffering.

IV | Gender/Sexuality

Another of Nella Larsen's themes in the novel is sexuality, especially the sexual orientation of Irene and her feelings for Clare. Larsen clearly depicts Irene having sexual attraction to Clare, expressing her interest in appearance and personality.

In the 1920s the intrigue of the same sex was not unheard of; it was just not discussed. Larsen explains the attractiveness that Clare has on others to show a contrast between Clare and Irene. Clare is seen more attractive with gracefulness and femininity. Irene is much more detached and not as sweet in the eyes of the reader. Clare embodies a carefree individual who is desired by the male population.

Irene tries to fit into this mold of what society wants a female in the 20s to be. She tries to display her contentment her happiness, but deep down she is crumbling inside. Thaggert explains Fuss' argument that the idea of a woman having an attraction with another woman is an "influential analysis about homoeroticism" and that Larsen achieves this with the lesbian relationship between Clare and Irene."[8] Irene is hurt that her race, her hopes, and dreams are impeded. She has an attraction to Clare that she has not even realized. Irene becomes obsessed with Clare to the point where Irene feels jealous of Brain even talking to her.

Gender has always been a conflicting issue of fitting into a mold based on the gender roles that society dictates for both men and women. Gender can at times be interpreted based on sexuality or personality. Irene describes Clare the first time seeing her at the Drayton as **"**an attractive looking woman, was Irene's opinion with those dark almost black eyes, and that wide mouth of scarlet flower against her ivory skin."[9] Irene describes Clare

as feminine and quite beautiful even though women were subjugated to being housewives and pleasing their husband. In that time, a woman describing another as "attractive" seems peculiar. Irene could be attracted to Clare in her appearance. Larsen could have used another word to describe Clare's character, but used "attractive."

The idea of homosexuality is not unheard of in 1929; nevertheless it was not spoken about. Moreover, Irene thinks back to meeting Clare when they are out at a party when the "same thought that she had two years ago on the roof of the Drayton that Clare Kendry was just a shade too good looking."[10] This is the second time that Irene refers to Clare's appearance even though Irene is married to Brian. Irene is confused with her sexuality even though she is married; Irene thinks about Clare more than friends. Irene is trying to fit into this mold that society has created, nevertheless she is having trouble fitting in. Additionally, Irene has an argument with her husband about Clare being invited to a party without Irene's permission. Irene began to see, "her voice, she realized had gone queer. But she had an instinctive feeling that it hadn't been the whole cause of Brian's attitude."[11] The issue of homosexuality is again mentioned by Larsen, choosing the word "queer." Irene is conflicted with her gender; she wants to appear as a loving wife, but is attracted to a woman. Irene wants to fit the gender roles that society has issued, but her actions and thoughts impede her.

V | Historicity

The issue of "passing" has been a controversial issue that has allowed African-Americans to pose as white individuals. Prior to the early 1920s and after, it was common that blacks would be legally segregated.

Race was a contributing factor; the pigment of somebody skin was a clear indicator of which status one belonged to. Blacks were seen as an inferior race. They were undesirable and often suffered brutality. In the South, there was a terrorist group known as the Ku Klux Klan. This group was dominant figures that would display lynching and murders to instill fear in those who wanted to rebel. In the North, race was often shown with African-Americans having low paying jobs and being segregated based on skin color. Race often demonstrated limitations to the individuals such as Irene. She had to be in Jim Crow sections of a party. The idea of integration was a radical notion that would not be demonstrated until decades later.

The novel mentions the Rhinelander Case of a woman being sued by her husband for lying about her race. She passed and posed as a white person, but little did the husband know that his wife was of African-American descent. Thaggert in her analysis explains the case as a "complex dialectic of concealing and revealing is one of the novel's central reversals of the Rhinelander trial in which 'the full sustained look' is imposed on Alice Jones Rhinelander."[12] Clare is the embodiment of Alice Jones Rhinelander. Larsen refers to this case towards the end of the novel to demonstrate the similarity that Alice had with Clare in terms of concealing her true race. Both women are concealing who they really are; they believe that they could pass for better opportunities. Race often limited what a person could do or have. The constant concealing displays a mask that Irene and Clare have as both women hide and believe that a mask could hide their true needs and wants.

Gender roles have always been around they are social cues designated to show the differences between the opposite sex. Women in the Twenties were often seen as an object;

they could not demonstrate resistance to their own femininity because society would reject it. Women were often afraid and displayed what society wanted them to be. Larsen interprets this notion in Irene's sexuality. Irene, at a party, displays her happiness and socializes with the black community but deep down inside cannot contain her feelings for Clare. At the same time she is both jealous and in love with Clare Kendry. There is a mask that Irene displays when she is a party or with people, but once people are gone and she is alone, her conflictions are displayed. If she were to demonstrate any physical attraction toward Clare she would be more than punished by society; her status and respect would be gone and that is more important to her.

VI | Conclusion

The 1920s were a time of economic prosperity for some but racial segregation and racism persisted. Both characters Irene and Clare had to understand what their true identity was in race, class, and gender further symbolizing societies and individuals fitting into molds. The novel was an epitome of race in the Twenties.

Poor treatment of African-Americans would keep on occurring until the Sixties when lynching and the black terrorism group known as the Ku Klux Klan began to wane. The novel demonstrated the gap between wealthy and lower class individuals and how race can be an underlying factor that can determine an individual's way of life. In a time period when progress and economic prosperity arose, the issue of race is pervaded by the dichotomy of social racism toward African-Americans in the early 1900s.

Notes

[1] Nella Larsen, *Passing* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 16.

[2] Ibid., 24.

[3] Miriam Thaggert, "Racial Etiquette: Nella Larsen's Passing and the Rhinelander Case," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, and Transnationalism* (5) 2: 1-29.

[4] Larsen, *Passing*, 69.

[5] Ibid., 19.

[6] Ibid., 40.

[7] Ibid., 98.

[8] Thaggert, "Racial Etiquette."

[9] Larsen, *Passing*, 100.

[10] Ibid., 70.

[11] Ibid, 89.

[12] Thaggert, "Racial Etiquette," 13.

The Hardships of Slaves and Mill Workers

By Stephanie Gamboa

Harriet Jacobs's (1813-1897) *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* narrates the nonfictional firsthand account of a female slave during the early 1800s. Jacobs experience as a Southern African American slave puts many thoughts into perspective throughout her book. The fictional story of *Life in the Iron Mills* takes place in 1861 where the daily activities of a Northern mill worker is intricately examined. Both stories engage the topics of race, gender, class, and the different mentalities in the Southern and Northern regions. *Incidents* and *Life in the Iron Mills* illustrate the inequalities that citizens faced in the early years of the United States. Jacobs's reveals the gender and race problems present in America while *Life in the Iron Mills* touches bases on the class differences in America. These two firsthand accounts provide an insightful comprehension of the social and economic struggles faced in America. It also allows for a comparison to the different struggles presented to African Americans when compared to lower class whites in the 19th century. These two pieces ultimately reveal that not all was perfect in American society and that much reform needed to be made to truly provide its citizens with equality.

The predominant issue in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, are the many injustices masters inflicted upon African American females as in comparison to male African American slaves. The main character Jacobs mentions "Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women."[1] On top of the strenuous workload a slave was expected to perform, African American women were subjected to sexual harassment both physical and mental. From an early age, African American women experienced this harassment because they were viewed as property and therefore could be used for whatever purpose the master deemed appropriate. The unlimited power and control over female African Americans made it acceptable for masters to do as they pleased which put women in a vulnerable position to be viewed as sexual objects. Jacobs describes her experience and those of other African American females concisely when she states, "She will become prematurely knowing in evil things. She will be compelled to realize that she is no longer a child. If God has bestowed beauty upon her, it will prove her greatest curse."[2]

Jacobs faced constant sexual harassment from her master because she was what one may consider beautiful having a lighter complexion derived from her Anglo-Saxon heritage.[3] Dr. Flint demonstrated much interest in Jacobs, following her everywhere she went and constantly reminding her that she had to submit to his every will. To further worsen the matter the mistress was extremely jealous and hateful towards Jacobs. The mistress would use every opportunity at hand to make Jacobs's life more difficult.[4] Instead of expressing compassion towards the degradations women faced, the mistresses showed hatred towards African American females.

Slaves were subjected to psychological abuse, being separated from their children and spouses as well. Jacobs's master inflicted this form of manipulation upon her. Dr. Flint constantly threatened Jacobs with separating her from her children if she did not comply with his will. Jacobs declared that, "Dr. Flint loved money, but he loved power more."[5] Dr. Flint did not physically beat Jacobs however he did deny her basic human rights. There were many instances where white friends of the family tried to purchase Jacobs; however,

Dr. Flint enjoyed the mental sufferings and mental manipulation he could impose upon his slaves. Dr. Flint's primary desire was to control Jacobs which is why he did not sell his slaves.

Reading and writing, the most basic forms of human rights, were striped from African American slaves to reinforce this control. The slaves were to be kept in ignorance and denied the right to read; it was against the law to teach a slave how to read. Slaves who taught each other how to read were subjected to imprisonment and a whipping.[6] Fortunately Jacobs was literate however her master did not allow for the other slaves around her to gain knowledge. The reason for which Jacobs knew how to read was because she was taught as a young child by her family but if it would have been up to her master she would have never been able to learn. It was the master's interest to keep their slaves in ignorance to be able to exert complete dominance in their lives.

The psychological abuse was so extreme that Jacobs remarked on her trip to Europe as a nanny: "the people I saw around me were, many of them, among the poorest," but then she states, "The most destitute of these peasant was a thousand fold better off than the most pampered American slave."[7] The reason for this remark is that even though these people worked from day in and out, they still enjoyed the basic rights of having their own family unit and having control over what they chose to do. The poor people of Europe did not have to worry if their daughter or son was going to be taken from them, as did most slave parents. The European poor people were protected under the law, unlike slaves who could be whipped to death by their masters. These people lived in poverty but not in fear. Jacobs being a former slave who escaped into freedom provides great observations with the contrasts among slaves and the poor in Europe. This comparison demonstrates that life in America was not better than life in Europe. It is ironic that life in America offered immigrants better opportunities primarily because they were the right skin complexion while life in Europe offered African Americans better life prospects.

The main issue present in *Life in the Iron Mills* is the class difference in the United States between the poor and the rich. There was a wide gap based on income and wealth during the Industrial Revolution; people were either economically disadvantaged or wealthy. The main character is Wolf, a poor Irish immigrant working at an iron mill factory. Wolfe lived in a small cellar and his meals typically consisted of a boiled potato despite working hard every day.[8]

The lower class worked hard trying to achieve the American dream, however, they were not upwardly mobile. Much like the slaves in the south, climbing the social ladder was extremely difficult and nearly impossible for immigrants in the north. The barrier in this case was not a race issue but a class issue. The North was more tolerant of race. *Incidents* mentions how slaves tried to reach the north in hopes of not being discriminated on account of their race. The factory owners of the North were not focused on race but on getting working people to toil in their factories, white or black. In the same manner, slaves in the south, factory workers found themselves in a similar situation performing strenuous work for a meager salary which would not allow them to climb the social ladder. The reason behind this is that both slave owners and factory owners had one thing in common: their ultimate interest in money. Rebecca Harding Davis acknowledges this interest when Mitchell, the man in charge, proclaims "money has spoken" establishing that money has ultimate control over everything.[9]

In both *Life in the Iron Mills* and *Incidents* the vision for a better life is a common theme and people were willing to risk their life in the pursuit of a promising future. Wolfe from *Life in the Iron Mills* is sent to jail for robbing a check. Wolfe, despite being poor, has one thing and only one thing he treasures dearly—his freedom. The prospect of a better life motivated Wolfe. Jail kills this prospect and Wolfe foresees a life full of misery, therefore, he decides to commit suicide as a means of regaining his freedom.[10]

Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents* also hold freedom in high regard. Jacobs's uncle Benjamin decides to escape slavery by running away and gets imprisoned. Benjamin has the same mentality as Wolfe: a life without freedom is not worth pursuing. However, Benjamin is able to escape prison and find the freedom he always yearned for in the North. Benjamin was willing to die for his freedom because the life of a slave was full of constant degradation and toil but, as Benjamin states, "we don't die but once" therefore he either wanted freedom or would die trying.[11] The high value these characters place on freedom are reflected on the very principle American life is based on. Patrick Henry once declared "give me death or give me liberty" during the revolutionary area of the United States a principle by which both characters held in high regards.

Both slaves and the iron mill workers were oppressed and advancing in their situations provided to be difficult. Slaves could not advance because they found themselves subject to racial factors and poverty. Northern factory workers could not advance because the social class gap kept them in poverty. One of the iron mill workers stated, "I do not think. I wash my hands of all social problems, slavery, caste, white or black."[12] This iron mill worker felt that he was oppressed just as slaves were because of the inability to improve his social status. The average mill worker and slave were both overworked physically and confined to work in their tasks. The mill worker however did not realize that they were in a far better position than slaves and the poor working class in Europe.

Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* and *Life in the Iron Mills and Other Stories* both share many similarities. Both slaves and mill workers found themselves in poverty, yearning for an opportunity to improve their social standing, oppressed, and holding freedom in high regard. *Incidents* focused on race issues and gender issues while *Life in the Iron Mills* focused on class issues. Both groups were oppressed and in poverty with a small to nearly impossible opportunity to improve their living conditions. The Southern slaves however faced a more oppressive situation because among class issues they also faced race issues making success much more difficult.

Notes

[1] Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, (New York: Dovers, 2001), 66.

[2] Ibid., 27.

[3] Ibid., 9.

[4] Ibid., 27.

[5] Ibid., 68.

[6] Ibid., 63.

[7] Ibid., 150.

[8] Rebecca Harding Davis, *Life in the Iron Mills and Other Stories* (New York: Feminist Press), 17.

[9] Ibid., 35.

[10] Ibid., 60.

[11] Jacobs, *Incidents*, 21.

[12] Ibid., 35.

The Extraction of the American Native: How Westward Expansion Destroyed and Created Societies

By Juan Francisco Pirir

When the first Europeans landed on the Americas in the 15th century, they encountered people already inhabiting this, so called, "New World." These migrants soon established colonial settlements, which often led to territorial disputes and to the spreading of diseases that caused major epidemics among the indigenous population. In the colonies, many grew weary of their monarchic governments; thus, revolution against the European world emerged. The American Revolution, for example, declared its independence from the British Empire after several issues with the Royal Crown were not addressed. Having won the revolution against the British, many Americans felt a great sense of nationalism for their victory. It was because of that victory that Americans were able to start over and create a government that would leave the European structure of power behind. This new democratic government called for both freedom and progress—ideals met by expanding westward into Native American territory. Events of the 19th century determined the fate of the Native American people such as the Sioux and Nez Perce. The lack of a centralized government within bands of natives and no clear representation of Native American territory fueled racial supremacy amongst American settlers, which ultimately provided justification of westward expansion and the seizing of native lands.

Like many native tribes, the Nez Perce frequently interacted with white American settlers. In the interview *An Indian's View of Indian Affairs*, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce gave insight into the rising tensions between natives and non-natives in the early 19th century North America. In this interview, the Chief talked about an encounter his father had with a white man named Reverend Spaulding. According to the Chief's father, Reverend Spaulding shared the word of the "Spirit-Law" with the Nez Perce people in hope to convert them to Christianity. The interview then revealed what Chief's father learned about the American settlers coming into Native American land. He recalls his father's revelation of the white settler; "we soon found out that the white men were growing very rich very fast, and were greedy to possess everything the Indian had."[1] The Nez Perce not only invited Reverend Spaulding into their band, they also allowed him to spread his religious practice among them. The perspective of Chief Joseph's father provides a general overview of what many American settlers were trying to accomplish: converting the Natives into something more "civilized" with the use of their religion. This meeting between the reverend and the Nez Perce also reveals the American settler's ability to expand westward through religious practice.

According to Chief Joseph's account, the Nez Perce listened to Reverend Spaulding's talk of the "Spirit Law" but as much as the reverend wanted to teach of his religion, would it have been possible for the Nez Perce to share their beliefs with the reverend? To that extent, could the belief systems of both native and non-natives have syncretized? Perhaps. But time, being the unpredictable entity that it is, did not allow such events to take course within this and other bands of American Natives. The spreading of Christianity became a powerful tool that would serve the colonists well when justifying their expansion

Westward. The teaching of Christianity to Native Americans, like the Nez Perce, dismantled culture in the attempt to create "civilized" Christian societies.

In Calloway's *First Peoples,* the author mentioned that "Indians" adopted Christianity and intensive agriculture from white American settlers in which case the natives required less land and were able to transfer surplus lands to white settlers.[2] The learning of Christianity may have helped the natives create bonds with the settlers; however, this meant the natives would slowly lose their own cultural beliefs if they were not careful to withhold them. With the native's adoption of intensive agriculture came the adoption of settlement for some Native American societies. Some societies even adopted bison hunting through the use of horses and found the technique so promising that they began herding horses themselves. Unfortunately for the natives, the adoption of settlement and horse husbandry came with detrimental effects.

In such groups like the Sioux, "epidemics decimated settled agriculturalists…the nomadic [Sioux] would then spread [these] infections" and would have sickened and killed many other natives.[3] To make matters even worse, the vigorous "horse herding also depleted grasslands that supported bison populations" leading to a decline of the protein filled bison food stock.[4] Although natives adopted some aspects of American culture and gave remaining land to Americans, it was not enough for the Anglo-American to consider them as equals.

It was Manifest Destiny that sparked a desire within Americans to expand and inhabit the lands of the "Western Frontier." The West was responsible for important American ideals such individualism, political democracy, and economic mobility. The closing of the Western Frontier may have been a driving force for class conflict and social revolution such as the infamous Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. The freedom to head west allowed people to have a fresh start, to emerge out of poverty and dive into wealth. By 1830, the United States created The Indian Removal Act, which called for the "federal relocation of five 'civilized tribes.'"[5] During this time, the United States sought to make treaties with tribes such as the Sioux and the Nez Perce.

The indigenous that lived in the west were reluctant to part with lands their tribes had for so long claimed as theirs. Due to much resistance from the natives, the United States found itself in a fiasco; however, they would find treaties to be the most efficient way to gain western territory. In 1851, the Sioux (among many other tribes) signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie, which "grant[ed] American settlers safe passage across the plains in exchange for an annual annuity" but some bands within the Sioux did not agree with the treaty.[6] These bands were named "Non-Treaty Soldiers" which would try to fight against an expanding United States. The different bands within tribes however, made it difficult for the United States to negotiate with the natives. Since no form of centralized government existed within tribes, people of the United States perceived Native Americans as uncivilized, fuelling the justification of the seizure of native land.

The Nez Perce also gave the United States a similar conflict. A Nez Perce chief by the name of Lawyer signed a treaty that gave up native land that did not actually belong to his band of natives; the land he gave up was actually under another Nez Perce's chief—Chief Joseph. Natives that did not agree with this treaty were given the name of "Dog Soldiers" and fought against the United States' Cavalry. Due to the complexities of power amongst native tribes, the United States had no clear idea of which leaders they should negotiate with.

The United States became very intrigued by the idea that the Black Hills (part of native lands) might have had the most precious of metals—gold. The United States set out

a revised version of the Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868 "clarify[ing] the 1851 treaty which reduces Sioux territory to the great Sioux Reservation."[7] With the treaty, the United States claimed to give up on the Black Hills and the Sioux were then allowed to leave their reservation to hunt. What the Sioux did not notice was perhaps the most important portion of the new treaty: "the Sioux will have to relinquish all claims to non-reservation lands at some point in the future."[8] This eventually led to the relocation of Native American tribes.

In the *Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners of 1885*, Merrill E. Gates believed that "there [was] an utter barbarianism in which property has almost no existence."[9] Many Anglo-Americans saw the natives as "uncivilized" and considered them "undeserving of such lands" since they were "not using the land properly."[10] Gates believed in assimilation. He believed that the American native "should become an intelligent citizen of the United States."[11] He then categorizes the natives as "wards" of the government and the government itself as the responsible "guardian" that is in charge of educating and caring for the ward. Gates believed that their form of government and their way of life was the key to an advanced social, cultural, and moral development.

It is truly important to recognize that the events that occurred in the United States are not reversible nor will they ever be. These events provide an example of how two opposite cultures interacted in the fight for the West American territories. The conflicts between the Natives and American settlers seemed almost impossible to avoid. What fundamentally led the Natives to fail in resisting American Expansion was the absence of a unified tribal system, clear depictions of Native American territory, and unfortunately, the belief that a more "civilized" group of people are better than others.

Notes

[1] Chief Joseph, "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs," *North American Review* 128, no. 269 (April 1879): 416.

[2] Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, 4th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004).

[3] Pekka Hämäläinen. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (2003): 833-862.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of American History* 65, no. 2 (1978): 319-43.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Merrill E. Gates, *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (1885).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

Japanese Internment: Struggles Within the Newspaper

By Chul Wan Solomon Park

The United States entered World War II, on December 7, 1941 when the Empire of Japan attacked the naval base at Pearl Harbor. The entrance to the war was not the only thing that resulted from the attack. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Executive Order no. 9066. This order allowed the United States to "designate areas from which any or all persons may be excluded,"[1] ultimately making it legal to forcefully detain the Japanese Americans in the States. The relocation of the Japanese Americans was a result of wartime hysteria; however, racism deep within the American community and history played a significant role. Anti-Asian ideals and laws from the late 19th centuries up to the Japanese relocation became the stepping-stones of Japanese internment. As a result of the Executive Order no. 9066 and exclusion laws, the camps where the Japanese were detained established their own culture and way of life racially excluded from the rest of the world. Some of the larger camps such as the Manzanar and Tule Lake had their own newspapers. These newspapers reveal the life of exclusion and struggles of identity of the Japanese Americans detained in internment camps in respect to the culture and history of the United States up to that time.

The Tule Lake newspapers were the source of information within the camp for the residents of Tule Lake. At first glance, the newspaper seems like any other papers from anywhere in the United States. The newspaper itself has an article from issue ten of volume three published on July 27, 1942, explaining, "the editorial policy of the Tulean Dispatch is no different from any other American newspaper published outside in this time of war."[2] Meaning that the newspapers could be censored. In order to retain citizen support, newspapers were often censored and consisted of positive propaganda during wartime. By stating that the Tule Lake newspapers were no different from any other American newspaper, means that the government was in control of what was being published. The article continues to explain the paper's primary goal of helping the community attain social order in their time of confusion and perplexity. The newspapers seem perfect, with information about all the major categories in a society including sports, economics, and politics. The papers made the internment camps seem like a well-functioning happy society, even calling it a colony, however the newspaper only includes news within the internment camp, excluding the camp from outside news. Carefully examining the articles reveals a life of exclusion and an attempt to create a new society of Japanese Americans loyal to the United States. The newspaper contains articles of education, sports, and opportunity of entertainment, which all factors into creating a culture within a community. Although the government censored the newspapers, it shows an attempt by the Japanese Americans to live normally within the camps.

Similar to that of the Native American reservations, the government tried to create a new society of people within a certain boundaries in order to exclude them. The Japanese Americans seemed to make the best of their situation by recreating a community. Dance classes, sports teams, religious buildings, and schools were all implemented into the camps while job opportunities were also given to qualified individuals. By bringing together all ethnically Japanese people and giving them a chance to create a new culture, the society of

the internment camps began to live life of exclusion without many problems. Japanese Americans became editors of newspapers, teachers, coaches, and managers within the society, however they were given the bare minimum to sustain a culture. The government provided the camps with insufficient amount of equipment for a growing population to maintain everyday activities. Throughout the newspaper there are complaints for the lack of equipment needed for churches and schools. An article published on July 23, 1942 acknowledges the problem, "the community is in dire need of various equipments…."[3] Although it is evident that the internment camps were poorly supplied and Japanese Americans were poorly supplied and treated, the editors of the newspaper seem to be optimistic by publishing articles of achievement and ways to cooperate with the government in order to receive more equipment.

Japanese Exclusion was not a new idea and the only form of exclusion in the United States. Excluding groups of people has been present towards African Americans, Chinese Americans, and other ethnic groups since the birth of America. In the late 1800s, "Chinese immigrants were the targets of racial hostility, discriminatory laws, and violence."[4] Until the 1960s African Americans were targets of racial discrimination segregating them from the rest of the society. One can also see that groups were forcefully excluded by the Government were given bare minimum to survive. Both Native Americans and the Japanese Americans were forced into an area of arid lands. Although the situation of the Japanese American was different, the attempts to separate the Japanese Americans were apparent even before World War II. As Asian Americans, the Japanese were under the same law and same racial treatment as Chinese and Korean Americans as shown in this quote from "A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation During World War II" by Burton, "Anti-Japanese movements began shortly after Japanese immigration began, arising from existing anti-Asian prejudices."[5] Laws such as the Alien Land Law and the Chinese exclusion act, which prohibited land ownership and limited immigration respectively, paved a way for Japanese exclusion and internment. The growing immigration of Asians into America that was sparked by the gold rushes of the 1800s created fear that the Asians were eventually going steal jobs, women, and land from the White Americans. The fear of Indians taking jobs and women described in Nayan Shah's *Stranger Intimacy*[6] can be also seen in Japanese Americans, "Many of the anti-Japanese fears arose from economic factors combined with envy... Other fears were military in nature; the Russo-Japanese War proved that the Japanese were a force to be reckoned with, and stimulated fears of Asian conquest."[7] These anti-Japanese laws and sentiments became the stepping-stone for Japanese exclusion, however the newspapers of Tule Lake Internment camp reveals Japanese Americans coping and surviving a life of exclusion.

The stories within newspapers of Tule Lake show a smooth running culture and society within the camp; however, many of the articles are not the real voices of the Japanese American, but rather the voices of what the government wants to hear. Many of the articles within the papers are written about good things, such as new educations, famous visitors, population boom, sports news, and other notable events. Although many of the articles are of good news, there seems to be conflict of disagreement between the editors and the general public. Most of the newspaper's issues contained a segment called "We the People", which contains the voice of the general public. These segments reveal a more honest view of the detainees rather than other articles written by the editors. Two of the

quotes in the segment published on July 21, 1942 complain about unfair rations or treatment between different blocks. One detainee quotes, "we are unable to get lumber, let alone scrap pieces…yet, those who live across the block 45 are able to get lumber."[8] The editors seem to hide certain problems in the papers, just as the characters from James Baldwin's *Go Tell it on The Mountain* tries to hide their sins from the congregation.

In many of the articles, the editors praise the "colony" on different achievements in sports, population, growth, education, and other important aspects of society. Although there are articles written about the problems of the community, the editors seem limited to go in depth In issue six of volume three published on July 23, 1942, "the community is in dire need of various equipments…."[9] however it also mentions that the goods shipped by the War Relocation Authority will not become government property. Every time the readers wrote to the editors to raise a problem, the editors usually follow up with information that makes the government look better than it is. This raises the question of the quality of some of the articles, whether if it's accurate enough to trust. The "We the People" segment helps see a part of the society that has honest problems. While one might conclude that the government might have created the Newspaper in order to justify their actions of relocating and detaining the Japanese Americans, it seems like the newspapers were created and ran by Japanese Americans. In that sense, the editors are protecting the general public from being seen as a threat to the state. Even with the editors trying to show the best qualities of the Internment camps, there seems to be underlying and hidden problems. Since Tule Lake was one of the largest populated camps, it had constant problems of overpopulation and was constantly short on supplies. The newspaper is not the best source for learning about the real problems and treatment of the Japanese Americans, but it shows a struggle to survive, even if it means to disagree with some of the public.

One of the main issues within the internment camps was racial identity. Reading through the newspaper, the detainees seem to struggle with what it means to be a Japanese American. The newspapers show a direct correlation to how one is treated according to their identity. Although the newspapers never directly raise the issue of racial identity, it is shown through the articles. The articles within the papers reveal a struggle of the Japanese Americans to be recognized as Americans instead of Japanese. Many of the detainees seem to realize cooperation and serving the community seem to ease their time in the internment camps. There are articles in the paper of Japanese Americans who become representatives, block managers, and other higher positions, while others were not too lucky. Different blocks seem to receive different treatments as stated in an article published on July 21, 1942 when a man complains about the difference between the meals served between certain blocks. He quotes, "after hearing glowing reports of satisfying meals in other mess halls, I am getting disgusted... We don't get the quality or quantity reputed at many other kitchens."[10] Issues such as this raise the question of the differences between one individual to another. By looking at the history of Japanese Americans in internment camps, one can come to the conclusion that some Japanese were choosing to cooperate and become "white." To some Japanese becoming White meant to cooperate with the government, hoping to minimize the impact of the internment process. Others were just trying to assimilate with the White Americans to be accepted as an American rather than a Japanese.

To many of the Japanese Americans to become White was to become loyal to the United States and participate in White activities. Many of the young Japanese American

men joined the military to show that they were Americans: "The Japanese American communities, particularly the Nisei, were trying to establish their loyalty by becoming air raid wardens and joining the army."[11] Some of the younger generations participated in White sports such as baseball. The newspaper contains sports news about baseball teams within the internment camps as seen in an article published on July 22, 1942 commemorating the start of a hardball league. Older generations showed their patriotism by serving the community and not rebelling the relocation or the internment. This loyalty shown throughout the newspaper reveals that the editors wanted to show the government that they were not enemies of the state.

Many Japanese Americans who showed loyalty seemed to be rewarded and mentioned in the newspapers. In an article published on July 23rd, an individual name Niyamoto was "appointed business manager of all community enterprise,"[12] for his loyalty to the U.S Government. Although trying to prove your loyalty as an American worked to a certain point in facilitating life of exclusion, in the overall aspect Japanese Americans were not American in the eyes of the Whites. No matter how American they acted, they were still considered enemy of the state and anti-Japanese American sentiments were deeply rooted in the American society. As stated in Ozawa versus US, a Supreme Court trail in 1922, "A Japanese, born in Japan, being clearly not a White, cannot be made a citizen of the United States."[13] This trail shows that Japanese were clearly not White, and cannot be a White American if born in Japan. Also anti-Japanese American sentiments targeted the American born Japanese as well, "A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is hatched so a Japanese American, born of Japanese parents grows up to be a Japanese, not an American."[14] This quote by Burton from "A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation during World War II" shows that American viewed Japanese Americans as Japanese but not an American. Within the United States history, race has always been categorizing factor of identifying a group of people. No matter where they came from the Japanese Americans are Japanese. The United States has always used ethnicity and race to classify a group of people. This history of categorizing race in the United States has been constant throughout all minority groups. Omi and Winant from *Racial Formation* quote, "Racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded."[15]

The racial category of Japanese Americans being only Japanese was created throughout the history of the categorizing other minority groups within the States. With the stories published in the newspapers and the history of the mistreatments of Japanese Americans, many seem to be caught in an identity crisis. In a Newspaper article from the Mananzar camp, Japanese Americans were given the opportunity to choose to be repatriated to Japan. This shows that not all Japanese Americans in the camps were trying to prove their loyalty to America, however the editors of newspapers tends to stray away from those individuals. There are barely any articles discussing repatriated Japanese when there are evidences of repatriation as shown in Wendy Ng's *Japanese American Internment During World War II: A History and Reference Guide*, "Among the evacuees were a number of citizens and aliens who filed for repatriation or expatriation to Japan.[16] One can see the newspaper as a chance to show that the Japanese Americans love America. Throughout exclusion, many excluded minorities like the Japanese Americans fought to express their love for America. Like the Japanese Americans in Tule Camp, the Native Americans in the

novel *Ceremony* tried to express their love for America, "Now I know you boys love America as much as we do, but this is your big chance to show it."[17] The detained Japanese Americans knew they loved America, but they had to show it. This exclusion and detainment gave the Japanese Americans a chance to show their love. Also like *Ceremony*, they struggled with their identity as a Japanese American, because no matter how hard they showed their love to Americans they were nothing but Japanese in the eyes of the Whites.

The Japanese American Internment camps show the problems of racism and the struggle of defining what being an American is. The newspapers written in some the larger camps show a group of people struggling to be accepted as an American rather than Japanese. The newspapers of these camps show the struggle of Japanese American in respect to the American culture and history. In the underlying of the positive articles of the newspaper, it shows the true struggle of the Japanese American, a group of people learning to live life through forced exclusion, censorship, and mistreatment. Throughout the papers, the camp life seems too good to be true, however it can be seen as a way of coping with the problems of exclusion and a form of identity crisis.

Notes

[1] Allyson Patton, "American History," *Executive Order 9066* (1999):192

[2] Frank Tanabe, "Newspaper," *Daily Tulean Dispatch (Tule Lake)*, July 27, 1942.

[3] Ibid., July 23, 1942.

[4] Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*. (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 25.

[5] Jeffrey F. Burton and Mary M. Farrell and Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, "A Brief History of Japanese American Relocation During World War II," *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (2010).

[6] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2011). "Every day, whites are being replaced in the mills by the Asiatic. The Invaders have become bold and insolent [with] many instances of women being pushed into the gutter, insulted on street cars…News reports underlined fears of male strangers [Indians] and the threat they posed to the public good"

[7] Burton et. al., "A Brief History."

[8] Tanabe, "Newspaper," July 21, 1942.

[9] Ibid., July 23, 1942.

[10] Ibid., July 21, 1942.

[11] Burton et. al, "A Brief History."

[12] Tanabe "Newspaper," July 23, 1942.

[13] U.S Supreme Court, *Ozawa v. United States*, 1922.

[14] Burton et. al., "A Brief History."

[15] Michael Omi and Howard Winant), *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 14.

[16] Wendy L. Ng, *Japanese American Internment During World War II: A History and Reference Guide* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002), 60.

[17] Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Penguin, 1977), 64.

From Spirit to Machine: American Expansion and the Dispossession of the Native Americans

By Alan Kyle

American expansion westward is undoubtedly one of the most controversial times in United States history. By examining the details of certain historical events during this time, the morally questionable practice and policy that occurred is justified by various factors; the role of ideology, struggle for resources, propaganda, and myth all played a major part in the subjugation of the indigenous population. Given these factors, the question of how it is that the Indians were subjugated rather than integrated can be answered.

For the tribes that did assimilate to Euro-American ways, expansionist forces targeted those tribes for relocation due to the fact that their adoption of intensive agriculture made them competitors for land. Apart from competition over the land, another reason why Indians could not be integrated into American society was because of conflicting ideals. The Indians had a naturalistic approach to their way of life, such as prayer to animal spirits and the belief in a great spirit chief that rules and cares for the land. They had no system of land ownership, so when asked to sell or move from their ancestral lands, the Indians responded with resistance. Thunder Traveling Over The Mountains, also known as Young Joseph, describes his father Joseph Senior's last words, "My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother."[1] The Native Americans were so invested in the land they occupied that when confronted by outer forces it lead to one of the bloodiest times in American history.

The contemporary US ideology was of bringing modern advancement and all that is morally good to the West. This meant bringing their perceived superior qualities such as bureaucracy and modern political practice. As it turns out, bureaucracy was a great enabler for debasing the Indian way of life.

In the case of General Miles, whom some say was a sympathizer, he promised the persecuted Nez Perce at Bear Paw that they could go back home to the Pacific Northwest if they surrendered.[2] About being told that Miles's promise could not be kept, Joseph said: "I believe General Miles would have kept his word if he could have done so. I do not blame him for what we have suffered since the surrender. I do not know who is to blame."[3] Whether General Miles had good intentions for the Indians or not does not matter, Miles was forced to adhere to his chain of command and so it was that the dispossession continued.

The ability for different political actors to negotiate independently with the Native Americans caused much confusion and even separation, as noted with the Nez Perce splintering into treaty and non-treaty groups due to differences in interpretation of American negotiations. Young Joseph gives his own view of American bureaucracy when he states, "Other law chiefs came to see me and said they would help me to get a healthy country. I did not know who to believe. The white people have too many chiefs. They do not all talk alike."[4] This American dynamic of selective

deal-making also turned out to be useful in coercing Indian tribes to turn against their own beliefs.

When the Nez Perce were being chased to Canada in what is known as Joseph's retreat (May 1877), they stopped by the northern Crow territory looking for help but were turned away. The Crow were presumably friends with the Nez Perce but years of trading with white men had encouraged the Crow to be more interested in the benefits of trade supported agrarianism. Another example of US impact on inter-Indian relations is in the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851), where the intention of the US was to make peace between feuding local tribes to insure accountability and safe passage through the Black Hills. Feuding tribes included the Kiowa, Crow, and Sioux. In negotiations, however, the dominant presence were the Sioux (through threats and violent means), and so the Black Hills were subsequently labeled Sioux territory. Historian Richard White states, "it is ethnocentric history to contend that Fort Laramie treaty allowed the Americans to divide and conquer. Fundamentally divided at the time of the treaty, the plains tribes continued so afterward."[5] While it would be biased to say the Americans set up the treaty specifically to divide and conquer, the original intention of the treaty was indeed out of self-interest. The result of the treaty marked the highest point of Sioux political power that would give them the confidence to fight war with the Americans years later.

While the American settlers had an obvious impact on the Indians during western expansion, the indigenous population underwent large changes long before the US began its mission west. In the late fifteenth century, the Columbian exchange, in which natives traded with the newcomers, marked the beginning of change in the new world. One important trade was the exchange of horses. Horses allowed tribes to be more mobile, making them more dynamic in war and able to follow animal populations. One of the most prominent tribes to adopt equestrianism were the Comanche of the southern plain. The introduction of horses made the Comanche immensely powerful among other tribes and able to easily raid and hunt bison. To support their growing herds, the Comanche needed reliable access to grass and water. In 1723 they invaded Apache land from the river valleys where crucial resources were available year-round.[6] The adoption of equestrianism by the select tribes that could support horse populations (Sioux, Lakota, Comanche) is what set them on the path of greatest conflict with the US. By the time the Americans arrived, these horse tribes naturally went to battle over the lands resources. This narrative of inter-native conflict dismisses the contemporary and historical myths that Indians fought with the US for reasons other than their own self-preservation.

Myths and propaganda were extremely useful in American expansion on the Great Plains. One major enabler for US expansion was the belief that expansion was good for all. By perpetuating its righteousness as the superior race and superior way of life, the US could continue its subversion of the Indians. It is the idea of Manifest Destiny that outlines America's duty to move west and bring civilization. This idea is supported by John Locke's 1689 Treatise on Government, where he writes that citizens can "establish private property rights by improving the market value of common, uncultivated lands."[7] The settlers held the belief that the Indian land was not being put to good use and saw it their mission to show them right. Any failure to learn their ways only sped up the Indians' inevitable fate. The lies propagated by the media at the time gave the settlers comfort at the sight of this dying race and a sense of righteousness as they continued west. In the end the ultimate cause of Indians vanishing, was the belief in Indians vanishing.[8]

The United States westward expansion can be summed up into a general dynamic of deception, competition, and idealism. The spread of rampant misinformation stemmed from a disagreement of ideals that often culminated in violence. Underlying precursors of equestrianism and struggle for resources shaped later interactions with the Americans. The introduction of a mechanized bureaucracy into the spirit-led plains brought about confusion and deception. It is with these characteristics that the US was able to take the West.

Notes

[1] Chief Joseph, "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs," *North American Review* 128, no. 269 (April 1879): 418.

[2] Brandon Wolfe-Hunnicutt, "Dynamics of Expansion" Lecture, Merced, CA, January 28, 2014.

[3] Chief Joseph, "An Indian's View," 429.

[4] Ibid., 430.

[5] Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of American History* 65, no. 2 (December 1978): 340.

[6] Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," *The Journal of American History, Organization of American Historians* 90, no. 3 (January 2003): 837.

[7] Wolfe-Hunnicutt, "Dynamics of Expansion."

[8] Ibid.

Chinatown: The Semi-Permeable Construction of Space and Time

By Mario Pulido

Often times, when historians look back at a time for research, understanding the space in which that time occurs is significant to the context of the situation of the given space socially and in its geopolitical context. Understanding context gives historians a better perspective on how the people they are studying were and how they behaved or thought. Primary documents are typically the vehicle in which the historian uses to travel to the period they are studying and can often place it down to the most specific details such as what a typical day in the life of that society is like. Many theories around concepts such as race and identity are present in these places during time. In turn, these theories and concepts make the study that much more tedious and sometimes even easy to miss or are overlooked. Often, a primary document such as a newspaper also serves as the perfect arena for proving the grounds of these theories or disproving them.

One such space where a number of social construction theories come into play is the community of Chinatown in San Francisco towards the end of the 19th century. The focus of this analysis will revolve around the year of 1891 in Chinatown. Among the different events happening in Chinatown in 1891, the events around the city of San Francisco as a whole make a great subject to study. The method in which I arrive to San Francisco in 1891 is the newspaper the *San Francisco Bulletin*. In reading the *San Francisco Bulletin*, I place myself in the context of local life in San Francisco and can understand the situation socially and in its geopolitical context. The essence of this paper ties in strongly with the idea that even space, time, and borders are racialized, given the fact that it occurs in Chinese Exclusion Era San Francisco.

The *San Francisco Bulletin* depicts San Francisco in the week of August 3, 1891; as any local newspaper does, first putting the gossip of the locals as well as informing local events. However, the articles are clearly written from the perspective of an era that marginalized and vilified Chinese immigrants where, within a three day span, Chinese citizens/non-citizens were the topic of at least one article each day. Ironically, common events such as world news or local sports were in the norm along with articles that are today considered hateful. For example, a heated baseball game occurred on August 3, 1891, in which part of the article states, "Those who attended yesterday's ball game undoubtedly got the worth of their money. For fourteen innings the Sacramentos and the San Franciscos strove for the mastery, the score at the end of the ninth inning being 9 to 9."[1] It is interesting that at the same time this game is going on, in the same day, things such as digging a mile down for natural gas makes it in the newspaper.[2] What is more interesting about all of this is that the hierarchy of importance at the time included local events, sports, and news on the status of Chinese immigration and Chinese citizens/non-citizens.

The articles are typically arranged with most of the material being local culture such as travel or events happening in the area. These specific articles are seen with the heading named "Pacific Coast Items." This section of what is important to the average

citizen of San Francisco includes what happens in terms of local events or travel. For example, some of the excerpts of "Pacific Coast Items" includes, "The Charleston leaves Santa Cruz for San Francisco to-day."[3] Another writes, "The brewery of E. Schubert at Spanish-town was burned Saturday night."[4] These kinds of articles are common in normal newspapers that are typically important locally and are the subject of common occurrences even in today's newspapers, which fits the social norm.

Baseball, among other sports, are largely mentioned items in the hierarchy of importance. Given that baseball's nickname is "America's pastime", this is not surprising and was considered important then as it is now. Another article from August 5, 1891 brings up baseball as a local event when in an article written about it states, "Colonel Thomas Robinson, the alleged manager of the Oakland Base-ball Club and Tip O'Neill, the Captain and real manager, have been doing a little more tinkering with their nine, and while strengthening it in one place, have allowed it to be weakened in another."[5] This goes to show that typical local news, down to sports lineup changes, were newspaper- worthy alongside the articles of Chinese exclusion and marginalization. Yet again, at least one article per paper issue was about Chinese immigrants. What is interesting about this newspaper and its articles is the fact that updates on Chinese citizens/non-citizens were seen to be just as important as sports and also important enough to make it to the front page three days in a row and even finding their way into multiple articles in one day.

It is apparent that the American attitude towards Chinese immigration is what created a social formation that led to the creation of borders such as the neighborhood of Chinatown in San Francisco. Articles and items like the aforementioned "Base-ball" and "Pacific Coast Items" make it easy to forget that there was a culture of racism that became notorious for the exclusion and marginalization of Chinese immigrants. Laws that become publicized through newspapers enforce this marginalization. The extreme consequence of laws is that they form borders to place the marginalized populations. At the same time, laws also essentially create a way to keep communities within these borders without their permission and are granted consent by the vast majority through discipline of the local newspaper and other public domains or sources that vilified Chinese citizens/non-citizens. The *San Francisco Bulletin* supports this in an article in which it states, "The complaint in each case sets up that Macabe sold a railroad ticket to a Chinese person without having demanded as a preliminary, the production of a certificate of residence provided for under the law."[6] This is effectively profiling the average citizen due to race. If registration is required and transportation is denied, then as a consequence, populations of Chinese workers who came to find work and a better standard of living were unable to travel. Consequently, the workers were stuck where they lived due to this marginalization and laws that were enforced and made publicized in the local newspaper that entire populations of people read. The newspaper article made sure to villainize Macabe, the Chinese man. Consequently, newspapers enforce the laws that create racial formations such as this by supporting the idea that registration is legal profiling.

If newspapers were sympathetic to racist attitudes or sentiments, the consequences become more serious. Simply put, the argument to be made is that if laws create racial formations and leave communities in one place, place borders upon them, and places difficult social/economic circumstances upon them, it becomes impossible to leave without being white or possessing the assets of being socially white, leaving "white people" to be the only people who could fluidly cross these socially constructed borders in and out as

they please. This creates a semi-permeable border that makes it almost guaranteed the people who were bordered stay bordered, while white people or people who possess social whiteness become the only ones who can cross these socially and legally constructed borders at will. If someone did not appear to be Chinese and appeared what was acceptably white, they could move across the socially constructed border in and out as they please. Those who were socially white, possessed land, and larger amounts of money were also more likely minorities to be able to move through these semi-permeable socially constructed borders. Though it is mainly up to skin color, social whiteness does enhance this idea. The idea that only specific people could go in and out through this socially constructed border is comparable to having a gradient or semi-permeable membrane, and as compared with the process of osmosis, where only specific particles could cross the gradient due to a concentration of other particles as needed at will. For example, the gradient would allow the specific particles, or people who were considered white, to cross at will as needed for reasons such a business, interests, or law. The non-specific particles, are forced behind the gradient or in this case, border. It is difficult to cross and go against the grain for those entrapped inside the gradient as opposed to the specific particles which are comparable to those who were white and possessed the privileges of social whiteness, who could go to or away from the concentration that they created at will with ease because of their status. This relates to Chinatown because it is a community with artificial borders that was socially constructed. This successfully supports the idea that the purpose of Chinatown was to keep Chinese citizens inside and away from the white communities of San Francisco.

Out of the many articles from the week of August 3, 1891, none quite appealed to this idea of semi-permeable borders more than an article entitled, "Unearthing Chinese Frauds." This article was striking because it plays into the idea that the typically powerful and dominant white population, specifically revenue collectors, who were most likely white or socially white could enter Chinatown or a bordered area as they wished and left as they wished. This is seen when the article writes, "Under the directions of Revenue Collector Quinn, a thorough search is being made of Chinatown by the several deputies connected with the Internal Revenue Department, for the purpose of unearthing the frauds practiced by the Chinese in the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes and opium. During the past month many seizures have been made and a number of opium factories demolished, but the deputy inspectors state that there is still considerable under-hand work going on."[7] Not to condone opium production, but this pertains to the idea of the semi-permeable border because it shows that in the border or on either side of the border, those who possessed social whiteness tended to have the power or position socially to cross the border into the community and do as they pleased, including the seizure of revenue. People who possess positions like that are typically socially white or pass for being a white citizen. What makes this pertain more to the idea of the semi-permeable border is that even if such accusations of the white population were true by the community in Chinatown, the Chinese could do nothing because laws restricted them to Chinatown to create their own culture and stay behind the borders as the white population could watch or enter and leave as they pleased. Chinese citizens/non-citizens behind this construct were unable to move to where the white communities were because they had been marginalized and kept there. As a consequence, articles like this vilified and further encouraged the marginalization of the Chinatown community. This led to an outside attitude towards those living in the

community of Chinatown to be more likely to enforce a border culture upon either side. This attitude led to the enforcement of stricter laws against the Chinatown community, which makes it a political construct just as much as it is a social construct.

One of the contributions to this attitude was a strong sense of a predominant white identity across the United States, so San Francisco was no exception. Any race or ethnicity that was not considered white was typically marginalized, which includes the community within Chinatown of Chinese citizens/non-citizens. George Lipsitz makes a point that supports this when he writes, "Anti-Asian sentiment in the United States depends upon its necessary correlative- the assumption that true cultural franchise and full citizenship requires a white identity. This violence against Asian Americans stems from the kinds of whiteness created within U.S. Culture and mobilized in the nation's political, economic, and social life."[8] This attitude created an atmosphere that led to violence and the creation of political and social borders that placed Chinese citizens/non-citizens in places away from those who did not possess social whiteness or were not of the same skin color as those who were acceptably white. Because the population of the community in Chinatown were not white, the predominant white community attacked Chinese citizens/non-citizens from every angle, socially and politically. The article "Unearthing Chinese Frauds" contains every essence of the points that are being made.

Lipsitz also mentions Chinatown when it comes to the formations and laws to enforce segregation of Chinese citizens/non-citizens. This plays into the idea of space and time also being racialized by borders created to put Chinese citizens/non-citizens in places where those who were considered white were not. Lipsitz mentions this when he writes, "In 1890, San Francisco's Board of Supervisors passed an ordinance mandating the removal of Chinese Americans from neighborhoods close to downtown and ripe for redevelopment. The law ordered Chinese residents to resettle in isolated industrial areas of the city filled with waste dumps and other environmental hazards."[9] This supports the idea that space in 1890s San Francisco was even racialized. San Francisco racialized places with good or bad living conditions, giving the favorable places to those who were white and giving the poor areas to Chinese citizens/non-citizens, then bordering them.

This ties into a final idea presented by Michael Omi and Howard Winant. Their idea calls places such as Chinatown and other segregated or bordered areas that distinguish race "racial formations." Their lens is interesting because it explains the creation of these borders which have become popular topics of debate because of the way they interact with people on either side of them. Omi and Winant write, "We use the term *racial formations* to refer to the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings."[10] This supports the idea that the construction of Chinatown was a racial formation. In turn, Chinatown became marginalized and a place for the "Other" where Chinese citizens could be vilified and attacked socially and politically like mentioned in the "Unearthing Chinese Frauds" article. This formation also gave those who were white or socially white the mobility to go in and out of the border as they pleased without risking their whiteness. The white community could never stay in places where the population they marginalized stayed because it was unfathomable at the time; they only passed in and out as they needed, such as ensuring law enforcement. This also gave them more reason to border and marginalize such populations to make sure the marginalized population stayed in so there was no mixture. Omi and Winant also bring this up when they write, "White is

seen as a 'pure' category. Any racial intermixture makes one 'nonwhite.'"[11] Anyone who was not white jeopardized the well-being of the "pure" category, which led to the displacement then bordering that became Chinatown. This attitude was present throughout the newspaper, which could be seen just in the articles that were in it.

A simple newspaper such as the *San Francisco Bulletin* could contain things that would be considered harmless today such as sports and other local events, and at the same time, house things that are currently the subject of many debates in the study of comparative race and ethnicity. It indeed was a place that serves as the grounds for proving or disproving social theories such as racial formations and border culture. The same place where the Sacramentos and the San Franciscos played baseball was also the same place where Chinese immigrants, citizens, and non-citizens were attacked socially and politically and became the perfect example for ideas like racial formations or semi-permeable borders. This analysis would not be possible without the different lenses that San Francisco on August 4, 1891 could be seen through in which George Lipsitz, Michael Omi, and Howard Winant present.

Notes

[1] "Base-Ball," *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 3, 1891.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Base-ball," *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 5, 1891.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Unearthing Chinese Frauds," *San Francisco Bulletin*, August 4, 1891.

[8] George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 72.

[9] Ibid., 25.

[10] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 15.

[11] Ibid., 14.

The Forgotten Soldiers: Mexican-American Soldiers of WWII and the Creation of the G.I. Forum

By Niko Arredondo

I | Introduction

"My time in the military was the greatest time of my life, I am very proud and I would do it as many times necessary." Virgilio G. Roel, a Mexican-American WWII veteran stated in his interview with the Voces Oral History project.[1] The 1940s brought a time of great opportunity for Mexican-Americans with the onset of the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Before the war, Mexican-Americans lived under racial tension with segregated communities, segregated schools and not many held respected professions such as lawyers and doctors. For Roel and other Mexican American soldiers this opportunity to fight for a nation that treated them as second class citizens became the beginning of a social change for Mexican-Americans. As Raul Morin, a WWII Mexican-American war veteran mentioned in his book, *Among The Valiant*, "here now was the opportunity to do something about it."[2] The integration of Mexican-American and white soldiers took effect with the Executive Order 8066 that passed in June of 1941. This posed questions like: how did the experience for Mexican-Americans with white soldiers differ from their experience in America? What postwar impacts did it have for Mexican Americans? Their experience during the war was unique, in the sense that they integrated with white soldiers unlike African-American soldiers that were placed in segregated units.

To Mexican-Americans WWII veterans, the war offered an opportunity to demonstrate their allegiance to their nation. It proved that they fought beyond the home front of America. And yet, with as much discrimination and segregation Mexican-Americans had in America before the war, WWII offered a completely different experience than they anticipated. It offered them the same opportunity as whites to gain a higher rank within the armed forces and a relationship with white soldiers that they never had prior to the war. When the war waned down to an end and more Mexican-American soldiers returned home they looked to the promising opportunity that things in America would be better, however, the same social issues that Mexican-Americans faced before they went off to war still remained upon their return from the war. War veterans grew disappointed and outraged with the way America continued to treat them as second-class citizens. As a result of second-class treatment, Mexican-American war veterans created the G.I. Forum, with the direct goal of helping War veterans and later Mexican-Americans civil rights. For the most part, Chicano historians and scholars largely ignored the topic of Mexican-American soldiers in WWII until fairly recently.

The history of Mexican-American soldiers' involvement in WWII is largely ignored. In popular culture, WWII is presented from the perspective of thousands of White and Black soldiers that fought valiantly. For historians and scholars, the discussion of Mexican-American soldiers has not been approached until fairly recently. Through the 1960s only one book, *Among The Valiant*, by Raul Morin, discussed the role and impacts

f Mexican-American soldiers during WWII and the Korean War. Morin, provides the accounts of the perspectives of Mexican-American soldiers as well as his own. He demonstrates the attitudes of Mexican-Americans as men willing to fight for the nation they call home, America. In the 1970s and 1980s, Chicano/a historians and scholars discussed the social history of Mexicans in the U.S. from earlier periods and did not produce any work under the topic. Vernon Allsup, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Platteville, in his book *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution*, he discusses the creation of the G.I. Forum and a change in Mexican-American communities in Texas with the G.I. Forum organization. It was not until the 1990s where more research began to be conducted by historians to create a memory for Mexican-American war veterans of WWII. Henry Ramos, president and CEO of the Insight Center for Community Development, in his book *The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream, 1948-1983*, he writes the history of the American G.I. Forum from its inception in 1948 through the politics of President Ronal Reagan in the early 1980s. One of the most notable authors, Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, professor of Journalism the University of Texas at Austin conducted an oral history project called *Legacy Greater than Words: Stories of U.S. Latinos & Latinas of the WWII Generation*. Within this project, Rivas-Rodriguez along with other professors that set out to California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and other sates to interview over 700 WWII veterans of Mexican descent.

Within the interviews, the veteran soldiers discussed about their families, social conditions in America before the war, their experience during the war, and what they did after the war. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez contribution helped keep the legacy of the forgotten soldiers that most Chicano/a historians rarely discussed in previous decades of scholarly work. Another notable book of Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez that adds to the scholarship of WWII Mexican American veterans came through *Mexican Americans & World War II*. Within the monograph, Rivas-Rodriguez takes a different approach and focuses on the social impact of WWII with Mexican Americans from the Southwest and Midwest states. She uses the war experience as a way to point out the perspective of the war in the eyes of Mexican-American soldiers. On another note, she demonstrates the social conditions of Mexican-Americans during the war years with segregated education, particularly with New Mexico, the Zoot suit riots of Los Angeles, and the impact of Mexican women in the workforce known as Rositas. The legacy and memory of Mexican-American WWII veterans is a topic that is starting to gain more attention by Chicano/a historians and one that should have more mention of the role they took during WWII. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez also wrote *Beyond The Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation*, she discusses the significance of Mexican American and Puerto Rican communities during the war years. She utilizes oral interviews to demonstrate the ways in which Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans contributed to the war. She takes the themes of women and the use of Spanish language radio for Latinas as a means of social economic mobility. Adding to the scholarship of Mexican-American soldiers in WWII is through the work of Richard Griswold del Castillo, professor of Chicano studies at San Diego State University, *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*. Del Castillo demonstrates the condition of Mexican-American before WWII and discusses the ways in which Mexican-Americans developed an identity in the war and in California with the zoot suit.

This essay will introduce three themes of how WWII impacted Mexican-Americans. First, "Organizations before WWII" will briefly mention the social organization LULAC, where I will show the political and social direction of the Mexican-Americans initially started through David G. Guitierrez' *Walls and Mirrors*: *Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. The second section, "December 7, 1941," will discuss the impact of the attack on Pearl Harbor and its influence on Mexican-Americans to enlist in the armed forces as a way to show their allegiance to America, by specifically using Raul Morin's *Among The Valiant*. I will then focus on Mexican-Americans from the states of Texas and California. In both states I will demonstrate the personal experiences of the soldiers through Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez' *A Legacy greater than words: Stories of U.S. Latinos & Latinas of the WWII Generation*. "One Ethnicity Different Identities," focuses primarily on Southwestern Mexican-Americans of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California and the ideologies they had upon entering the war. Morin's *Among The Valiant* will also help support the perspective of the differing ideologies. "Back to square one" will demonstrate the return of Mexican-American soldiers to America and the social impact of Jim Crow laws in Texas, as well how Mexican-American war opposed it with the emergence of Dr. Hector Garcia and the G.I. Forum. Richard Griswold de Castillo's. *World War II and Mexican American civil rights* will further help demonstrate the issues of race and the focus of the G.I. Forum. "Women in the Forum" primarily focuses on the rise of leadership of Mexican-American women through a male dominated movement that challenged the role of women. Henry A.J. Ramos' *The American G.I. Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream* will further introduce how women emerged as leaders in the G.I. Forum. The final section, "Education," will discuss how the G.I. Forum opposed the education policy of school districts in Texas by taking the issue to the legal system. Ramos' *The American G.I. Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream* will also help explain the issue of race in education.

II | Mexican-American Organizations before WWII

Before the WWII, Mexican Americans lived under racial tension within the Southwest. Segregated education, work, and communities influenced Mexican-Americans to create social organizations. One of the most notable organizations made in order to assist Mexican-Americans came with The League of United Latin American Citizens in the 1920s by middle class Mexican-Americans in Texas. The founders of LULAC, a Texan lawyer, Alonso S. Perales, Manuel C. Gonzales, Benjamin Garza, J.T. Canales, and Luis Lemont served to protect the rights of Mexican American citizens. The principle of LULAC demonstrated their American identity by portraying an allegiance to the United States, LULAC implemented the notion that, "The best way to advance in American society was to convince other Americans that they too were loyal, upstanding American citizens."[3] LULAC, much like the NAACP, served to protect the civil rights of Mexican-Americans, however, the organization also sought to assimilate Mexican-Americans culture into the American way of life. By doing so, LULAC made efforts to incorporate patriotism towards America in order to be seen as Americans. The implementations of "displaying the American flag in their ceremonies, singing songs such as "America," and opening their meetings with a recitation of the "George Washington Prayer" were forms

that Mexican-Americans used to prove their allegiance to America.[4] Because of this focus to Americanize Mexican-Americans, LULAC only served for American citizens and not un-naturalized Mexicans that lived in the United States. For some this proved to be an issue since not all Mexican-Americans were ingratiated within the American way of life, particularly with the lower class. Alonso S. Perales stated the best way for Mexican-Americans to earn respect comes with "enlightened Mexican-Americans to assume leadership, organize, educate, and otherwise work within the existing American political system to achieve gradual, incremental reform and thus ultimate acceptance of Mexican Americans as full-fledged American citizens."[5] By doing so, it meant that Mexican-Americans needed to change their social life by engaging in more "American" activities. One of the main objectives of LULAC was to "develop and promote the best and purest form of Americanism.[6] Through this objective, voting became one of the primary ways to demonstrate the American way for LULAC followers. The organization made some progress for Mexican-Americans; however, it did not make a great change for the majority of them. As the 1930s depression came to a close with the onset of WWII, more opportunities arose for Mexican-Americans.

III | December 7, 1941

The 1940s proved to be a decade of change for Mexican-Americans. On June 25th 1941, President Roosevelt enacted Executive Order 8802, which banned discriminatory employment practice by federal government agencies and war related companies for all minorities. On December 7, 1941, "a day that will live in infamy," as president Roosevelt stated in his state of the union, America joined the war against the three axis powers; Germany, Italy, and Japan. Raul Morin thought of the event as: "America as a nation was expected to undertake a big part. But we, as individuals, were at this moment more directly concerned with our own little world. We began to worry more about the part each of us would play rather than what America's part would be."[7] Within a discussion of Morin and friends some used humor to build morale. One of Raul Morin's friends Emilio Luna mentioned "*Ya estuvo*. Now we can look for the authorities to round up all the Mexicans and deport them to Mexico,"[8] while Jose Mendoza mentioned, "They don't have to deport me! I'm going on my own; you're not going to catch me fighting a war for somebody else. I belong to Mexico. *Soy Puro Mexicano*!"[9] An approximation of 2,690,000 Americans of Mexican descent lived in the United States at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over 700,000 Mexican-Americans enlisted in the armed forces and to them "the war made them all genuine Americans."[10] Many served to get an education from the G.I. Bill, for patriotism, and peer influence. The war offered an equal opportunity for Mexicans and whites in the armed forces. Most Mexican-Americans who enlisted in the armed forces grew up during the Great Depression within segregated communities. The armed forces offered them a different experience because of the integration with white soldiers. Henrietta Lopez Rivas of San Antonio, Texas remembers her experience as "It made me feel equal, more intelligent, because what I did, very few Anglos could do."[11] Not every Mexican-American had the same war experience; however each one was just as impactful for the opportunities given to them. Mexican-American soldiers who served in the Army served as medics, soldiers, and typewriters the same positions whites were given during the war. Before the war, Mexican-Americans struggled to identify themselves as a unified identity.

IV | One Ethnicity, Different Identities: Mexican-Americans in Southwest United States

Before the war, Mexican-Americans did not see themselves as one ethnicity group that descended from Mexico. The majority of the enlisted Mexican-American soldiers came from the Southwestern states; California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, in addition to that, a smaller number of them came from the Midwestern states and some parts of the East Coast. Raul Morin provides a breakdown of the various types of Mexicans descent groups integrated in the armed forces. First, there were American born Mexican-Americans of Mexican parents, also known as Chicanos/as. These Chicanos/as practiced the Mexican traditions and cultural values and tended to speak more Spanish than English. Second, those born in Mexico and grew up in the U.S. Morin provides that these men "had a good education, very well versed, fell ill at ease in the presence of others when the conversation ran to English." [12] The largest Mexican descent group came from the Southwestern states of the Spanish-Americans from New Mexico and Colorado, Tejanos from Texas, and Pochos from California.[13] As Morin notes, those who came from the Southwestern states were more American than other Mexican-Americans since they spoke and read less Spanish.[14] Bi-racial Mexican-Americans also differed from other Mexican-Americans living throughout the Southwest. Many came from a mixture of Italian, Filipino, Black, Spanish, French, Irish, German, and English. [15] Mexican-Americans lived in different locations throughout the Southwest and even the Midwest that separated their ideologies; "Spanish," "Spanish-American," "Latin-Americans," and "Mejicanos." The Spanish saw themselves as "Spanish" because they grew up in America without ever living in Mexico and because Anglos called them that out of respect for their ethnicity.[16] The "Spanish-Americans" viewed themselves as the descendants of the Spanish because of where they originated. "Latin-Americans" viewed themselves as Mexican-Americans born in America not from Mexico; they identified themselves as "Latin-Americans" in order to differentiate themselves from Mexican immigrants. Finally "mejicanos," those that came from borderland towns of Arizona and Texas grew up in Mexican communities, as Moring notes, "it was hard to tell whether they were native or foreign born."[17] Because of the misjudgment by other Americans, the groups of Mexican descent came to call themselves "Mexican-Americans" or "Americans of Mexican descent."[18] The identity of the different Mexican-American "groups" before the onset of the war shifted in different directions, during the war their identity led to become Mexican-American.

V | Texas Soldiers

For *Tejano* Mexican-American soldiers the war experience would change the way in which they identified themselves, their relationship with whites, and the kinds of opportunities they received within the armed forces. Andrew Sidona Montoya viewed the war as a way to show patriotism, however, he questioned his role in the armed forces of why he fought for a nation that treated Mexican-Americans as second-class citizens. For Manuel Gonzales it the war offered him an opportunity to learn English from his comrades

and to associate himself as an American soldier. The war experience differs from both soldiers, but have a similarity that it became the first step for social progress within their communities.

Andrew Sidona Tamayo of San Antonio Texas enlisted in the armed forces with a sense of pride to fight for the nation he lived in. While serving for the 39th Artillery Battalion in the U.S. Army, Tamayo questioned his role in the war, he stated, "I began changing my mind about helping these gringos."[19] "Gringos," a derogatory word for whites, meaning "pure Anglo-American" was used by Mexican-Americans to describe whites. The reason for Tamayo's judgment of not fighting with whites came with the experience in Texas. His family lived under tough racial segregation where his mother could not find a job, even though she was of Italian and Spanish descent and while he worked as a paperboy to help his family financially it still was not enough. Once Tamayo encountered other Mexican-Americans, he realized he was not alone and that he was fighting for more than just "gringos," he was fighting alongside the men he called his "family."[20]

One of the most decorated army units, Company E, Texas 36th Division comprised of all Mexican-American soldiers. One soldier in particular, Manuel "El Feo" Gonzales, served as Sergeant of the division. Gonzales, from a Mexican barrio of Fort Davis, along with the other soldiers of the 36th Division spoke very little English. Since most white soldiers did not understand Spanish it became difficult for many Mexican-Americans to gain respect, however, Gonzales along with his 36th Division did not have that issue. One particular event in the European theater gained the respect of Gonzales and the 36th Division after manning down a German machine gun and taking Nazi prisoners. White soldiers in an interview described Gonzales:

> Lt. Evan J. Mac Ilraith of Evanston, Ill. Said, "Gonzales, Manuel S. Gonzales, he's from somewhere in West Texas near the Mexican border some spot where they don't speak anything but Spanish. He's a Staff or tech Sergeant now, I think, and he was a regular 'Commando Kelly' in combat. This guy was such as terrific soldier all the way that I have trouble recalling his individual exploits, even though he was in my company A. A wonderful squad leader, he'd volunteer for anything, anytime, and at Salerno, when his squad was practically wiped out, he fought a one-man battle against the Germans for 24 hours.

To white soldiers, Gonzales embodied the image of an American soldier. Before enlisting in the army, Gonzales did not know how to speak English; he learned it during his service in the army. Gonzales recalled, "Everybody speaks Spanish at Fort Davis. I just learned American language in the army. The boys in the company teach me at night. They're pretty good boys."[21] For Gonzales, the 36th Division meant family to him. With the differences among the Mexican-Americans in the Division all were able to create a family morale in which Gonzales saw the Division. He told his Lt. "I've got too much friends there. I don't want to miss this. I want to get back to company."[22] One of the most important aspects through the war experience of Gonzales is the American unity and ideology. In an interview with Graham Hovey, Gonzales stated his opinion about the German soldiers compared to American soldiers, "I think they are good but I think we are better. We don't holler 'kamerad' but they do. They give up too easy but we don't."[23] The

war provided a unique experience for Gonzalez since it offered him the chance to learn English abroad, but most importantly it helped him develop a relationship with white soldiers that respected his contribution to the war.

The experience of Andrew Sidona Tamayo gave him a sense that he fought for something more than racial differences among whites. For Gonzales' the experience offered the opportunity to learn English and develop the American identity in which he associated himself, Mexican-Americans and whites as an American citizen. Their experiences are just a small feature of how WWII helped *Tejano* Mexican-Americans develop a more unified identity with other Mexican-Americans and white Americans. California soldiers left America with a similar experience, however, it affected more of the Mexican-American youth, but the association of white sailors with the zoot suit riots affected the image of Mexican-Americans.

VI | California Soldiers

During the 1940s in Los Angeles, California, the Mexican-American youth developed their own identity through the zoot suit. At this time, young zoot-suiters, rebelled against the social norms of American and even Mexican culture. The zoot suit was an oversized suit; it had long baggy pants, a large coat, a tie, and a large brim hat. It was originally created by the African-American youth in the East Coast in the early 1940s. The Mexican-American zoot suiters rebelled the traditional Mexican norms by speaking English as opposed to Spanish and living a different lifestyle such as listening to different music. This ideology challenged the American social norm by the image of the suit and what the suit was made out of cloth.

The zoot suit riots became a hot topic nationwide for Los Angeles, where white sailors increased racial tension with Mexican-Americans. The riots created a perception that all Mexicans were like zoot suiters. This led white soldiers to view Mexican-American soldiers as such. For Alfred "Fred" Castro, Jesse Ortiz, John Rubalcava, and Trino Soto they viewed the armed forces as the experience that brought them opportunity and how they viewed themselves as Mexican Americans. All four-war veterans served in different infantry units and experienced the war differently from one another; however what they realized was that their role in the armed forces was just as important as their white comrades.

One Mexican-American soldier, Anthony Acevedo, experienced the war as a P.O.W. Over 300 American soldiers were P.O.W. at Berga an del Elster, a satellite camp of the German Nazi Buchenwald concentration camp. Before the war, Acevedo's experiences in America, particularly in Southern California, was much of the same as a Mexican-American in Texas. He attended segregated schools like many Mexican-Americans, and by 1937 his family was deported back to Mexico. At the age of 17, Acevedo enlisted into the U.S. army and received training to become a medic in the 275th Infantry Regiment of the 70th Division Infantry Unit. During one of the biggest battles in the European side of WWII, the Battle of the Bulge, Acevedo was captured by the Nazis after countless days of defense. He recalls witnessing another captured medic gunned down, Murray Pruzan. "I saw him stretched out there in the snow, frozen...just massacred by a machine gun with his Red Cross band."[24] While Acevedo experienced the war as a

P.O.W. he also encountered Jewish-American soldiers. He recalled one day, a Nazi commander put American soldiers and Jewish Europeans together and the commander ordered them to "take a step forward."[25] Soldiers who wore the Star of David deemed as undesirable, and for Acevedo, who is not Jewish, became seen as undesirable by the Nazi commander because he "looked like a Jew."[26] For Acevedo, this meant Nazis viewed Mexican-Americans just as inferior as Jews. Acevedo's experience eating bread, sleeping nude, and writing in his diary of the events that took place within the camp brings an important perspective. One of the biggest ideologies that changed Mexican-American soldier's identity came through the relationship with white soldiers. Acevedo along with 350 other American soldiers endured one of the most grueling experiences of the war in Europe, putting racial tension behind them and working to stay alive. One of the most significant moments of his experience at the camp came through the death of President Roosevelt in 1945. He recalled the day "bad news for us. President Roosevelt's death. We all felt bad about it. We held a prayer service for the repose of his soul."[27] The commodore of Mexican-American and Anglo soldiers proves to be very close. In the case of Acevedo, a Mexican-American P.O.W., he developed a close relationship with other Anglo soldiers. When American P.O.W. Soldiers returned to their homes, many were forced to sign a liability waiver stating that they will never discuss or give any information about the events and experiences of the Nazi concentration camps to anyone. One soldier from central California experienced the war in a different way than Acevedo.

Jesse Ortiz of Fresno California served for the 84th Infantry Division for the armed forces. His experience in the war made him realize that Anglos are like Mexicans. He recalls, "it was a source of education for all of us in the sense that we could look in the eye of each other […] It brought us to understand that we are all human beings."[28] The relationship between white and Mexican-American soldiers built a respect for each other in the sense that based on their differences of race and ethnicity they both fought for the same country. In 1942 he became a combat engineer and fought in the Netherlands and into Germany by 1944. During his experience in Germany he fought against English speaking Nazis who disguised themselves as American soldiers. His combat unit took the city of Gelsenkirchen, which was the second largest town in Germany taken over by the American troops and allies.

John Rubalcava of San Diego, California served in the 95th Infantry Division. His recollection of the war brought him a sense of both Mexican and American identity. He recalls, "Maybe we were poor and didn't have the money, but everyone wanted to go."[29] Unlike racial discrimination in America, Rubalcava experienced a positive relationship between his white comrades. "I was treated really good...Their lives depend on you, and yours depends on them. You take care of each other."[30] Rubacalva was part of the infantry unit that named the Victory division in which many American soldiers called them the "bravest of the brave." Another soldier from central California considered the war comodoew as something as close to family.

Trino Soto of Fresno, California served for the USS Haggard for the U.S. Navy. Trino's experience within the USS Haggard gave him what he calls "a brotherhood."[31] He enlisted after getting news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Soto became part of one of the ships that went into battle more than most ships in the invasion of Okinawa. During the expedition of Okinawa, Soto experienced intense combat battle with Kamikaze attacks. After the war Soto returned to America and recalled "the war created new avenues for

advancement in the lives of Latinos."[32] The opportunity that brought Mexican-American soldiers to have a positive relationship with white soldiers led them to look forward to going back to America with the vision of attaining social progress. The reality of American society soon sunk in with Mexican-American soldiers.

VII | Back to Square One: Mexican-American Soldiers Return To America with Unresolved Social Issues

By the time WWII ended in 1945 most Mexican-American soldiers returned to America with the confidence that social progress would be made. While many utilized the G.I. Bill for educational purposes, many Mexican-American war veterans still experienced discrimination in the United States from Anglo Americans. While they had access to education and veteran's health care, the daily discrimination had not changed. Alfred "Fred" Castro served for Company B, 333rd Infantry Regiment, 84th Infantry Division. He recalls one experience he had when Castro and 10 other soldiers were not served in a restaurant because they were Mexican. He remembers "they said as long as we have the uniform on, we're American citizens."[33] In a letter to the co-founder of LULAC, Alonso S. Perales, a lawyer of south Texas, Jose G. Cruz informed him of the discrimination in San Antonio, Texas about his experience in a café. Cruz mentioned, "I was really enjoying my coffee" when one of the girl waitresses said, "do not speak Spanish or I'll be fired."[34] He then recalled, "I still don't like the way they treated us in such a small town, I am a veteran of World War II, and I should like to see all of us treated like human beings."[35] Perales used letters of Mexican-American war veterans in Texas to demonstrate the Texas government of the racial discrimination that still occurred after the war. In another letter written to Alonso Perales, Jose Herrera wrote a letter regarding an incident in a beer parlor where the owner denied him service. Herrera wrote, "I served 14 months in the United States Army in World War no. 2. I went into a beer parlor. As soon as I went in the owner of the beer parlor told me that Mexicans were not allowed there." [36] Much of the discrimination of Mexican-American WWII war veterans came mostly in Texas. The disappointment of Mexican American war veterans with racial discrimination after returning from the war created a small organization made to fulfill the rights and services of Mexican-American WWII veterans. The G.I. forum slowly arose in Texas with the leadership of Dr. Hector Garcia.

The G.I. Forum grew out of the outrage of war veterans who did not receive medical care from hospitals, educational opportunities, and not receiving the G.I. Bill after their military service. A doctor from Texas named Hector Garcia, served for the U.S. army as an officer in the infantry, engineer Corps and Medical Corps. He received a Bronze Star and six Battle starts for his military service. Just as most Mexican-American war veterans experienced the same discrimination before they left for the war, Dr. Garcia set out to invite veterans to discuss the issues of segregation in Texas. As veterans discussed the issues of segregation in Texas, most voted for Dr. Garcia to lead the organization and named it the G.I. Forum. At first, the G.I. Forum was made to "improve veteran benefits and enhance medical attention"[37], but more issues of housing, education, voting rights, employment, and hospitalization arose. The G.I. Forum set out goal and objectives in order to

- Aid the needy and disable veterans
- Develop leadership by creating interest in the Spanish speaking population to participate intelligently and wholeheartedly in community, civic, and political affairs
- Advance understanding between citizens of various national origins and religious beliefs to develop a more enlightened citizenry and a greater America
- Preserve and advance the basic principle of democracy, the religious and political freedoms of the individual, and equal social and economic opportunities for all citizens
- Secure and protect for all veterans and their families, regardless of race, color, or creed, the privileges vested in them by the Constitution and laws of our country;
- Combat juvenile delinquency through a Junior GI Forum program which teaches respect for law and order, discipline, good sportsmanship, and the value of teamwork;
- Uphold and maintain loyalty to the Constitution and flag of the United States;
- Award scholarships to deserving students
- Preserve and defend the United States of America from all enemies.[38]

Much like LULAC, the GI Forum created a patriotic imagery to prove that their union members have an American identity. The objective brought a clear understanding of what the Forum wanted; social progress for Mexican-America. It brought more than Chicano communities closer, it created an ideology that made communities take a different approach to the movement even if it meant working with others who were not Mexican-American. The leftist approach of the constitution led the members to engage in national politics to support the politics of John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy and even Lyndon B. Johnson. What really helped this movement was taking issues of race, employment, housing, etc. to not a national level that further brought awareness of the social problems of Mexican Americans that struggled to achieve justice through the legal system.

One of the major turning points of the G.I. Forum came with the Felix Longoria incident. Longoria, a private first class in the U.S. army, earned a Bronze Service Star, a Purple Heart, a Good Conduct Medal, and a Combat Infantryman's badge for his military service in the Philippines. On June 16th 1945, Longoria went on a patrol during a rainy day. Shots of gunfire broke out and Longoria's patrol unit shot back at the supposed enemy. By the time the gunfire ended, Longoria was found dead. By 1948, four years after his death, the army sent Longoria's body to his family in Texas. Longoria's wife received notice from the armed forces that her husband died in combat. Beatrice Longoria set out to arrange a burial service for her deceased husband, and met two men, Manon Rice and Tom Kennedy, who managed funeral services. Beatrice was denied a burial service as Kennedy stated, "The white would not like it."[39] Dr. Garcia received notice from Sara Moreno, a member of the GI Forum sponsored girls club, the incident and set out to help the widow of private Longoria to receive burial services. When Dr. Garcia spoke with the mortician, Mr. Kennedy stated, "I am the only funeral home here, and I have to do what the white people want. The white people just don't like it."[40] The argument of Dr. Garcia and the Longoria's came with the point that Private Longoria was a war hero and a veteran. As a response to the Longoria's argument, Mr. Kennedy rebutted, "You know how Latin people get drunk

and lay around all the time. The last time we let them use the chapel, they got all drunk and we just can't control them so the white people object to it, and we just can't let them use it."[41] This sparked an outrage for the Mexican American community in Texas as well as G.I. Forum leaders. This event became important because it created a lot of national attention through the media and government. The Longoria incident became important to the Forum leaders and the Mexican-American community because after their service in the war they were still denied. The Forum and other organizations strived to demonstrate their Americanization. The reason why war veterans grew outraged was because they received the same opportunities as whites in the war, and upon returning home they have had limited opportunities.

The disappointing Longoria incident led the G.I. Forum to take the cause from a local level to a national level. Dr. Garcia informed George Groh, a reporter of the Corpus Christi Caller Times, who discussed with Mr. Kennedy of the situation. In response to the pressure by the G.I. Forum, Kennedy stated, "We never have made a practice of letting Mexicans use the chapel and we don't want to start now."[42] The Forum took the denied service to the state level by informing state legislature and the delegation in Washington, D.C. A protest of 1,000 people took place within the dispute of the Longoria incident. During the protest, Dr. Garcia received a telegram from Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Within the telegram senator Johnson stated, "I have no authority over civilian funeral home. Nor does the federal government. However, I have today made arrangements to have Felix Longoria buried with full military honors in Arlington National cemetery."[43] The response from senator Johnson it suggests that the G.I. Forum received some support from the Texas government, this angered Anglos of Three Rivers, Texas (the location of the incident), was presented by the media. Kennedy believed that his judgment for the denied funeral service for Mrs. Longoria came with the disapproval of private Longoria's father. The uproar of the conflict grew to the attention of Texas state representative J.F. Gray to conduct an investigation. Within the case, the statement of Longoria's father, Guadalupe Longoria, proved to show that Kennedy's judgment did not prove sufficient evidence of the denied funeral service. Within Longoria's testimony, he testified that he requested assistance from the G.I. Forum, president of the Three Rivers Chamber of Commerce, the mayor, and the city secretary was unnecessary and undesirable. As a result, the committee concluded that "there was no discrimination on the part of the undertaker of Three Rivers relative to the proposed burial of the deceased Felix Longoria" and "Mr. Kennedy acted in the belief that strained relations existed in the Longoria family, and denying the family's equal use of the facilities had only concerned him for the widow's best interests."[44] The Longoria incident sparked national attention that influenced other Mexican-Americans to take a role. The incident lead to Mexican-Americans to seek assistance from the G.I. Forum, which included Mexican-American women taking political roles. This really challenged the social norms of Mexican-American women in the G.I. Forum. The role of these women went far and beyond for the success of the Forum. It added doubt and pressure from men within the Forum who did not agree with the woman's role becoming a leader.

VIII | Women in the Forum

The Forum at its initial stages of its creation became a male dominated organization, however, with the need of finance to back up the organization, barbecues, dances, and beauty contests became the source of revenue.[45] The Forum's community events attracted thousands of people and even women that took political roles within the G.I. Forum. One of the first Forum stateswomen, Isabelle Téllez, recalled "women played central roles in developing new G.I. Forum chapters and initiatives.[46] Women took the roles of voting registration drives, served as lobbyists for legislation. At the same time, women of the Forum such as Molly Faid Galván, Nellie Navarro, Dominga Coronado and Margarita Simón created their own Forum group known as the national Forum women's group that created the first national GI Forum convention in 1956.[47] One of the primary focuses for social progress for the G.I Forum came with the issue of education for Mexican-Americans.

VIX | Education: The Issue of Segregation

According to Jim Crow Law, Mexican-Americans are considered as white; however, throughout the Southwest school districts still practiced segregation. The argument that Anglos proposed in defense for segregated schools to "facilitate their acculturation to mainstream society."[48] Most Mexican-American youths that attended integrated schools struggled with English, considering their first language was Spanish. Anglo school officials felt that having Mexican-Americans integrated with whites in schools would only slow down whites from progress. As Joan W. Moore mentions,

> The physically segregated school was a natural reflection of the prevailing belief in Mexican racial inferiority. Separate schools were built and maintained, in theory, simply because of residential segregation or to benefit the Mexican child. He has a "language handicap" and needed to be "Americanized" before mixing with Anglo children. His presence in an integrated school would hinder the progress of white American children. [49]

The G.I. Forum took action by assisting Mexican-Americans who went to court against school districts. The issue of education to challenge school districts did not begin with the G.I. Forum. Since the 1930s, Mexican-American lawyers and LULAC assisted Mexican-American families with court cases against school districts. In 1930, one significant case in Del Rio, Texas, *Independent School District v Salvatierra*, in which the plaintiffs argued they were segregated based on Mexican ancestry.[50] Attorneys of the Salvatierra family used the "separate but equal" doctrine to argue that school officials illegally segregated Mexican-Americans students from facilities to "other white races."[51] Independent school districts argued that language deficiency was the purpose in which they segregated Mexican-Americans. The Texas court ruled in favor of the Independent school district due to "absence of intent to discriminate."[52] During the 1940s Mexican American students were segregated solely from ethnic backgrounds. Dr. García documented school districts in Texas that used standardized testing as a means of only applying Mexican Americans as inferior students and as a reason for the practice of segregation. One form in which school

districts practiced segregation came with "zones," in which Spanish-speaking children were sent to one school zone, while Anglo children sent to another.[53] By 1947, Garcia took lawsuits of 20 families for wrongful discrimination of the Independent school districts of South Texas. Garcia argued "Mexican-American students were segregated in the respective districts without objective testing for skill deficiencies, they were being treated as a class apart from mainstream white community."[54] The presiding judge, Ben H. Rice, Jr. went in favor of Garcia's argument in which the school districts illegally discriminated Mexican-Americans. The pressure from Dr. Garcia and the G.I. Forum led to some changes within school districts. From 1955 to 1957, attorneys of the Forum "led a series of suits that substantially undermined continuing efforts by Texas educators to disregard state and federal prohibitions against the segregation of Mexican-Americans students in public schools."[55] To the G.I. Forum education became the first and most important step towards social progress, something they successfully challenged in the late 1950s that helped promote their cause to Civil Rights and equal opportunity.

X | A Legacy to Remember

World War II offered Mexican-Americans more than an opportunity to fight alongside white soldiers. The war helped develop the American ideology for Mexican-Americans within the relationships they had with white soldiers and each other. The experience taught them that if they can have the same opportunities as whites within the military abroad, then that could also happen in America. The postwar impact of WWII brought disappointed Mexican-American war veterans from Texas to create an organization built to protect the Civil Rights of American citizens. The legacy that the G.I. Forum left its pride in America and the opportunities it built for others to take in order to create social progress for education, employment, and Civil Rights. For Mexican-American war veterans, the Forum became the first step to make things better in America with Civil Rights activism and the service of the Mexican-American soldiers as the bricks of progress. It built a united front that started in Texas and slowly spread throughout the nation to assist others in need. As Raul Morin eloquently puts it, "After World War II a wave of social development unfolded. The Mexican-American became more aware of the growing need for self-improvement. He has become better informed on the changing complexities of the state and Nation. Responsibility and participation has developed greater Race and ethnic consciousness."[56] The forgotten soldiers led by example within WWII and became recognized by their efforts of their activism through the G.I. Forum. It is a history that changed the lives of thousands of American citizens and one that should be remembered as the soldiers of opportunity. It became more than a movement, it became a revolution for the Mexican-American identity that influenced future generations that embarked on the same issues of Civil Rights in the 1960s.

Notes

[1] Virgilio G. Roel, interview by Nicole Cruz, July 2, 2013, VOCES Oral History Project, University of Texas School of Journalism, Austin, TX.

[2] Raul Morin, *Among The Valiant Mexican-Americans in WWII and Korea* (Borden Publishing Company, 1963), 278.

[3] David G. Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (University of California Press 1995), 76.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 84.

[7] Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 77.

[8] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 14.

[9] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 15.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 24.

[12] Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, *A Legacy Greater Than Words: Stories of U.S. Latinos & Latinas of the WWII Generation* (Austin: U.S. Latino & Latina WWII Oral History Project, 2006), xxix.

[13] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 30.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 31.

[18] Ibid., 2.

[19] Ibid., 33.

[20] Rivas-Rodriguez, *A Legacy*, 21.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 6.

[23] Ibid., 64.

[24] Ibid., 66.

[25] "World War II Vet Held in Nazi Camp Breaks Silence: 'Let It Be Known,'" Wayne Drash and Thelma Gutierrez and Sara Weisfeldt, aired November 11, 2008, on CNN.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Rivas-Rodriguez, *A Legacy*, 66.

[30] Ibid., 82.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 141.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 61.

[35] Richard Griswold del Castillo. *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights*, (University of Texas Press Austin. 2008), 175.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., 190.

[38] Rebecca Saavedra, "Dr. Hector P. Garcia: A Legacy of Activism and Service," The University of Texas Medical Branch, accessed November, 2013, http://www.utmb.edu/drgarcia/legacy.htm.

[39] Henry A.J Ramos. *The American G.I. Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream, 1948-1983* (Arte Público Press,1998), 5-6.

[40] Patrick Carroll. *Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism* (University of Texas Press Austin, 2003), 56.

[41] Ibid., 62.

[42] Ibid., 63.

[43] Ramos, *The American G.I. Forum*, 11.

[44] Ibid., 16.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 28.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 29.

[49] Ibid., 52.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., 53.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid., 55.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 60.

[57] Morin, *Among The Valiant*, 280.

The Dynamism of the Veil: Veiling and Unveiling as a Means of Creating Identity in Algeria and France

By Peter Racco

In contemporary political discourse, particularly in the United States, Muslim women who don the veil are often considered agentless members of an oppressive patriarchal religion, subjects in need of rescue.[1] This idea of the *white* male rescuing *brown* women from *brown* men is perpetuated throughout colonial history and discourse,[2] including within the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Yet the reality of the matter is that women have a variety of reasons for veiling and that, while the idea of being forced to do so vis-à-vis a subordinate position in society cannot be necessarily discounted, often times wearing a veil is used as a method of improving or challenging one's devalued position or of asserting power beyond physicality.

Similarly, the act of unveiling cannot be simply read as way of moving towards modernization, feminism, equality, et cetera but rather as a complex method for navigating tensions in a social context or contexts. As Natalya Vince, an historian of modern France and Algeria, warns, we should take care not to suggest that the veil, whether worn or unworn, always indicates "colonial influence over the local population or a Fanonian cultural resistance," as both can be done for "socioeconomic or familial reasons" as well.[3] It is my intention to argue that the veil is used as a method of creating or maintaining a multitude of identities – some real, some constructed – in order to better suit one's political, societal, economical, and/or familial needs. To do so, I will compare the use of the veil as a form of resistance during the Algerian War for Independence and the use of the veil as an identity-creating tool in 1980s-90s France (during the headscarf controversy).

During the Algerian War for Independence, the veil, or absence thereof, allowed women to become highly effective guerilla fighters. This, however, was merely one part of the larger trend of the Algerian War, wherein identities and senses of belonging were challenged, contested, and redefined.[4] Frantz Fanon – a psychiatrist whose work relating to post-colonial studies and particularly the Algerian War for Independence is well known – argues that, initially, wearing the veil in colonial Algeria was a form of cultural resistance against French efforts to unveil Algerian women (thus, in their view, bringing them over to the side of modernity and liberalism) – it "was worn because tradition demanded a rigid separation of the sexes, but also because the occupier *was bent on unveiling Algeria*."[5] Then, "[w]hat is in fact the assertion of a distinct identity, concern with keeping intact a few shreds of national existence, is attributed to religious, magical, fanatical behaviour."[6] This constitutes a clear misinterpretation on the part of the French of the actions of women who refused to unveil.

The prominence of French colonial strategy placed on Algerian women as a method of destructuring Algerian society necessarily gave rise to "reactionary forms of behaviour on the part of the colonized."[7] As immortalized in the film *The Battle of Algiers*, Algerian women could become highly effective guerilla fighters by shedding the veil and adopting

a Westernized physical appearance.[8] This allowed them to freely pass through French-Algerian society, even through French checkpoints, without garnering suspicion. As Fanon eloquently describes:

> Carrying revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards or bombs, the unveiled Algerian woman moves like a fish in the Western waters. The soldiers, the French patrols, smile to her as she passes, compliments on her looks are heard here and there, but no one suspects that her suitcases contain the automatic pistol which will presently mow down four or five members of one of the patrols.[9]

This usage of the veil, even in its absence, is notable because "it functions efficiently only by *mis*recognition."[10] It was virtually impossible for the French to conceptualize a "Westernized" woman who nonetheless harbored anti-colonial feelings. Vince provides an example: "At no point was it proposed that Hammadi," an *évoluée* who chose to join the National Liberation Army (ALN), "who spoke excellent French and dressed 'à la française,' might have harbored anything more than a fleeting and circumstantial resentment toward the colonial system." To the French these women "did not conform to type;" their behavior was not predictable, and it was therefore dangerous.[11]

The Algerian woman who discards her veil to wage guerilla warfare not only manipulates a false identity but also creates a new, legitimate one. In order to combat a feeling of awkwardness, nakedness, and incompleteness, "[s]he quickly has to invent new dimensions for her body, new means of muscular control. She has to create for herself an attitude of unveiled-woman-outside…. [She] relearns her body, re-establishes it in a totally revolutionary fashion."[12] The transformation is physical as well as mental; it involves kinetics, the way her body moves, in addition to the way she must think and conceive of herself.

The veil continued to function through misrecognition even after the French came to suspect "European" women. "The discovery by the French authorities of the participation of Europeans in the liberation struggle," Fanon argues, "marks a turning point in the Algerian Revolution. From that day, the French patrols challenged every person. Europeans and Algerians were equally suspect." In these cases, "a new technique had to be learned" – how to smuggle equipment under a veil. A woman resistance fighter's body "had to be squashed, made shapeless and even ridiculous," so as to hide a bomb or machine-gun clips. These would be attached to her body directly so as to allow free movement of her hands – "the sign that disarms the enemy soldier."[13] "In doing so," Vince argues, "the [Front de Liberation Nationale] was exploiting the French stereotype of the 'traditional' Muslim woman: a passive and submissive woman who should under no circumstances be touched."[14]

The veil became an enabler of guerilla warfare, allowing women to "appear" and "disappear," to sow paranoia, to give the impression that an attack could come at anytime, from anywhere, orchestrated by anyone. As Decker states, "[t]he Algerian woman's veil generates the desired effects of terrorism… [it] simultaneously produces in the 'look' of the Algerian woman the ideological effect of in- and within-significance—that is, lack and power."[15] The results are almost paradoxical: a woman is powerful because she is perceived powerless; the veil is useful because it is "read" incorrectly.

Female nationalists struggled with – and against – both colonialism *and* sexism.[16] Though women were just as strongly nationalist as men were, "It was often against some

nationalist leader's will that women joined the armed struggle. Indeed, the nationalists' perception of women as 'passive' and in need of protection was out of step with women's own conceptions of their capabilities… In many ways, by joining the movement women acted as contestants of men's monopoly over nationalist militancy."[17] In this way, they were able to carve out a new identity within Algeria, to force the reconsideration of women's issues—though this reconsideration would have to wait until after the Revolution for official policy. Even then, some policies – like the Algerian Family Code of 1984 – served to affirm rather than disassemble patriarchy.[18]

Regardless of whether or not official policy after the Revolution reflected the change in women's status, during the Revolution female resistance fighters were able to exercise a degree of influential, or soft, power. Fanon argues that the resolve of a female FLN/ALN member could serve to diffuse "[t]he old fear of dishonour" and that "[b]ehind the girl, the whole family – even the Algerian father, the authority for all things, the founder of every value, following in her footsteps, becomes committed to the new Algeria."[19] Women not only carved out new identities for themselves, but created familial recognition and tacit acceptance of their newly fashioned identities.

More than thirty years later, women still alternatively veiled or unveiled themselves for similar purposes in France – not for terrorism, but to establish new identities and navigate difficult social settings. Political scientist Catherine Wihtol de Wenden writes that young, elite, female Muslim immigrants in France,

> though not necessarily representative of all or even most Muslim women, functioned as mediators between tradition and modernity (*femmes relais*), seeking to form a bridge between the traditional culture of the homeland and the modern, Western one of the receiving country. Far from resisting these mediation attempts, most young women…increasingly welcomed a loosening of the traditional bonds that tended to keep women in a subordinate position.[20]

When Algerian women in France shed the veil, it was often for pragmatic reasons. Caitlin Killian, a gender and immigration sociologist, states that "men face more racism than women, being viewed immediately as Arabs or foreigners. Women, on the other hand, are seen as women first, and their ethnicity or immigrant status becomes secondary—at least for those women who meet certain requirements, notably the ability to speak French and dress like the French."[21] Wearing the veil makes apparent an "otherness," causing those who wear it to be viewed, not as women, but as foreigners.[22] Thus, pragmatism: by unveiling themselves, Algerian women in France could attain a better opportunity "to work, to be hired, to fit in."[23]

This calls to mind the "Teflon construction" of Islam.[24] In essence, cultural artifacts, as well as practices that are "restraining, unfair, or unwise," can be safely ignored without affecting one's religiosity. "Bad things slide off the 'true Islam,'" Williams summarizes, "as if it were coated with Teflon."[25] This is not to suggest the existence of an objective, "true" Islam, but rather an internalized version that is true to one's own piety. Though Williams writes of the Muslim experience in America, this concept seems equally applicable to France in the late 1980s-early 1990s, or colonial Algeria during the War for Independence. In all cases, a level of pragmatism influenced Islam on multiple levels, not simply in regards to veiling.[26]

Despite this pragmatism, however, many female immigrants in France – especially second or third generation Muslims of adolescent or young adult age – choose to continue veiling themselves, or even to take up the practice for the first time. This decision is what led to the "Headscarf Incidents" in France, a controversy over whether students had the right to wear headscarves to school in a secular nation. Though the reasons students might have for doing this are manifold, many of them relate to issues we have previously discussed – those of identity, cultural navigation, and misrecognition.

One reason for veiling is due to familial or societal pressures within the Muslim immigrant community. Body-Gendrot notes that some Muslim women "admit that they wear a headscarf when they leave their neighborhood, so as not to be bothered, but a larger group resents the domination exerted upon them, domination that they claim has intensified in the last ten years."[27] Wihtol de Wenden argues that it is less about social pressure and more about a desire for adolescent agency. Wearing a headscarf,

> rarely is meant to indicate a return to the traditionalism of their mothers (who did not put much emphasis on it anyway), but rather may be adopted as a means of soothing parental anxieties, demonstrating to them that their daughter is a good Muslim who knows the traditional way and how to follow it. So when they leave home wearing a traditional dress or scarf, they often gain more freedom while simultaneously giving satisfaction and reassurance to their parents.[28]

In this case, veiling again functions through misrecognition. Despite being a symbol of Islamic traditionalism, wearing a headscarf here is not meant to serve as a visual declaration of one's own traditionalism. Rather, it is used to assuage parental concerns while acquiring a greater freedom of movement. It bears resemblance to the way female FLN/ALN members could utilize the veil (or lack thereof) to move more freely through checkpoints without invoking French suspicion – though, obviously, that case is militaristic while this case is not.

Still more women use the veil as a means, not of satisfying parents, but of creating their own identity. Killian argues that wearing a veil is an example of maintaining a positive self-image by rejecting comparison with a majority group. "This," she argues, "is a predicted strategy for devalued groups who have little access to social, political, and economic resources that might change their status in society."[29] Sebastian Poulter adds that wearing a *hijab* provides a wealth of personal benefits, including the creation of a private space, an increased sense of dignity, and shielding from sexual harassment; that it serves as an assertion of one's right to an identity of both French *and* Muslim; that it is, in short, "a liberating and empowering device." In addition, Poulter implies that such a decision is highly individualistic, made by "modern, well-educated *individuals*," aimed at creating a "*distinctive* place," and part of a search for "*personal* dignity" (emphasis mine).[30]

At the heart of the matter seems to be the issue of what it means then to be both French *and* Muslim. Killian argues that "the veil is a way to negotiate between the community of their parents and the French society in which they are immersed… These girls reject what they view as a devaluation of their parents' culture and an emphasis on assimilation. They accept integration through schooling and employment, however, and wish to be recognized as both Muslim and French."[31] Williams adds, "[*h*]*ijab* carves out a cultural

space for young Muslim women to live lives that their mothers could barely have imagined… and still to be publicly Muslim."[32] Beyond simply allowing for this – and in contrast to the use of the veil during the Algerian War – Williams argues that "[w]omen in hijab instantly signal who they are and what group they identify with, making clear their religious and community connections."[33] The veil should therefore be recognized as *both* a disguise and as identification, or rather, as identification that can become a disguise when that identification is falsified to play on misrecognition.

It is worth noting that, as in the Algerian War for Independence, the practice by Muslim immigrants in France who veil seemed to begin with children and then moved upward. Discarding the veil during the Algerian War was used by the FLN/ALN as a recruiting tool: it demonstrated a woman's resolve and thereby caused her family to support her. Williams quotes one young Muslim woman and notes that "[b]y her account, her mother began covering about the same time she did—but she presents this as a trend that is going from the second generation to their parents' generation, rather than vice versa."[34] This is not however to suggest that this trend remains true in all regions and time periods in which women contested or redefined the veil.[35]

Despite numerous similarities, these cases should not be conflated. Though both dealt with identity politics, in the case of female FLN/ALN members, the goal was terrorism and the defeat of the French, while Muslim immigrants in France most often were responding to familial pressures or attempting to synthesize Muslim and French identities. Nevertheless, in both cases, these women veiled or unveiled themselves in pursuit of a new identity or societal space. This is the "historic dynamism of the veil"[36] of which Fanon wrote – the ability of the veil become a tool for different purposes both in being worn and in not being worn, and it is no less true in 1990s France than 1950s Algeria.

Notes

[1] The author, being also an editor, recused himself from the editing process regarding this article. It received no special treatment and was required to conform to all standard requirements.

[2] Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (2005): 784

[3] Natalya Vince, "Transgressing Boundaries: Gender, Race, Religion, and 'Françaises Musulmanes' during the Algerian War of Independence," *French Historical Studies* 33, no. 3 (2010): 459.

[4] Ibid., 448.

[5] Frantz Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," in *Decolonization: Perspectives from Now and Then*, ed. Prasenjit Duara (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 55.

[6] Ibid., 46.

[7] Ibid., 50.

[8] *The Battle of Algiers*, directed by Gillo Pontecorvo (1966; Algeria: Rizzoli, Rialto Pictures).

[9] Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," 52.

[10] Jeffrey Louis Decker, "Terrorism (Un) Veiled: Frantz Fanon and the Women of Algiers," *Cultural Critique*, no. 17 (1990-1991): 185.

[11] Vince, "Transgressing Boundaries," 453.

[12] Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," 52.

[13] Ibid., 53-54.

[14] Vince, "Transgressing Boundaries," 454.

[15] Decker, "Terrorism (Un) Veiled," 193.

[16] Ibid., 184.

[17] Marnia Lazreg, "Gender and Politics in Algeria: Unraveling the Religious Paradigm," *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 767

[18] Ibid., 755-56.

[19] Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," 53.

[20] Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, "Young Muslim Women in France: Cultural and Psychological Adjustments," *Political Psychology* 19, no. 1 (1998): 135.

[21] Caitlin Killian, "The Other Side of the Veil: North African Women in France Respond to the Headscarf Affair," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 4 (2003): 587.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 584.

[24] R. Stephen Warner, Elise Martel, and Rhonda E. Dugan, "Catholicism is to Islam as Velcro is to Teflon: Religion and Ethnic Culture Among Second Generation Latina and Muslim Women College Students" (paper presented to the Midwest Sociological Society, St. Louis, 2001).

[25] Rhys H. Williams and Gira Vashi, "'Hijab' and American Muslim Women: Creating the Space for Autonomous Selves," *Sociology of Religion* 68, no. 3 (2007): 280.

[26] Though Algeria, taken broadly, is perhaps not the best example of Islam's "Teflon construction," during the War for Independence many social mores and taboos seemed to be suspended. For one example, see: Vince, "Transgressing Boundaries," 461.

[27] Sophie Body-Gendrot, "France Upside down over a Headscarf?" *Sociology of Religion* 68, no. 3 (2007): 294.

[28] Wihtol de Wenden, "Young Muslim Women in France," 141-42.

[29] Killian, "The Other Side of the Veil," 579.

[30] Sebastion Poulter, "Muslim Headscarves in School: Contrasting Legal Approaches in England and France," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 17, no. 1 (1997): 71.

[31] Killian, "The Other Side of the Veil," 572.

[32] Williams and Vashi, "'Hijab' and American Muslim Women," 283.

[33] Ibid., 282.

[34] Ibid., 284.

[35] Ashraf Zahedi, "Contested Meaning of the Veil and Political Ideologies of Iranian Regimes," Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 3, no. 3 (2007): 75-98. Zahedi's article contains a discussion of a contrasting example during the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

[36] Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled," 55.

Establishing Permanence: The California Statehood and Southern California Stadiums in the Early 1920s

By Laura Gomez

Thousands of years after the demise of the Roman Empire, the Roman Colosseum survived. A testament of Roman technology, society and culture, the Colosseum perpetuates the ancient cultural accomplishments to all visitors. Modern sports stadiums attempt to evoke similar feelings. The steel and concrete stadiums, of early twentieth century America, illuminate the nation's growing leisure culture. Private institutions, universities and professional sports built these permanent structures to satisfy the growing popularity. Contrary to the stadium filled East, California remained without a stadium until 1921. California's delayed participation in the nationwide arena construction trend makes the beginning of stadium construction a pertinent area of study. What events led the City of Pasadena and the City of Los Angeles to construct a stadium? What does stadium construction reveal about the contemporary society and local culture? By elucidating the motivating factors leading to California's decision to build the immense stadiums, it becomes clear that the Rose Bowl and Memorial Coliseum represent California's global economic and cultural goals of prestige and leisure.

Placing these case studies within the state's history requires a cultural history approach. Considering that stadiums are cultural products, that serve a specific function in society, both techniques will provide the analysis necessary to reveal the socioeconomic ideals attributed to magnificent arenas. Locating each stadium within their respective local history reveals the influence of local cultural and economic institutions, in particular the organizations that incur the greatest benefits. Local newspapers, magazine publication, committee minutes, and school publications provide a wealth of the evidence used to illuminate the cultural and social ideals associated with the construction of a grandiose, local stadium. An inclusive analysis illuminates the national, statewide and local implications of stadium construction.

Although sport history remains a popular topic of study, early Californian stadiums have yet to be analyzed collectively. In an attempt to begin to close this gap in the sport historiography, I will analyze the historical significance the Pasadena Rose Bowl and the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum to the development of the California state.

The construction of the Central Pacific Railway of California led to the future development of the entire state. The transcontinental railroad reduced the cross-country voyage to only a week- marking California's entrance into the national market. Californian agriculture could now be sent eastwards, facilitating an economic boom throughout the state. By the 1890s, refrigerated railroad cars allowed the Southern Californian citrus industry to surpass other economic exports.[1] The railroad perpetuated Californian industry, allowing its transfusion across the nation. No longer isolated by geographic distance, California experienced an increased amount of interaction with the nation. Without a doubt, the twentieth century held a host of local, national and global possibilities for the state. A developing state, California showcased its newly attained significance through the construction of stadiums in the southern region of the state.

Pasadena Rose Bowl

Southern Californian elites worked together to bolster the image of the state of California. By the late 1870s, large-scale, mechanized agriculture propelled the Californian economy onto the national market, facilitating California's economic boom in the late nineteenth century.[2] Elaborate agricultural fairs throughout the state in the early 1880s reveal the extent of the industry's influence on the entire Californian populous, and the civic pride associated with agricultural production. Between the 1880s and 1920s, the citrus industry composed the majority of California's agricultural production.[3] Citrus affected the local culture so much that in the 1880s, Charles Fredrick Holder, member of the elite Valley Hunt Club, suggested a festival of flowers to celebrate the new year and the impending orange season, a proposition that would come to fruition in 1890.[4] Holder wanted to "tell the world about [the Southern Californian] paradise" through an elaborate festival of roses. [5]The members of the Valley Hunt Club, agreed to promote the city of Pasadena to the entire American nation by establishing a festival similar to Nice, France's 'Battle of the Roses.'[6] The Rose Parade, founded in 1890, celebrated the local economy through an extravagant display of leisure culture. The upper-middle class neighborhood profited handsomely from the agricultural industry, resulting in an increase of leisure opportunities that could now be fulfilled with the elaborate festival.

A host of athletic competitions entertained the first festival attendees in 1890.[7] Hundreds of Pasadenians flocked to Tournament Park to witness the various activities, including footraces, horseraces, and the "orange race," where contestants gathered oranges into a basket and began a foot race hoping to beat each other's time.[8] The following year witnessed the first horse-drawn chariots covered in thousands of flowers,[9] an experience unavailable anywhere else in the nation during winter. The Tournament of the Roses Association soon realized the vast economic potentials of a tourist destination. Advertising the festivities alongside Southern California's favorable winter weather provided a lucrative tourist opportunity.

As news of the festival travelled, the Rose Parade provided Pasadena with national acclaim. By 1900 Vitascope Company recorded the festival, transmitting it to a variety of cities across the nation.[10] Although viewed months later, the recording allowed a glimpse into the state of the Californian economy and local culture. At a time of great economic surplus, the Rose Parade encompassed all of the positive aspects of California. In 1917, the Rose parade hosted the first international floats - hotels from Yokohama and Manila.[11] The attendance of these international businesses reveals the growing immigrant population as well as the increased international economic activity of California. Chariot racing remained the most popular sport until 1915, when the public began to favor football.[12] The Rose parade's popularity outgrew the one thousand capacity of Tournament Park. A tourist attraction by the late 1910s, the spectators continued to return in large numbers. So much that the 1921 festival, that hosted the game between Washington & Jefferson College and California, provided enough revenue to permit a contract for the building of a concrete stadium at Tournament Park on February 7, 1922.[13] The Tournament of the Roses Committee proposed to finance subsequent construction through ticket sales.[14] The stadiums popularity allowed the mortgage to be paid off by 1929.[15] Alongside a growing

population, successful economy, and increasing national prestige, the Rose Parade quickly evolved into the celebration known today.

Between 1890 and 1920 the festival of the flowers grew exponentially, in size and extravagance. An escape from the cold winters experienced elsewhere in the nation, the Rose Parade attracted tourists and national attention. Ultimately, the construction of the Rose Bowl signifies the recent economic achievement of the state.

Architectural features of the Rose Bowl reveal the Tournament of the Roses Association's attention to ensuring a continuous return of spectators through the promotion of a shared identity. Audience experience remained the primary focus throughout Myron Hunt's architectural design. The "mule-shoe" shaped stadium allows a straight line of sight from every single seat. The construction of a stadium that provides an equal experience across social class reveals the ongoing Progressive Era and resulting social reforms. The Association's consideration of the parade's attendees is revealed by the addition of shaded seats at the stadiums ends.[16] Hunt also decided to leave the South end opened, a traditional Greek theatre feature allowing breezes to hit the crowd.[17] Further revealing the importance of the Californian weather to the entire festival experience. The importance of the audience experience reveals the Rose Bowl's attempt to create a shared community, even amongst visitors, through its architectural features. Moreover, a favorable experience ensured a return to the stadium and economic profit. By responding to contemporary social values, the rise of the middle class and resulting increased leisure opportunities, the City of Pasadena demonstrates their capability to become a national tourist destination. As the Rose Bowl reached a larger audience it transformed into a tool for promoting the national leisure culture.

The Rose Bowl served to reinforce the contemporary Californian culture. An architectural behemoth, the stadium portrays an image of luxury, illuminated by its neoclassical architectural features. The construction of the Rose Bowl cements the importance of the City of Pasadena, declaring the city a historic place to the nation and to a certain extent the world. Transforming the local festival into a national spectacle reveals the residents of Pasadena's desires to become pivotal to the national identity. The stadium, seating 57,000 spectators, anticipated an increase in attendance. Within a few short years after construction, the Pasadena Rose Bowl lived up to its aspirations.

A nationally registered historic city, Pasadena recreated its image as one of the nation's leading cities through the construction of a modern sports facility.[18] Almost thirty years after the first tournament, the festival culminated in the construction of the Pasadena Rose Bowl. The stadium, an architectural feat in itself, highlighted Southern California's favorable weather, extravagant local practices and economically thriving populace. The Rose Bowl demonstrated California's new economic and social status within the nation. The history of the construction of the Pasadena stadium reveals California's gradual inception into the union. Eventually, the televised Rose Bowl game would become one of the most widely watched programs, revealing once again the successfulness of the Pasadena Rose Bowl.

Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum

California boosterism continued with the construction of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum in 1923. Contrary to the Pasadena Rose Bowl, the L.A. Memorial Coliseum

clearly represents the city's desire to attain national and international acclaim. A direct result of the local effort to spur economic growth the construction of the stadium simultaneously displays the desire of the Los Angeles elite to ensure the future of Southern California development.

Given that World War I postponed the 1916 Olympic Games, scheduled in war torn Berlin, many cities throughout the United States as well as international cities clamored for the honor.[19] Los Angeles community leaders attempted to secure the upcoming Olympic Games. As early as 1915, the City of Los Angeles publicized their desire to host the upcoming games.[20] Only the tenth most populated city in the United States of America, lacking a stadium, and not yet recognized as an international metropolis, these desires seemed unlikely prior to the 1920s. Even so, Californian elites continued to campaign for the Olympic Games, initiating plans for the construction of a renowned stadium capable of hosting the games.

Post-Great War Los Angeles suffered a decline in economic revenue, evident by the local effort to promote economic revenue. Mayor of Los Angeles, Meredith Snyder instated a group of individuals to the California Fiestas Association, later known as the Community Development Agency (CDA), to promote "travel to Southern California"[21] in 1919. Owner of the *Los Angeles Times*, Harry Chandler set a meeting with four other major publishers, F.W. Kellog of the *Evening Express*, H.B.R. Briggs of *The Record* and Guy Barham of *The Herald* in order to facilitate the "up building and advancing of Los Angeles."[22] Considering that these newspapers depended on local distribution for profit, their desire to facilitate Californian promotion is understandable. Chandler's meeting reveals the various efforts put forth by Southern Californian elites to ensure the survival and profitability of the region. Mayor Snyder's CDA, composed of Californian elites; realtors, contractors, bankers, and merchants, singlehandedly pioneered the construction of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum as a part of their greater attempt to guarantee California's significance within the nation, securing the Olympic Games.

William M. Bowen, prominent judge, member of the Board of Park Commission and the CDA, initiated the efforts to build a local recreational and educational facility in the early 1900s. As a member of the Board of Park Commission, Bowen sued the Sixth Agricultural District in 1908 for the public rights to Agricultural Park, now known as Exposition Park. By 1910, the courts named Agricultural Park property of the people of Los Angeles; the city then paid the district $10,000 dollars for the land and agreed to pay a total of $100,000 dollars for the land's maintenance and future improvements, [23] resulting in the construction of the Museum of History, Science and Art, what is now the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Bowen's aspirations did not stop with the museum. The state later built an armory on the grounds.[24] Eventually the park had a sunken garden, and an Art Gallery, both built by private contributors.[25] A 1914 publication in the annual Historical Society of Southern California journal reveals the contemporary murmur of a future stadium construction, the author states

> One of the features of this field is a great Stadium, to be constructed in the west end of the oval, which is to have a seating capacity of from thirty to fifty thousand persons. In this Stadium great athletic contests of the future will be held.[26]

A 1914 history of Agricultural Park, done by Lillian Van Aken, ends with the hope that the prospective stadiums will enhance the image of Los Angeles, and transform this spot into one capable of "uplifting […] the intellect and morals."[27] Aware of the popular desires, Bowen continued his efforts to build a recreational facility. He urged the University of Southern California to build a stadium in order to increase the local economic revenue.[28] After USC failed to initiate construction, Bowen took it upon himself to secure $500 from the City Council to hire an architect for the proposed educational and recreational facility on site.[29] Eventually these plans led to the construction of the Memorial Coliseum.

Agricultural Park, like Pasadena's Tournament Park, hosted various agricultural fairs and exhibitions. The recently established relationship between the City of Los Angeles and Agricultural Park led CDA members to choose this site for the Memorial Coliseum. Also, the open plot of land adjacent to Agricultural Park and the museum provided ample room for the enormous construction. Considering the popular agricultural and technological fairs, Agricultural Park perpetuated the pastoral ideals associated with California. Celebrated in California since 1858, agricultural fairs allowed locals to come together and witness the most recent improvements to planting, harvesting, tilling, housework etc.[30] Agricultural park provided the ideal juxtaposition between historic and innovations – an ideal location for Los Angeles to introduce the world to the American West. The permanent stadium, in the epicenter of Los Angeles cultural transfusion, would undoubtedly transform Los Angeles into an international cultural metropolis.

Surprisingly, the proposal for the Memorial Coliseum witnessed resistance from Mayor Snyder and CDA member Price. The CDA proposed two funding techniques, one through bond measures, and the other through a ten-year lease of the city property where the accumulated rent would cover construction costs.[31] Snyder and Price opposed both of the CDA's proposed funding techniques, since each required heavy public funding.[32] The people of Los Angeles voted against the one million dollar bond entitled, Los Angeles Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Auditorium, in August 1920, yet the CDA still continued to urge for the public funding of the stadium through the latter, lease arrangement.[33] Setting high rental fees for any municipal use would render the property use beneficial to only upper class residents. Price and Snyder continued fighting against the funding proposition, leading them to file a lawsuit against the CDA. By 1921, California's District Court of Appeals ruled that the CDA's pressure on the government was in fact constitutional, since they were acting on behalf of the people.[34] The CDA dismissed the bond's rejection in the polls, arguing that that the legal writing proved too confusing for the locals. The controversial funding of the stadium led the Municipal League of Los Angeles to publish their outrage with the construction of a structure they argued would without a doubt benefit private institutions more than the greater public.[35] Los Angeles residents favored the construction of the stadium, although not enough to pay for the costs. When the court forced the City of Los Angeles into the binding lease agreement, John Parkinson, the architect behind the Los Angeles skyline offered his services free of charge. A stadium with vast economic and cultural opportunities, the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum began construction at the close of 1921.

Following its completion sixteen months later, committee chairman William May Garland set various meetings with representatives of the International Olympic Committee. At the 1920 Paris Olympics, Garland managed to secure the 1932 Olympic Games for Los Angeles by 1923.[36] The construction of the enormous facility proved to influence the

American Olympic Committee (AOC) greatly, considering that of those cities that propositioned for the Olympic Games, only Los Angeles built a stadium. Through the construction of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum, California cemented its national and international cultural and economic significance. The IOC recognized the city as a suitable host for the Olympics, making the construction a successful attempt to secure global prestige.

The Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum signifies Los Angeles recent unveiling as a international metropolis. The strategic placement of the structure presents Los Angeles rich local culture to all the visitors. A culmination of decades of infrastructural development, the CDA managed to construct a stadium capable of attracting tourists, as well as national and international status to the local community. With the Memorial Coliseum, California cemented its place within nation's economic and cultural developments.

Conclusion

Southern California proved its significance in the nation's contemporary cultural and economic goals through the construction of two stadiums the Pasadena Rose Bowl and the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum.

The Pasadena Rose Bowl introduced the nation to Southern California's celebration of the local, prosperous agricultural industry. The Valley Hunt Club soon transformed the local tradition into a nationally acclaimed extravagant festival. By catering to individual audience members through the implementation of particular architectural features, the Tournament of the Roses presented an idealized image of California to the nation. A land filled with wealth, beauty and extravagance, the Rose Bowl welcomed visitors to California's distinguished New Years celebration. A direct result of the local agriculture, the Pasadena Rose Bowl illuminates the economic history and resulting social power associated with the local industry. This Californian stadium worked to reproduce images of California that would highlight the local economy and open the door to California's role in perpetuating a national identity.

The Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum was constructed for the sole purpose of acquiring international prestige. Although William M. Bowen began architectural plans for a stadium in 1910, it would not begin to be constructed until the head of the Community Development Agency, William May Garland, campaigned for a stadium capable of hosting the Olympic Games. The Coliseum's strategic location presents the City of Los Angeles as a cultural metropolis, making it eligible for Olympic consideration. The ornate structure reveals the Los Angeles elites investment in the future development in the city. Although their desires to acquire national and international significance remained economically motivated. The Coliseum ensured the cultural and economic prosperity of Los Angeles.

Finally, the continuing trend in stadium construction makes the completion of the historiography necessary. Scholars continue to disprove the economic profits, yet construction continues. Therefore, an understanding of the cultural importance of stadiums, not just the sports they host, will help understand the why sports stadiums continue to be a priority to communities, as revealed by the recurring trend. These expensive constructions reveal contemporary cultural beliefs that deserve to be further analyzed in order to understand the social function of the stadium. Furthermore, the reasons leading these various institutions to construct stadiums aid the contextualization of modern urban

renewal strategies. Through close examination of the stadiums social benefits, modern stadium construction lends itself more understandable.

Notes

[1] Douglas C. Sackman, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[2] Bruce Cumings, *Dominion From Sea to Sea: Pacific Ascendance and American Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2009).

[3] Sackman, *Orange Empire*.

[4] Nancy Meyer, *Festivals of the West* (Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1975).

[5] Joe Hendrickson, *Tournament of Roses: The First 100 Years* (Los Angeles: Knapp Press, 1989).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Herb Michelson and Dave Newhouse, *Rose Bowl Football: Since 1902* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977).

[13] Rube Samuelson, *The Rose Bowl Game* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1951).

[14] Ibid.

[15] See: Herb and Newhouse, *Rose Bowl Football*.

[16] US Department of the Interior, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form*, (Washington, DC, 1984).

[17] Myron Hunt, "The Pasadena, California Stadium," *American Architect* 128, (October 1925): 340-342.

[18] Preserve America, "Preserve America Community: Pasadena, California," http://www.preserveamerica.gov/PAcommunity-pasadenaCA.html.

[19] "Olympic Games Denial: Will Be Held in Berlin in War Ends – Or Not at All," *The New York Times*, April 10, 1915; "Cuba asks for Olympics," *The New York Times*, December 24, 1915; "Meet For Stadium Tonight," *The Washington Post*, August 24, 1921.

[20] "Los Angeles Wants Olympic Games," *The New York Times*, April 5, 1915.

[21] *Price v. Sixth Agricultural District*, 261 Cal. 503, brief of respondents, 1164-65, 1927.

[22] William May Garland, *William May Garland to Blanch Garland*, Letter, Los Angeles Times Archives, Los Angeles California, *William May Garland Papers*.

[23] Los Angeles Memorial Commission, California Memorial Coliseum, University of California Davis Libraries; Bureau of Budget Efficiency.

[24] Lillian A. Van Aken, "History of Exposition Park" *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 9, no. 3 (1914): 244-252.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, *A Study of Organization and Administration of the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum*, 1953.

[29] Ibid.

[30] City of Sacramento, *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Year 1858*, (1859); John Rickards Betts, "Agricultural Fairs and the Rise of Harness Racing," *Agricultural History* 27, no. 2 (April 1953), 71-75.

[31] Steven A. Reiss, "Power Without Authority: Los Angeles' Elites and the Construction of the Coliseum," *Journal of Sport History* 8, no. 1, (Spring 1981): 50-65.

[32] *Price v. Sixth Agricultural District*.

[33] Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, *A Study of Organization and Administration*.

[34] *Price v. Sixth Agricultural District*.

[35] "Who's Running Los Angeles Anyway?" *Bulletin of the Municipal League of Los Angeles*, January 3, 1924; "Secret Session on the Stadium Scheme," *Bulletin of the Municipal League of Los Angeles*, July 8, 1929.

[36] *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 1923; May 27, 1923; June 9, 1923.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Comanche Empire. By Pekka Hämäläinen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Pekka Hämäläinen's *The Comanche Empire* is a political, economic, and cultural history of the eponymous nation and its effects on the history of the modern Southwestern United States. Hämäläinen is arguing for the very idea that a native empire could have had agency and been actors, rather than just victims, in the history of North America. He also uses his analysis to view the history of the Southwest as individual towns and tribes, rather than borders and nation-states – in short, to view the world as the Comanche empire did to better understand them.

Chapter 1 is the story of the Comanche's rise to power, starting with their arrival in New Mexico from the Great Plains in 1706 as the Numunu. Their background as refugees made them exceptionally hardy and adaptable, and by the middle of the century they had turned the northern Mexican frontier into fertile raiding and trading grounds.

Chapter 2 deals with Spanish colonial policy in the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, and how Comancheria took advantage of it. Spain's obsession with the threat of Britain's empire left them open to the Comanche's, who, via a comparatively huge population and a flexible foreign policy, maneuvered themselves into a position capable of resisting expansion by the Spanish.

Chapter 3 deals with Spain's response to the power of the Comanches – an alliance, albeit one only possible due to a smallpox epidemic decimating Comancheria and the independence of the United States radically altering the balance of power on the continent. However, Spain treated the Comanches poorly and failed to aid them, and Comancheria resumed its assault on New Mexico.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with Comancheria's height in the mid-19th century: how its focus on hunting, trading, and raiding instead of territorial control enabled it to thrive in an area being steadily colonized by the United States, and how its conflict with Mexico enabled American expansion. By blunting efforts to colonize north of the Rio Grande and leaving these areas depopulated, Comancheria indirectly forced Mexico to let American settlers into them, leading to both Texan independence and the Mexican-American War. The depredations inflicted on New Mexico by the Comanches were so thorough that American forces faced virtually no resistance in those areas, and were sometimes welcomed and aided. The Americans were aware of this, offering protection from Comancheria that Mexico was unable to provide.

Chapter 6 breaks the chronological trend of the book and discusses Comanche society, how it influenced their foreign policy, and how expansionism altered it from the 18th to 19th century. The overall structure and gender roles did not change greatly, but herding operations grew exponentially, as did the number of slaves. Comancheria developed a proto-capitalist economy and a growing wealth gap, but a cultural emphasis on generosity helped alleviate the negative effects, and a "warrior cult" helped channel male aggression outwards, aiding the empire and society simultaneously.

Chapter 7 details the collapse of this system, as a drought in the mid-1840's decimated the Comanche bison herds, sending their economy into a free-fall. American settlers and soldiers whittled down Comancheria, although the Civil War brought a short resurgence of the empire. Chapter 8 is the short, brutal story of Comancheria's final fall after the Civil War, and the Comanche nation's confinement on an Oklahoma reservation.

Hämäläinen's book is an enlightening history of a forgotten empire and a necessary read for anyone with a sphere of study remotely related to the Southwestern United States, although I feel that Hämäläinen should have used the term South-Central United States for total geographic

accuracy, as Arizona, which has always been considered part of the Southwest, is not part of the story of Comancheria. That minor complaint aside, the text makes the case for the agency of Native-Americans masterfully, and provides a historical perspective that should be made standard throughout academia.

Michael Luneburg

Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940. By George Chauncey. New York: Basic Books, 1994.

The homosexual struggle is often linked to "the closet" concept. The closet sectioned the homosexual from the rest of the "normal" world. Chauncey argues in *Gay New York* that the three myths of homosexual culture (isolation, invisibility and internalization) are all embodied in the image of the closet and that this concept did not exist before the 1960s. He states that "gay people in the past did not speak or conceive of themselves as living in a closet" (p.6), however this does not prevent historians from using the concept of the closet, but it does "suggest that we need to use it more cautiously and precisely, and to pay special attention to the very different terms people used to describe themselves and their social worlds" (p.6). The various terms as well as the various locations that men would meet helped shape the gay world.

Chauncey combines informal records and public records to create an image of New York's gay culture in reference to the different time periods he covers. Gay male culture was not concrete and adapted accordingly not only to the time period, but also to outside forces that attempted to prevent their existence. Gay culture also had different appearances depending on the men that embodied them, for instance a "normal" married man who had sexual experiences with other men did not have the same experience as an effeminate "fairy." Chauncey structures his book as a reaction to the three myths of isolation, invisibility and internalization. He first gives reports of successful police raids on gay locales such as bars, parks, and bath houses as well as the concept of vigilantes against homosexuality and then asserts through personal stories that the anti-gay culture did not prevent homosexuals from interacting and creating a culture of their own.

The next myth contests that gay men remained invisible to both the "normal" people and other gay men, preventing gay men from interacting with one another. Chauncey proves that this is untrue because "fairies" remained openly effeminate allowing both "normal" and gay men to know that they were gay. Besides this he also reveals that gay men had mannerisms, dress, and other indicators that kept them hidden from non-gay men. In addition to secret techniques, the private bath houses served as the social and sexual hubs for gay men to feel safe with their sexuality. This is not to say that there were not unsafe ways for men to satisfy their sexual needs. Tearooms, which were just public washrooms, were dedicated to impersonal sex between strangers and were often more dangerous.

The chapter "Internalization" contested that gay men did not resist their oppression. The "fairies" flamboyance and openness about their sexuality contests the myth of internalization. Not only this but other gay men would continue to frequent bath houses, parks and other gay establishments in spite of the possibility of police intervention. In general interference was fairly uncommon.

Chauncey's text is a useful look at the homosexual world. He does meet his goal of creating an image of homosexual culture before the 1960s revolution. His use of personal reports and public records creates a vivid description of the world that homosexual men were allowed to create due to being men. Without the use of personal stories and other personal primary sources the text would not have been able to dispel

accuracy, as Arizona, which has always been considered part of the Southwest, is not part of the story of Comancheria. That minor complaint aside, the text makes the case for the agency of Native-Americans masterfully, and provides a historical perspective that should be made standard throughout academia.

Michael Luneburg

Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940. By George Chauncey. New York: Basic Books, 1994.

The homosexual struggle is often linked to "the closet" concept. The closet sectioned the homosexual from the rest of the "normal" world. Chauncey argues in *Gay New York* that the three myths of homosexual culture (isolation, invisibility and internalization) are all embodied in the image of the closet and that this concept did not exist before the 1960s. He states that "gay people in the past did not speak or conceive of themselves as living in a closet" (p.6), however this does not prevent historians from using the concept of the closet, but it does "suggest that we need to use it more cautiously and precisely, and to pay special attention to the very different terms people used to describe themselves and their social worlds" (p.6). The various terms as well as the various locations that men would meet helped shape the gay world.

Chauncey combines informal records and public records to create an image of New York's gay culture in reference to the different time periods he covers. Gay male culture was not concrete and adapted accordingly not only to the time period, but also to outside forces that attempted to prevent their existence. Gay culture also had different appearances depending on the men that embodied them, for instance a "normal" married man who had sexual experiences with other men did not have the same experience as an effeminate "fairy." Chauncey structures his book as a reaction to the three myths of isolation, invisibility and internalization. He first gives reports of successful police raids on gay locales such as bars, parks, and bath houses as well as the concept of vigilantes against homosexuality and then asserts through personal stories that the anti-gay culture did not prevent homosexuals from interacting and creating a culture of their own.

The next myth contests that gay men remained invisible to both the "normal" people and other gay men, preventing gay men from interacting with one another. Chauncey proves that this is untrue because "fairies" remained openly effeminate allowing both "normal" and gay men to know that they were gay. Besides this he also reveals that gay men had mannerisms, dress, and other indicators that kept them hidden from non-gay men. In addition to secret techniques, the private bath houses served as the social and sexual hubs for gay men to feel safe with their sexuality. This is not to say that there were not unsafe ways for men to satisfy their sexual needs. Tearooms, which were just public washrooms, were dedicated to impersonal sex between strangers and were often more dangerous.

The chapter "Internalization" contested that gay men did not resist their oppression. The "fairies" flamboyance and openness about their sexuality contests the myth of internalization. Not only this but other gay men would continue to frequent bath houses, parks and other gay establishments in spite of the possibility of police intervention. In general interference was fairly uncommon.

Chauncey's text is a useful look at the homosexual world. He does meet his goal of creating an image of homosexual culture before the 1960s revolution. His use of personal reports and public records creates a vivid description of the world that homosexual men were allowed to create due to being men. Without the use of personal stories and other personal primary sources the text would not have been able to dispel

any of the myths. This is not to say that Chauncey's book is the final text on the subject of homosexuality. He admits that the time period he has written about leaves room for more texts on the subject in the future. Regardless of its shortcomings due to a limited scope, Chauncey's text is valuable both as a text about homosexuality and sexuality in general.

Aaron Lan

The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity. By Jill Lepore. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Wars, especially those fought on the frontier of culture, generate mythical stories of heroism, nationalism, and pride as well as gore, death, and atrocity. Little known conflicts such as King Philip's War are no exception and woven into the accounts of this battle with Metacom is a fundamental crisis of identity. "Wounds and words," writes Jill Lepore, "cannot be separated" and these two things join in the common purpose of "defining the geographical, political, cultural and sometimes racial and national boundaries between peoples" (p. x).

The book is categorized into four topically distinct sections: Language, War, Bondage, and Memory. "Language" emphasizes the role of written and spoken communication in New England between the English colonials and the Algonquins. Not only did the lack of effective communication (of grievances and diplomacy) lead to hostilities but, yet more profound, the murder of John Sassamon, a literate Indian, represents a dangerous neutral area that neither side could suffer to exist. Literacy or, more specifically, the cultural threat literacy symbolized killed John Sassamon but also any chance of the Algonquin side of the story being told.

The second major section, "War," accounts how more physical elements of culture were used to both define what each society was and was not. Homes, agriculture, clothing, and livestock were important symbols of livelihood, privacy, and property which were all English values. In contrast, the nakedness and semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Native Americans was seen as barbaric and immoral. Lepore argues that the war was a conquest of personal and societal identity as much as it was about killing the other side.

The section titled "Bondage" demonstrates even more points of contention within New England society. Mary Rowlandson and Printer both appeared in captivity together but whereas Rowlandson went on to write a wildly popular account that "saved" her soul, or her identity, from proximity to Indian culture, Printer was required to kill two enemy Indians. It was an irony that Printer later printed Rowlandson's account but highlighted the precarious position literate Indians found themselves in during the war. Slavery also played an important role, justifying the perpetual widening of the chasm between cultures that amounted to the Indians becoming subhuman in the eyes of colonists.

"Memory" is the final section of the book which explains the written legacy of King Philip's War. The Indians had only oral stories while the English commemorated events in books and almanacs which gave them alone the power to reshape the memory of the war in a palatable image to those whose war of identity was still raging. The play Metamora; or, the Last of the Wampanoags allows, almost a century after the war, Americans to use the image of King Philip and the "noble savage" as a way to prove their Americanness. With the Indians long subdued and removed from New England, Americans were comfortable enough to use the repressed culture with pride but at the same time agree that it was inevitable and right that it disappear.

The Name of War delivers insightful analysis on the tribulations and roots of American identity as well as the roles that identity and language play during conflict

any of the myths. This is not to say that Chauncey's book is the final text on the subject of homosexuality. He admits that the time period he has written about leaves room for more texts on the subject in the future. Regardless of its shortcomings due to a limited scope, Chauncey's text is valuable both as a text about homosexuality and sexuality in general.

Aaron Lan

The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity. By Jill Lepore. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Wars, especially those fought on the frontier of culture, generate mythical stories of heroism, nationalism, and pride as well as gore, death, and atrocity. Little known conflicts such as King Philip's War are no exception and woven into the accounts of this battle with Metacom is a fundamental crisis of identity. "Wounds and words," writes Jill Lepore, "cannot be separated" and these two things join in the common purpose of "defining the geographical, political, cultural and sometimes racial and national boundaries between peoples" (p. x).

The book is categorized into four topically distinct sections: Language, War, Bondage, and Memory. "Language" emphasizes the role of written and spoken communication in New England between the English colonials and the Algonquins. Not only did the lack of effective communication (of grievances and diplomacy) lead to hostilities but, yet more profound, the murder of John Sassamon, a literate Indian, represents a dangerous neutral area that neither side could suffer to exist. Literacy or, more specifically, the cultural threat literacy symbolized killed John Sassamon but also any chance of the Algonquin side of the story being told.

The second major section, "War," accounts how more physical elements of culture were used to both define what each society was and was not. Homes, agriculture, clothing, and livestock were important symbols of livelihood, privacy, and property which were all English values. In contrast, the nakedness and semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Native Americans was seen as barbaric and immoral. Lepore argues that the war was a conquest of personal and societal identity as much as it was about killing the other side.

The section titled "Bondage" demonstrates even more points of contention within New England society. Mary Rowlandson and Printer both appeared in captivity together but whereas Rowlandson went on to write a wildly popular account that "saved" her soul, or her identity, from proximity to Indian culture, Printer was required to kill two enemy Indians. It was an irony that Printer later printed Rowlandson's account but highlighted the precarious position literate Indians found themselves in during the war. Slavery also played an important role, justifying the perpetual widening of the chasm between cultures that amounted to the Indians becoming subhuman in the eyes of colonists.

"Memory" is the final section of the book which explains the written legacy of King Philip's War. The Indians had only oral stories while the English commemorated events in books and almanacs which gave them alone the power to reshape the memory of the war in a palatable image to those whose war of identity was still raging. The play Metamora; or, the Last of the Wampanoags allows, almost a century after the war, Americans to use the image of King Philip and the "noble savage" as a way to prove their Americanness. With the Indians long subdued and removed from New England, Americans were comfortable enough to use the repressed culture with pride but at the same time agree that it was inevitable and right that it disappear.

The Name of War delivers insightful analysis on the tribulations and roots of American identity as well as the roles that identity and language play during conflict

more broadly. The book successfully engages the reader with a topical deconstruction of the specific conflict and war in general as well as an abundance of primary sources. However, Lepore does not fully illustrate the role identity and literacy had on the Anglicized non-literate Indians. Overall, this book is an excellent addition to contemporary scholarship and a successful study of a topic that is difficult to negotiate with documents alone.

Rocco Bowman

From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement. By Matt Garcia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Cesar Chavez is often held up as a hero or saint within modern liberal discourse, akin to Martin Luther King or Susan B. Anthony. In *From the Jaws of Victory*, Matt Garcia sets out to demonstrate that the successes of the United Farm Workers (UFW) were by and large the result of its diverse volunteer group, who were highly motivated, quick to learn from mistakes, and thoroughly innovative. In doing so, he deemphasizes Chavez's role in the UFW's victories. Furthermore, he argues that Chavez's attempts to assert control over the union ultimately led to its downfall.

Garcia organizes his book chronologically, following the entire arc of the UFW: from its humble beginnings, to its first major success with the grape boycott of 1966, to the union's internal and external pressures that eventually led to its collapse. This begins in Chapter 1 with the background and initial struggles of the nascent UFW, including the realization that a strike alone would not be enough.

This leads into Chapter 2, where the boycott's origins and methods are examined in detail, though with a focus on the boycott within the US. Chapter 3 moves abroad to Europe, following Elaine Elinson's efforts to strengthen the union's presence in England and eventually Sweden, and her astonishing success despite a lack of resources and contacts. Chapter 3 also details the role ethnicity, nationality, and gender played within the UFW.

Having now succeeded in their boycott effort, the UFW faces internal and external issues in Chapter 4. Externally, the Teamsters and President Nixon presented challenges to UFW growth and activities. Garcia also argues that the UFW never quite made the jump from pursuing change to actively implementing it. Garcia is at his best in Chapter 5, presenting Harry Kubo as a foil to Chavez: an equally strong-willed leader, but one with a clear objective and message that are easy for voters to relate to. ALRA and Proposition 14 are also examined, with Garcia arguing that, ultimately, the latter's defeat began the UFW's downward spiral.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 chronicle this spiral. More rifts open up within the UFW, especially concerning Chavez's controversial adoption of the tactics of Chuck Dederich and the issue of whether or not to pay staff. Constant divisions, firings, and attempts by Chavez to assert control came to a head at the June 30 through July 4 executive board meeting, which is explored in great detail in Chapter 7.

Finally, in Chapter 8, Garcia devotes a great detail of time to the effects of The Game on the UFW. He sees The Game as an ultimately poisonous addition and symbolic of both Chavez's descent into near-totalitarianism. This finally culminates in resistance by many of the highest ranking and most notable members of the UFW, leading to their departures or firings. Chapter 8 ends on a postmortem for the UFW; Garcia concludes by stating that, though the UFW ultimately failed, the fight for increased rights for farm workers continues.

From the Jaws of Victory is one of the first and only scholarly works to challenge Cesar Chavez and his legacy. It is difficult

more broadly. The book successfully engages the reader with a topical deconstruction of the specific conflict and war in general as well as an abundance of primary sources. However, Lepore does not fully illustrate the role identity and literacy had on the Anglicized non-literate Indians. Overall, this book is an excellent addition to contemporary scholarship and a successful study of a topic that is difficult to negotiate with documents alone.

Rocco Bowman

From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement. By Matt Garcia. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Cesar Chavez is often held up as a hero or saint within modern liberal discourse, akin to Martin Luther King or Susan B. Anthony. In *From the Jaws of Victory*, Matt Garcia sets out to demonstrate that the successes of the United Farm Workers (UFW) were by and large the result of its diverse volunteer group, who were highly motivated, quick to learn from mistakes, and thoroughly innovative. In doing so, he deemphasizes Chavez's role in the UFW's victories. Furthermore, he argues that Chavez's attempts to assert control over the union ultimately led to its downfall.

Garcia organizes his book chronologically, following the entire arc of the UFW: from its humble beginnings, to its first major success with the grape boycott of 1966, to the union's internal and external pressures that eventually led to its collapse. This begins in Chapter 1 with the background and initial struggles of the nascent UFW, including the realization that a strike alone would not be enough.

This leads into Chapter 2, where the boycott's origins and methods are examined in detail, though with a focus on the boycott within the US. Chapter 3 moves abroad to Europe, following Elaine Elinson's efforts to strengthen the union's presence in England and eventually Sweden, and her astonishing success despite a lack of resources and contacts. Chapter 3 also details the role ethnicity, nationality, and gender played within the UFW.

Having now succeeded in their boycott effort, the UFW faces internal and external issues in Chapter 4. Externally, the Teamsters and President Nixon presented challenges to UFW growth and activities. Garcia also argues that the UFW never quite made the jump from pursuing change to actively implementing it. Garcia is at his best in Chapter 5, presenting Harry Kubo as a foil to Chavez: an equally strong-willed leader, but one with a clear objective and message that are easy for voters to relate to. ALRA and Proposition 14 are also examined, with Garcia arguing that, ultimately, the latter's defeat began the UFW's downward spiral.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 chronicle this spiral. More rifts open up within the UFW, especially concerning Chavez's controversial adoption of the tactics of Chuck Dederich and the issue of whether or not to pay staff. Constant divisions, firings, and attempts by Chavez to assert control came to a head at the June 30 through July 4 executive board meeting, which is explored in great detail in Chapter 7.

Finally, in Chapter 8, Garcia devotes a great detail of time to the effects of The Game on the UFW. He sees The Game as an ultimately poisonous addition and symbolic of both Chavez's descent into near-totalitarianism. This finally culminates in resistance by many of the highest ranking and most notable members of the UFW, leading to their departures or firings. Chapter 8 ends on a postmortem for the UFW; Garcia concludes by stating that, though the UFW ultimately failed, the fight for increased rights for farm workers continues.

From the Jaws of Victory is one of the first and only scholarly works to challenge Cesar Chavez and his legacy. It is difficult

work to decanonize a saint, but Garcia's argument is thoroughly compelling. He doesn't just lean on criticism of Chavez, but instead demonstrates the importance of the other members of UFW – though his top-down approach often places more emphasis on Elinson, Cohen, et cetera than on the UFW as a group. Nevertheless *From the Jaws of Victory* is a thoroughly successful book and highly recommended.

Peter F. Racco